Jeffrey Fleisher
Neil Norman *Editors*

The Archaeology of Anxiety

The Materiality of Anxiousness, Worry, and Fear

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ISBN 978-1-4939-3230-6 ISBN 978-1-4939-3231-3 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-3231-3

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015955734

Springer New York Heidelberg Dordrecht London

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer Science+Business Media LLC New York is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

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Chapter 1
Archaeologies of Anxiety: The Materiality of Anxiousness, Worry, and Fear

Jeffrey Fleisher and Neil Norman

It is…important for us to theorize the materiality of emotional practices. What are the relationships between spaces, architectures, artefacts, and emotions? How do things become emotionally meaningful? How do they structure and represent people's emotional experience? (Tarlow, 2000, p. 729)

Introduction

This volume is an experimental and exploratory effort into thinking about the place of concern, worry, and fear in archaeological interpretations. To be sure, the topic may be a bit too timely—Showalter (2013) has recently declared that we are living in an "age of anxiety," and the numerous new books and articles on American and late capitalist angst and anxiousness are long. Shorter (2013), for example, suggests that we are "drenched in anxiety" and this is visible in most media outlets where anxieties come in all shapes and sizes—worries about global warming, the problems of globalization and economic inequality, the resurgence of ethnic tensions, and the failures of the nation state. On an individual level, we are more actively involved in managing personal anxiety than ever before: the Jan/Feb 2014 issue of *The Atlantic* featured a story called "Surviving Anxiety"; the New York Times ran an online series in 2013 entitled Anxiety; and dozens of books have been published which purport to help us deal with our worry and stress. Is it likely that this group of essays emerges from our contemporary concerns, our worries about past worries? Quite possibly. But it also emerges from a growing understanding that the senses—what we see, smell, hear, and feel—matter in the constitution and reconstitution of social and cultural life (Day, 2013; Gosden, 2001, 2004; Hamilakis, 2014; Harris &

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J. Fleisher, N. Norman (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anxiety*,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-3231-3_1

Sørensen, 2010; Kus, 1989, 1992; Tarlow, 2000, 2012). And if we want to try to understand—perhaps know—the past we ignore emotions like fear, worry, and concern at our peril.

The topic of emotions has now been taken up by a number of archaeologists, most comprehensively by Tarlow's overviews (2000, 2000, 2012) and Kus' (1989, 1992) early insightful pleas into an archaeology of body and soul, questioning why the sensuous has been left out of archaeological considerations of past people. Much of the literature has focused on the potential pitfalls; archaeologists, it seems, are apprehensive about writing emotion into archaeology. A major—and valid—concern is the reification and projection of western, modern emotions into the past, creating anachronistic pasts that are "safe and familiar" and thus "legitimating our own emotional and social values" (Tarlow, 2000, p. 719). This is the most difficult problem, as we know that emotions are historically and culturally situated (de Luna, 2013; Lutz, 1988; Lutz & White, 1986; Rosaldo, 1993; Rosenwein, 2006; Tarlow, 2012). For archaeology, therefore, we need to attend to both the challenge of operationalizing an archaeology of emotions, but also not to simply empathetically read our own emotional valences into the past; as Tarlow (2012, p. 179) notes "introspection is not in itself a methodology for understanding the emotions of past people."

Despite these potential pitfalls, we believe it necessary to begin experimenting with methods and interpretations on emotion in archaeology. For one, this is not a topic that can simply be set aside as emotions are already inscribed in our work and interpretations—the fear felt in warring societies, the desire expressed for kin and gods, the greed that drives the entrepreneurial individual, and game theory—we already impute social changes to the emotional and affective lives of past people, but we let them slide in quietly and without emphasis. And thus, in an effort to stride forward, we will make mistakes, but we will also hope to start a conversation and contribute to a growing language that we can use (Harris & Sørensen, 2010). Following this lead, we have asked our authors to take some risks at understanding emotion in the past (DeMarrais, 2011, p. 167).

We argue that what is required by archaeologists who hope to approach emotion in the past are critical perspectives, based in a theoretical literature that takes past emotions seriously. This type of work has occurred in history, with many historians leading the way with detailed works of particular emotions such as love (Cole & Thomas, 2009), honor, shame, and disgrace (Iliffe, 2004; Schoenbrun, 2007); each of these texts works diligently to historicize emotion and show how they come into being as well as their historical effects (e.g., de Luna, 2011, 2013; Eustace, 2008; Reddy, 2001; Rosenwein, 2002; Stearns & Stearns, 1985). Thus, our goal in this introduction and volume is not to create neurotic natives, or to read a twentieth-century concern with personal or social anxiety into past agents.

Moreover, this introduction is not meant to be a comprehensive introduction to the topic of emotions and archaeology, nor the extensive literature on anxiety/fear/worry/concern in anthropological and other literatures. Rather, we introduce a number of approaches that offer possibilities for archaeologists to think about the subject at hand, drawing on important recent work in archaeology, history, and anthropology. We begin with a brief overview of emotion research in archaeology

and a recognition that many archaeological studies already make reference to past emotional states, but such instances are often what Rosenwein (2006, p. 1) calls "unfocused emotion talk." To focus our approaches, we discuss a set of issues that offer possible avenues into the study of anxiety/fear/worry/concern in the past: emotional communities, evocative space, ritual practice, and the riskiness of rituals. These domains provide a number of possible approaches to an archaeology of anxiety, and we will discuss how the papers in this volume support them.

Emotion in Archaeology

The topic of emotions in archaeology is not new, but also not very old. As mentioned, the dominant texts include Sarah Tarlow's overviews of the subject (2000, 2012), as well as Susan Kus (1989, 1992) early examples of how and why to think through the sensuous in archaeology. More recently, Harris and Sørensen (2010) have offered a particular approach to emotion in archaeology, creating a "vocabulary that may… equip archaeologists in incorporate emotions into their interpretations" and Gonzalez-Ruibal (2012, pp. 143–149) has offered a link between emotion, archaeology, and cultural psychology. Outside these more programmatic statements and demonstration pieces, only a few archaeologists have taken up this task with in-depth case studies (e.g., Cowgill, 2000; DeMarrais, 2011, 2013; Semple, 1998; Smith, 2000).

However, in the archaeological literature, there is already a tendency to ascribe emotions to past actors in a relatively ad hoc fashion. As an example of this, we briefly discuss two subfields, environmental archaeology and the archaeology of warfare, where we see possibilities for an archaeology of fear and worry as well as examples of "unfocused emotion talk." Research in both subfields often considers social anxieties and concerns that emerge in the context of increasingly hostile social environments, or environmental changes that push the limits of production and consumption. In the now burgeoning field of global-change archaeology and historical ecology, where archaeology can begin to contribute examples of past environmental challenges and responses, it could be important to consider the place of emotional responses to environmental challenges. Hardesty (2007, pp. 5–6) has argued that agency and meaning are crucial to understand the "role of socially positioned agents in the interpretation of environmental change." Invariably, a central feature of agent-centered analysis is recognition of what is called "social stress," often linked to contexts in which environmental changes made critical resources more scarce. Discussions of these social stresses normally focus on decisions that people made to deal with them, some leading to success and some failure. These types of projects, it seems, have already gone halfway to envision an archaeology of anxiety, framing a context within which worry and concern would have become a common part of everyday existence (or not), as habitual acts became less and less effective in reconstructing daily lives. These contexts would be ripe for examining the way worry and concern were made manifest in material practice. Some questions that might help get at this aspect of environmental stress would be: Were ritual

processes altered or intensified? Were seemingly novel changes incorporated into what can be recognized as long-term deposition patterns? A consideration of anxiety or worry would help us understand the experiences of people living through periods of environmental uncertainty, as we know that human actions are "shaped by their emotional experiences—their desires, fears and values" (Tarlow, 2000, p. 719).

This case can also be made for the archaeology of warfare, which in recent years has become a newly ascendant topic in the field (Arkush & Allen, 2006; LeBlanc, 1999; Nielsen & Walker, 2009; Rice & LeBlanc, 2001; Scherer & Verano, 2014). The many discussions of the causes and consequences of warfare in archaeology rarely engage social and ideological factors (Arkush & Allen, 2006, p. 3), instead focusing on issues such as resource stress, population pressures, and the desire for greater labor and resources. Even among those archaeologists that do engage non-materialist explanations for warfare, there are relatively few that explicitly focus on the emotional aspects. One example is Kusimba (2006) who acknowledges the key role of emotional insecurity as a cause and consequence of warfare and fighting. In discussing the implications of the slave trade for African chiefdoms, he notes that "internal factors like attitudes of fear and distrust, which encouraged warfare and hostility, were themselves shaped by an environment of warfare and slave raiding" (Kusimba, 2006, p. 241), capturing the way that emotional states both contributed to, and resulted from, periods of hostility. The idea that physical and emotional insecurity are inextricably linked/interwoven is not particularly novel, but an acknowledgement that this was a contributing factor in sorting out periods of warfare and hostility is quite rare in archaeology. For both of these fields—environmental archaeology and the archaeology of warfare—it is easy to point out how an archaeology of anxiety could be useful and how it has been left out.

What is much more challenging, however, is to consider how such ideas might be operationalized in archaeological interpretations. This is a more general problem in the literature on archaeology and emotions, where much of the previous work provides a mission statement as to *why* archaeologists should take emotions seriously, but is generally less clear on *how* to do it (but see Harris & Sørensen, 2010). Most work on the materiality of emotion relies on documents to breathe emotional lives into past objects and spaces (e.g., Tarlow, 1999); a crucial concern for the archaeology of emotions then is how to reconstruct affective histories in the absence of textual sources. The common pitfalls, discussed extensively by others (Insoll, 2007a, pp. 56–59; Tarlow, 2000), include reading contemporary emotions back into a period in which they did not exist (anachronism, empathy) and the misunderstanding of emotions and their historical context (ahistoricism). Although these points are important, they are, however, ones that archaeologists have tackled in other research areas, including studies of gender and identity, among others (Insoll, 2007b; Jones, 1997; Joyce, 2008).

Tarlow (2012, p. 179) has suggested that for archaeologists to make a contribution to the interdisciplinary work on emotion they must provide: (1) "a sense of historical variability and change," (2) "attention to the way that emotion works through material things and places," and (3) a recognition that "social emotional values rather than individual, subjective emotional experience…will…be more accessible to

archaeological study" (Tarlow, 2000, p. 728; on this last point, see also DeMarrais, 2011). The first point is covered well in other publications (Tarlow, 2000, 2012) and follows a robust literature on the historical and cultural variability of emotions; to be clear, we take a constructivist approach to emotions, recognizing the way they are crafted, expressed, and understood culturally and historically while at the same time understanding that there are many emotional reactions that can be found across most cultures (Gonzalez-Ruibal, 2012, p. 144). It is, in fact, through Tarlow's second point, tracking the way that emotional reactions can be expressed through, and are shaped by, material things and places that archaeologists can make a contribution to a deeper history of emotions (Boivin, 2009), and all of the chapters in this volume attempt to do just that. Tarlow's third point, however, provides important guidance on how archaeologists might approach emotional prehistories (in the absence of texts) and recognize that our data are most commonly linked to social groups rather than individuals. It is thus important to pursue approaches that highlight emotional communities rather than emotional individuals.

An Archaeology of Emotional Communities

A key element found in a number of the chapters in this volume is a notion developed by Barbara Rosenwein (2002, 2006) in her historical study of medieval society in which she defines "emotional communities;" these are social communities that define, share, tolerate, and deplore particular emotional expressions. Her attention to scalar issues, we argue, resonates well with a concern in archaeological theorizing to define an "archaeology of communities" which conceives of community as "an ever-emergent social institution that generates and is generated by supra-household interactions that are structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time" (Canuto & Yaeger, 2000, p. 5; see also Harris, 2014).

It is important to distinguish Rosenwein's idea of "emotional communities" from studies that argue that certain emotions can characterize entire societies. In determining emotions to be cultural, many anthropologists seem content to define emotional styles or states as coterminous with a culture itself. Thus, styles of anger, grief, shame, or honor become written as part of a cultural worldview and engaged by individuals in particular ways, albeit culturally situated and constructed (Heider, 1991; Rosaldo, 1993). The question here is about the social boundaries of emotional styles, and whether to define them broadly, akin the "sensibilities" of a society or period (Heider, 2011; Wickberg, 2007), or in more restricted ways, linked to particular social groups.

One solution can be found in Reddy's (2001) work on the history of emotions, in which he works to avoid the comprehensiveness of cultural emotions by defining "emotional regimes" that are part and parcel of relations of the state, bringing issues of power to the fore. These regimes are defined as "the set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices, and emotives that express and inculcate them; a necessary underpinning of any stable political regime" (Reddy, 2001, p. 129).

Emotional regimes can be "strict," including a limited number of emotives; those that deviate from them suffer severe penalties. Regimes can also be weak, with emotional discipline confined to particular institutions or certain ritual seasons, and serving merely as "an umbrella for a variety of emotional styles" (Reddy, 2001, p. 130). The identification of emotional "refugees" is crucial to Reddy's historical project on the French revolution; the emotional styles once relegated to the sidelines, developed in contrast to the dominant regime, ultimately become the new regime itself, in the wake of revolution. Recently, DeMarrais (2011) has come to similar conclusions about the nature of emotional styles at work in the state, through public artworks; she notes "although the state [in Teotihuacan] was materializing an ideology (through the monuments, murals, and pottery), the overarching propensities…were also being promulgated at the local level, by household groups and by residents of apartment blocks, for other reasons" (DeMarrais, 2011, p. 167, discussing Cowgill, 2000).

Rosenwein (2006, pp. 17–23), however, has criticized Reddy's position, suggesting that his emotional regimes allow for only two positions within society—either within the regime, or not. Those actors outside of the regime, "emotional refugees," can only define their emotional styles in contrast to the regime itself (Rosenwein, 2006, p. 23). Alternatively, Rosenwein defines "emotional communities" within societies, in which multiple emotional norms "coexisted"; although some may have been dominant, other emotional norms need not be defined in opposition to those dominant styles. In her discussion of medieval royal courts she argues that they developed particular emotional styles, but rather than representing "regimes" through which others define themselves, "they seem to have represented the particular emotional styles of a momentarily powerful faction of the population, an elite faction" (Rosenwein, 2006, p. 23). These, then, are "emotional communities," social groups "in which people have a common stake, interests, values, and goals" (Rosenwein, 2006, p. 24) but need not be coterminous with a regime, state, or culture. Her definition of emotional communities recognizes "the social and relational nature of emotions" and that people may belong to multiple emotional communities, simultaneously; there may be larger, dominant emotional communities, but contained within these there may be "subordinate emotional communities, partaking in the larger one and revealing its possibilities and its limitations."

While Reddy's approach to the history of emotions is quite useful in its attendance to issues of power and hegemony, we find Rosenwein's concept of emotional communities to be a particularly useful heuristic for emotion work in archaeology. Archaeologists have already thought deeply about the nature of community in the past (Canuto & Yaeger, 2000; Flannery, 1976; Harris, 2014; Robb, 2007), and this work, aimed largely toward issues of scale, identity, and practice, provides a potential means of recognizing possible emotional communities in the past. Canuto & Yaeger (2000, p. 5) offer a definition of an archaeological community:

> …an ever-emergent social institution that generates and is generated by supra-household interactions that are structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time. Daily interactions rely on and, in turn, develop shared premises or understandings, which can be mobilized in the development of common community identities.

While the project of Yaeger and Canuto was focused on issues of identity, their conceptual apparatus is useful in considering possible emotional communities as well. Both concepts of community (archaeological and emotional) are focused on the relational and interactionalist qualities that help define, and are defined by, communities. Practice is also a central feature of both (Rosenwein, 2006, p. 25; Canuto & Yaeger, 2000, p. 6), with the recognition that a community is both an institution that "structures the practices of its members…and the continually emergent product of that interaction" (Canuto & Yaeger, 2000, p. 6). What an archaeology of communities contributes to this discussion is a notion of place and spatial practice. Although Rosenwein's emotional communities are often related to particular towns or villages, the spatial element is not particularly well defined. Canuto and Yaeger (2000), however, argue that (for an archaeology of communities) attention needs to be focused on "the interactions that occur in a given space and the sense of shared identity that both fosters and is fostered by these interactions." This is what Robb has called "communities of practice" (Robb, 2007, p. 14); these are fields of action "within which material conversations can take place." In the ability of archaeologists to recognize the materiality of community identity construction, as well as the spatial setting of those material practices, we can begin to think about an archaeology of emotional communities.

In a recent publication, Harris (2014, p. 91) has emphasized a similar conceptual framework, what he calls an "affective community," a term that recognizes communities as assemblages of human beings, places, things, animals, and plants. For him, "community is a term for describing the emergent qualities of…affective relationships" within these assemblages. This conceptualization draws on his work with Sørensen (Harris & Sørensen, 2010), developing a language for emotion studies in archaeology and, in particular, the idea of an "affective field."

Coming from a different theoretical background, DeMarrais (2011, 2013) has recently built arguments that approximate this approach. Working through figured artwork, DeMarrais (2013, p. 107) argues that "when art involves action (particularly collective action), archaeologists may be able to infer the emotional tone, or valence, associated with that action." In her examples, artworks may be a way into an analysis of past emotions; art can evoke a figured world for social groups, and thus offers a tool "for the systematic investigation of past forms of social engagement, to acknowledge the emotions that collective phenomena may evoke, and to work toward more nuanced understandings of their implications for the group over time" (DeMarrais, 2011, p. 167). DeMarrais' work (2011, p. 166) echoes that of Rosenwein in that it seeks interpretations of past emotions that are not simply reduced to power relations; de Luna (2013) makes similar pleas, arguing that "we would do well to resist the tendency to reduce affective life to its instrumental value as a tool in governance."

The chapters in this volume explore the boundaries and barriers associated with ancient emotional communities. Chesson argues that life in the Southern Levant during the Early Bronze Age (EBA) was every bit as complicated and, in particular, emotionally involved, as our own. Her point of departure is a conversation with a former resident of New Orleans who expressed unease associated with

the possibility that Hurricane Katrina disinterred ancestors. Chesson posits that, in a similar fashion, responsibilities to the dead and maintenance of their places of repose were part of life in the Dead Sea Plain. She suggests that we can identify potential vectors or axes of anxiety evidenced in secondary mortuary practices and bioarchaeological markers of disease and trauma observed from a skeletal population recovered from a cemetery at Bab adh-Dhra`, Jordan. Chesson concludes that the structured burials embody more than the archaeological behaviors of craft production, paleopathology, exchange, and daily economic activities—they also speak to emotional connections, thoughtful interactions, belief systems, and obligations to other members of a community.

Although many mortuary studies highlight "moments" (e.g., the moment of death and the act of burial) as angst ridden points within a human life, Chesson examines the concept of anxiety arising from the daily existence of people living and dying 5000 years ago. For Chesson, the challenges and rigors of making-a-living, maintaining well-being, and acting as a competent member of the EBA community induced instances of anxiety amongst the living. At the nexus of these social processes were obligations to the dead. Burials were carried out in a highly structured and repetitious manner: skeletal elements of the newly deceased were actively separated and carefully comingled with the long-dead. In so doing, the community worked to transform their dead from living, socialized individuals into some other entities through commemorative rites. Chesson interprets the burials as materializing structured practices and metaphors with emotional resonances.

In his chapter on Early Neolithic (3670 cal BC) burial practices, Harris describes the shifting patterns of burial near Hambledon Hill, arguing that these reflect fluctuating forms of community organization as well as social, economic, and political forces. While the Neolithic offered much in terms of new foods and flavors and the potential for surplus, Harris argues that people had much more to be anxious about than their Mesolithic forebears. Larger communities would have had more opportunities for trade and exchange, for supporting each other in times of poor harvest, for the circulation of breeding animals and wedding partners and the opportunity to cement alliances against occasional outbreaks of violence. In this social world, the iconic causewayed enclosures represented a new kind of gathering together of multiple communities.

In her chapter, Brown Vega uses Rosenwein's notion of "emotional community" to explore the complex "fields of actions" inherent to warfare and places buffeted by war. Brown Vega argues that in studying a context of war, archaeologists cannot assume fear and other associated physiological or psychological reactions. Rather, they should consider the material dimension by which people express concerns for their safety. The construction of fortifications may reflect such fields of interaction, in which the uncertainty associated with war was mitigated through physical barriers and seclusion. In this way, Brown Vega argues that emotions are important to consider to better understand not only conflict but also the circumstances of conflict.

Evocative Space

If we are to begin considering the possibilities of using material practices as an entrée into emotional pasts, we need also to consider their spatial contexts. The spatial context of emotions has been the focus of research in geography, in an area called "emotional geographies" (Anderson & Smith, 2001; Davidson & Milligan, 2004). This work has begun to recognize that a focus on "emotionally heightened spaces" might "illustrate the way that social relations are mediated by feelings and sensibility" (Anderson & Smith, 2001, p. 8). This work moves between a number of spatial scales, from the body, to the home, community, and city (Davidson & Milligan, 2004, p. 524ff). In archaeology, Smith's (2003) work on political landscapes in complex societies also usefully integrates spatial practice and affect. Like Reddy, Smith focuses on the affective qualities of political regimes, but based firmly in a spatial framework. Smith (2003, p. 8) argues that "built features evoke affective responses, enlisting emotions generated by sensory responses to form and aesthetics in service to the polity." While Reddy focused on how emotional qualities were important to political regimes, Smith (2003, p. 8) is more interested in the way that spaces are *used* politically, what he calls the "evocative space" of the political landscape:

> The political landscape is constituted in the places that draw together the imagined civil community, a perceptual dimension of space in which built forms elicit affective responses that galvanize memories and emotions central to the experience of political belonging.

What is useful in Smith's approach for the present discussion is his notion that the experience and perception of space is sensual: evocative space is a "space of signs, signals, cures, and codes—the analytical dimension of space where we are no longer simply drones moving through space but sensible creatures aware of spatial form and aesthetics" (Smith, 2003, p. 73). In evocative spaces (what the emotional geographers call "emotionally heightened spaces"), emotional and affective responses would have helped structure the meaning, and legitimacy of material practices. Although Smith was interested in the political dimensions of evocative spaces, we would argue that they need not be relegated to those controlled by the state, nor working in the service of political authority. Emotional communities in any society would have been plural (Rosenwein, 2006) and could have been structured around social distinctions enacted through ritual practices in particular spaces. If we recognize and accept that most spaces can be thought to have certain emotional geographies, than there may be a certain subset within which archaeologists might recognize as highly potential (in this volume, see chapters by Harris, Brown Vega, Nilsson Stutz, Chesson)—possibly those "emotionally heightened" spaces in which material, ritual practices are evident.

Sørensen and Lumsden's chapter embraces the trope of landscape as it intersects with emotion, providing a good example of a study that takes seriously "evocative spaces." They focus on the affective properties in the period of Hittite dominance in Bronze Age Anatolia. The monuments at Gavurkalesi and Eflatun Pınar, they argue, were cosmologically oriented and were mainly aimed at negotiations—social

relations—between the Hittites, rather than being aimed at a neighboring polity. The authors aim to animate marginal landscapes by examining spaces and monuments including pathways and points of access and egress. Their analysis considers soundscapes, numinous points on the landscape, and plant and animal worlds; these subjective understandings of the Gavurkalesi landscape allow them to start thinking about how landscapes and architecture were experienced and sensed by ancient subjects. The chapter uses thoughts on liminality and pollution to create an understanding of landscape and anxiety in the Hittite geography. The monuments they study acted as entrances and exits to the underworld, and thus liminal spaces of becoming and potential danger. However, rather than avoiding such experiences, it appears that Hittite logic prescribed a strategy of encounter and embrace through which the ultimately destructive forces could be checked by ambivalence.

Ritual Practice and Emotions

Despite recent efforts to define and discuss an archaeology of ritual practice, archaeologists have not often considered emotion to be a crucial part of this discussion (but see Boivin, 2009; Harris, 2014). In fact, it is possible to argue that the topic of emotion has receded from view as an archaeology of ritual has moved from sociological models to practice theories. As Fogelin (2007) has recently described, archaeological research on ritual tends to fall into two camps—those interested in approaching ritual as a special form of social action and those that focus on the symbolic meaning of rituals. The latter approach is that of Durkheim, in which rituals perform and promote social values that helps to sustain the social body by overcoming and minimizing social dissent. The emotional element in this conception of ritual is quite important, as the affective bonds called up through ritual acts are part of what provides stability and equilibrium in society. The former approach focuses on ritual practice, what Bell (1992) has termed "ritualization," in which rituals construct, create, or modify beliefs rather than simply preserve or enact beliefs (Fogelin, 2007, p. 58). Archaeologists have used this approach to great effect, drawing on the diachronic nature of the archaeological record to show how the meanings of rituals change through time, emphasizing the "experiential aspects of ritual and the effects of ritual on the social relations between ritual participants" (Fogelin, 2007, p. 58). This form of ritual analysis is more focused on what rituals do rather than what they mean. And what they do is support and promote relationships of power and, in some cases, serve as a means to challenge that power. Because of the greater emphasis on the formal and performative aspects of ritual that this approach entails, its emotional content has often been minimized or left uninterrogated. Yet, Connerton (1989, p. 44), whose work stresses the formal and performative elements of commemorative rituals, recognized that even though rituals "are not merely expressive…[and] are not performed under inner momentary compulsion, [they are] deliberately observed to denote feelings." Therefore, there should be a strong emotional component in a practice approach to rituals, as they were likely involved in

creating emotional states—such as fear or worry—both through the heightened social interaction that took place at many public rituals, but also through a more instrumental use of ritual by authorities.

The emotion of commemorative rituals has been recognized by archaeologists (Inomata & Coben, 2006, p. 21) but in a somewhat unfocused way. A good example is a discussion about the meaning of lavish funeral feasts, often evident in the archaeological record (Hayden, 2009). Hayden argues that their lavishness was part of the political and economic self-interests of those that put them on; they were the conscious efforts of a politically minded host. A number of commentators criticized Hayden for leaving out "non-economic or practical motivations for holding funeral feasts." Hastorf (2009, pp. 43–44) suggests that funeral rituals are driven by "urges of sorrow, closure, and mourning" and thus are sometimes contexts for "social communion" rather than social gain. Similarly, LeCount and Blitz (2010, p. 263) suggest that "people reaffirm the existing social order in exemplary ways to assuage the chaotic emotions unleashed by a life crisis." While these critiques are undoubtedly true, they lack a firm grounding in the material record—they remain argument by assertion only.

It is will be important for archaeologists to place ritual acts within their spatial context, and to understand how they develop through time in order to understand their emotional qualities. Because rituals are formalized acts and tend to be stylized, stereotyped, and repetitive, they are practices through which emotional communities might be recognized and differentiated archaeologically. The archaeology of ritual deposits—through their relationship to particular architecture and structured nature—can provide clues to when certain practices were "new" and when they became normative (Mills & Walker, 2008). Rosenwein (2006, p. 61) understood the importance of recognizing when certain sentiments became "socially normative under particular circumstances." Such "banality," she argues, is "useful to the historian of emotions" as it can "alert us to the possibility that we are dealing with different emotional communities" as well as when certain emotional communities emerge.

Anxiety, Risk, and Rituals

While we have discussed emotions more generally in this introduction—in communities, spaces, and rituals—it is useful to consider particular contexts in which anxiety, concern, and fear may be most accessible to archaeological interpretations. The chapter by Nilsson Stutz offers one example where, like Chesson's study on the ritual acts of preparing the dead, Nilsson Stutz examines Mesolithic burials dating to the fifth to seventh millennium BC found around the Baltic Sea. Here she elucidates the connections between the ritual practices relating to the treatment and disposal of the dead, and anxiety as a psychological response to death. This interpretive approach draws on theories from ritual studies, which view such practices as central social and cultural phenomena, and from psychology where ritual behaviors are commonly associated with anxiety. In so doing, it seeks to identify ways to access

the emotional state of anxiety through ritual practices that deal with appeasing a sense of ambiguity in the practitioner, creating a way to control the uncontrollable, and structuring chaos.

Nilsson Stutz argues that the disposal of the dead at these sites was ritualized and routinized and that these rituals can be viewed as a strategy to reduce anxiety by controlling chaos through prescribed, formalized, and invariant ritual practices. These burials show a great respect for the integrity of the body—most were buried individually and burials were protected from disturbance and destruction. But Nilsson Stutz interprets possible fear associated with the burial process, as to whether it will be carried out properly, where a failed ritual may create additional anxiety. Nilsson Stutz also sees burial rituals attempting to resolve the ambiguous character of the dead body itself; its ambiguity is that it is an object of death, literally embodying death, while at the same time retaining many of the characteristics of the living subject.

Another context for the intersection of rituals and anxiety/fear/concern is in public, political rituals. Considerations of the emotional contents of public rituals in archaeology are few and far between; only a few archaeologists have taken up Kus's suggestion to study the sensuousness of the state and its legitimacy (e.g., Koontz, Reese-Taylor, & Headrick, 2001; Smith, 2000). Those that have, like Smith (2000) have argued well to bring desire into our consideration of political theater, favoring Geertz's (1980) model of a poetics of power. In this, he attempts to build an understanding of the emotional commitments of subjects to a polity, how they "do not simply tolerate a regime, but actively desire its continuance" (Smith, 2000, p. 138). In Smith's own example from southwest Asia, he recognizes that the "remarkable florescence in art and writing" that worked to "create affective, emotional links between subject and polity" occurred alongside other tools of political formation such as "large-scale slaughter, population resettlements, and intimidation." The affective links to state legitimacy, it seems, were not just desire, a point that Smith makes clear by suggesting that "arguments for political reproduction may be phrased in various, possibly conflicting, terms." We are not arguing that we can only view states as apparatuses of fear and force, but rather in the effort to understand the emotional valences of states, we cannot forget anxiety and fear. It seems, in fact, that the route of poetics has led us away from negative emotions, which were often implicitly called upon in more processual models of the state (Carneiro, 1970; Haas, 1982) that emphasized the role of force and coercive mechanisms.

For Harris, emotions are necessarily social and anxiety is a particular quality or texture of an "affective field" (see also Harris & Sørensen, 2010, pp. 150–151). This term captures the way in which relations are at the heart of how emotions emerge, and thus the way that emotions arise from the conjunction of multiple people and things. In his chapter, he argues that it is within such affective fields that Neolithic tombs appear to have been constructed in response to particular circumstances, on occasions connected to violent events, such as a potential massacre. Yet, Harris contends that rather than merely seeing the deposits as a source of anxiety, we may be better off seeing anxiety as a motivating force for action. The tombs were constructed within contestations over authority and "tournaments of value" judged the veracity of claims

made about objects. It was here that objects could be brought and authenticated, acknowledged as genuinely coming from places far away. Harris concludes that through approaching emotions not merely as something contained in people's minds, but rather as an embodied/social/material practice we can see how it both motivates action and textures the material conditions through which people lived.

In his chapter, Norman explores that fragility and anxiousness associated with political elites in coastal West Africa ca. 1650–1727. The Gbe ethnolinguistic zone located along the Bight of Benin was a major hotspot for the exchange of people for things during the transatlantic slave trade. Local kings and queens managed the sale of enslaved, taxed people and goods moving through their territories, and used revenues as gifts for political followers and sacrifices to ancestral figures. To be sure, elites profited from transnational exchanges, but were at the same time charged with defending their population from escalating slave-raiding and ensuring that annual gifts were forthcoming.

Norman recovered elaborate, fashionable, and costly items from ancestral shrines in the Hueda kingdom and interprets these sacrifices as attempts to implore the dead to intercede on behalf of the living. Similar sacrifices were recovered from domestic spaces, where Huedans cached away personal empowerment items alongside the gifts that activated them. Similar to the ways that Gbe-speaking people use *Bo* and *Bochio* figures today, Norman argues that earlier Huedans created dense social fields with shrines and sanctuaries that worked to bolster the psyche of elites who would lose their office—and literally their heads and ancestral lines—if they neglected social, political, and economic exchanges. Norman draws parallels between sacrifices and the feasting of ancestors in domestic spaces and public ritual aimed at honoring corporate deities and creating a sense of well-being. He uses the focus of Huedan elites on enacting rituals within their own house compounds and their disengagement with public ritual as prime movers in the collapse of a polity of approximately 50,000.

Another context in which to think about the relationship between anxiety and ritual in archaeology is through a consideration of the risks inherent in the *performance* of public rituals. In the ever-expanding literature on the archaeology of ritual, most effort has been expended on either how rituals legitimize power and authority or how the performance of rituals work constructing communities and identities. By looking at the effects of ritual practice, rather than practice itself, these approaches lose some of the contingency of ritual acts. In these approaches, rituals are examined as "objects" or completed tasks, as in "this ritual enacted a mythic story" or "this ritual legitimized a particular elite group or person" or "this ritual achieved the constitution of a particular social group." What is lost is actually the *practice* of rituals, the efforts they hoped to complete (but may not have), and the urgency and inventiveness with which they were enacted. Howe (2000) has described this as the "risks" of ritual; a focus on risk, he argues (Howe, 2000, p. 76), "reinforces the idea that it is the inner intention of the ritual that is important." When considering, for example, the public rituals put on by a king, we should not just focus on the ritual performance and procedures, but also the king's intentions "for these determine how great a risk he is willing to take, which in turn influences many aspects of what happens during the event" (see also Norman this volume).

In terms of thinking about anxiety and concern, we need to consider the historical context of ritual performances, and think carefully about what types of risks political leaders were taking by carrying them out and whether they were *successful*, highlighting effectiveness rather than meaning in ritual practices (Howe, 2000). This can help us understand public rituals that were invested in the machinations of power and authority not as simply performances but also as tests, trials, and contests. And when we open that possibility, then we can begin to consider the way that people who chose to take risks were motivated by emotional commitments, be it sense of power and confidence, or sense of fear and anxiety. For example, in his chapter on Early Neolithic Britain, Harris describes how community-wide rituals may have been a source of concern for elders and leaders; they would have had concerns about how many people would turn up and answer a summon for the labor necessary to construct and maintain causeways. Thus, we cannot lose sight of the fact that great public rituals were often great gambles, where power could be won, but probably just as frequently lost. Were leaders worried about the carnivalesque qualities of some performances, or the possibility of regicide (Inomata & Coben, 2006)? These are questions worth asking, even if it may be difficult archaeologically to sort out victories and failures in the material record of ritual practices.

Anxiety and Private Practice

The final connection we highlight between archaeology, ritual, and anxiety is one that Fleisher has written about previously (Fleisher & LaViolette, 2007), having to do with the way that more private, domestic rituals may be bound up in mitigating and addressing individual anxiety. This work in eastern Africa was a reassessment of previous research on architecture, household rituals, and changing political economies along the fifteenth to seventeenth century AD Swahili coast. In a series of important papers on the social archaeology of houses, Donley-Reid (1982, 1987, 1990) described domestic rituals—animal sacrifice, child burials—that were carried out in the innermost reaches of houses by elite, urban Swahili in the Lamu archipelago, on the northern Kenyan coast. She traced the temporal depth of these ethnographic practices through archaeological research and thus added symbolic meat to the buried archaeological bones. In this work, she focuses on the way that Swahili women, in particular, attempted to negotiate acts believed to be polluting—sexual acts, childbirth, washing of dead bodies—through a series of ritual sacrifices and placement of special, often imported, material objects in the innermost rooms of the Swahili house. Donley-Reid argues (1987, p. 190) that "anxiety concerning the social categories of persons was mediated by the use of objects and spaces within the context of ritual and mundane activities." Here, she invokes Mary Douglas' work on managing purity and danger and emphasizes the marginal worlds of the Swahili, people both close to and distant from societies of the African continent and the Indian Ocean world system.

For Donley-Reid, these rituals "expressed anxiety" and "mediated it," and thus demonstrated how material acts came to be important in negotiating troubling and disturbing facts of life. The contribution of Fleisher and LaViolette (2007) was to contextualize temporally the ritual acts that Donley-Reid found so compelling, arguing that the flowering of ritual acts and architectural elaborations were in fact rituals associated with controlling not only the anxiety of pollution but also the anxiety of status. At the moment that private rituals emerge, the Swahili were under increasing competition from a number of sources and they used these ritual processes in an attempt to convince themselves of the appropriateness of their position—using rituals, as Leach once argued, "to transmit collective messages to ourselves."

Although carried out in more private places and perhaps with less formality, these rituals should not be seen as completely distinct and separate from more public rituals (Bradley, 2005). Bradley (2005, p. 34), in fact, argues that we should see rituals on a continuum, extending from "private to public domains and from the local, even personal, to those which involve large numbers of people." This is one way, in fact, that we might begin to understand the ways that certain members of society felt about more public rituals, by comparing and contrasting more private ritual practice. For instance, when leaders were sponsoring and carrying out large public rituals (perhaps risky ones?), what were they doing in their private spaces? Connections between these ritual practices may be a useful way in understanding possible elite anxieties about more public concerns.

But, as we described above in the example from the Swahili coast, private domestic rituals may also be understood as a form of action. Bell's notion of ritualization is important here, understood, as Bradley describes, "a way of acting which reveals some of the dominant concerns of society, and a process by which certain parts of life are selected and provided with an added emphasis" (Bradley, 2005, p. 34; see also Bell, 1992, p. 89). We want to highlight Bradley's phrase here, "dominant concerns," because it drives home the way that ritualization is a way of acting to seek resolution for what are believed to be social issues of worry. Yet, in much archaeological literature, the focus has been on the effects—that these rituals are ultimately successful in crafting community, identity, gender, what have you. But we must not lose sight of the anxieties that sometimes drive these rituals. Hodder's (2006) work at Catalhoyuk is actually a good example where he describes the materiality of paintings, figurines, and intentional deposits in houses. As he notes (Hodder, 2006, p. 206): "As people became more materially entangled in their social lives, they crafted community…but the intense social networks that were created also involved fears, conflicts, attempts to establish authority and responses against authority. All the material interventions can be seen as a way of affecting the world—even an early form of science." What Hodder is arguing is that the people of Catalhoyuk "became invested in materiality as part of trying to make sense of and control the world" as a "practical attempt to deal with real problems" (see also Nilsson Stutz this volume).

In her chapter, Loren discusses how the legacy of Puritanism from the contemporary Harvard College landscape, even while it is celebrated in some areas of New England (such as Salem, MA and Portsmouth, NH). She explores the intersection of worry, social norms, university policy, and the emergence and expansion of materiality

of bolstering well-being. Loren suggests that personal failures among Colonial peoples often created their own ideological and material strategies to stabilize uncertain environments and curb anxieties of the flesh, of disease and sin. In the Puritan worldview, sin brought suffering and disease. Scholarly education about the "physic" accompanied folk understandings of disease. While the practice of the physic was being taught at Harvard, care of these ailments often occurred at home or in apothecaries. Tobacco quickly became a common remedy for most conditions, such as syphilis, epilepsy, and breast cancer. In particular, smoke inhalation staved hunger and thirst and treated fever, scurvy, ulcers, gangrene, asthma, and colds. Although 1655 College Laws ruled that only students with special permission may "take" tobacco, an abundance of pipe fragments have been recovered from excavations at Goffe House. Artifacts of clothing and adornment recovered from the late seventeenth-century fill of the Old College cellar include four metal hook and eye clasps, a bone button, a copper alloy button with embossed decoration, one iron knee buckle, several lead fabric seals (most likely from bales of woolen fabric), and a pierced Richmond farthing. Loren suggests that some of these artifacts could represent attempts to stave off illness and promote personal health through "touchstones" and other objects of personal protection and adornment.

Concluding Thoughts

This introductory chapter has presented a set of issues that may offer some guidance as to how archaeologists approach the study of emotions. We have taken seriously Tarlow's (2012, p. 179) suggestions that, in order to develop "strong approaches" to emotion studies in archaeology, archaeologists need to (1) recognize "a sense of historical variability and change" and that (2) social emotional values will be more accessible than individual ones, while focusing (3) "attention to the way that emotion works through material things and places." As to the first point (historical variability and change), we see the diversity of the following chapters as a strength, each offering unique theoretical perspectives and archaeological data on the shape of emotional experiences in a particular time and place. Additionally, each chapter offers particular and contextually sensitive definitions and meanings. Because of this, we have avoided offering up hardened definitions of the subject emotions: fear, anxiety, worry, and concern. Our hope is that this diversity of approach allows for cultural and historical variability.

We have also highlighted the work of Rosenwein (2006) and her concept of emotional communities as one way of exploring social emotional values. Her formulation is useful in that it recognizes that societies might contain many different emotional communities with various emotional norms. Our attention here to a particular set of emotions—fear, anxiety, worry, and concern—should not be taken to mean that we think these are isolated from others. Rosenwein's work also usefully draws attention to scalar issues—where sub-communities can exist within larger communities—and this, we argue, is important to the types of material residues that

archaeologists find. Harris (2014) recent theorizing of an "affective community" complements Rosenwein's framework, adding the important notion that communities are assemblages of human beings, places, things, animals, and plants. Finally, we have emphasized both the potential of particular spaces and places as emotionally charged (evocative spaces) and the importance of examining ritual contexts as sites of emotional events. In both of these discussions—and in all of the chapters—we can see the variable ways that emotions work through material things and places.

We are honored to have as the conclusion to this volume the comments and thoughts of Prof. Susan Kus, one of the first archaeologists to recognize the need for engaging with emotions in archaeology. Her commentary offers an in-depth examination of the chapters and addresses a host of issues not raised here. In particular, she highlights the work of psychological anthropologists which only figure peripherally in the chapters; she argues that "the works of psychological anthropologists offer us richly contextualized appreciations of alterity that include linguistic, gestural, and social interactive details…to prod our imagination and grab our attention concerning the specificities of the cultural contexts and experiences we investigate." She also urges us to both continue experimenting with the language and theories we use to interpret emotions in archaeology and take care and consider the appropriateness of the terms we use, such as metaphor/trope, and magic/religion/ritual. As always, examples from her own research work spur us to reach higher in our interpretations and continue with our "intrepid" use of theory and language in the pursuit of emotions in archaeological interpretation.

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Chapter 2
The Importance of "Getting It Right:" Tracing Anxiety in Mesolithic Burial Rituals

Liv Nilsson Stutz

Understanding the Treatment of the Dead

The Mesolithic burials dating to the fifth to seventh millennium BC around the Baltic Sea provide a privileged point of departure for insights into different dimensions of the life of the hunter and gatherer communities. The large concentration of burials at sites like Vedbæk/Bøgebakken on the Eastern Coast of Denmark (Albrethsen & Brinch Petersen, 1977), at Skateholm on the Southern Swedish coast (Larsson, 1988a), and at Zvejnieki in Northern Latvia are characterized by exceptionally well-preserved and often rich graves that over the years have lent themselves to a range of different kinds of archaeological studies. Early concerns with typology, chronology, and eventually social complexity and social organization have more recently been complemented by perspectives from landscape archaeology focusing on the significance of place and monumentality (Thorpe, 1996; Tilley, 1996), concerns with symbolism (Larsson, 1990), cosmology (Zvelebil, 1993, 2008), shamanism (Schmidt, 2000, 2001; Strassburg, 2000; Zvelebil, 1993), identity (Fowler, 2004), the body (Fahlander, 2009; Nilsson Stutz, 2003), and ritual practice (Nilsson Stutz, 2003). This accumulated research has resulted in important insights into a range of aspects of the lived experience of hunters–gatherers during the early Holocene in Northern Europe. But so far, explicit consideration of the emotional dimension of these remains has been missing. The reason is not that the material does not lend itself to this kind of analysis. In fact, there are several burials that implicitly have inspired such interpretations, for example, Grave 8 in Vedbæk/Bøgebakken where a young woman is buried together with a new born child placed on a swan's wing (Albrethsen & Brinch Petersen, 1977), or Grave 41 in Skateholm where a young man is buried holding a

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J. Fleisher, N. Norman (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anxiety*,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-3231-3_2

4-year old child in his arms (Larsson, 1988b, p. 111). But while other possible dimensions of these burials have been approached in a systematic manner, consideration of the emotional content has only been the subject of punctual observations and tentative additives to interpretations with a different focus.

But archaeologists recognize the emotional dimension of burials and several notable studies have successfully approached it, in particular with regard to grief and mourning (Meskell, 1994; Tarlow, 1999). But death can generate a vast array of additional emotions and psychological states, including fear and anxiety. Although death does not universally trigger anxiety, the significant changes that death entails (in human relationship and social structure) make it a possible context in which to examine this kind of emotional response. Mortuary archeology allows us to look at how past people handled and disposed of the bodies of their dead, usually in a ritualized fashion. When studying mortuary remains archaeologically, we can thus envision how people reproduced and understood death. The overall pattern of ritual practice relating to the burial of the dead can be viewed as deeply entangled with emotional responses to death including anxiety. In addition, the nature of the cadaver may also play a significant role in thinking about anxiety: ambiguous by its very nature, located between subject and object, the cadaver is often described as an abject (Kristeva, 1980, for an archaeological application, see Nilsson Stutz, 2003). Thus, we may investigate this ambiguity of the cadaver as a source of anxiety that would be handled through the ritual redefinition of the body as a central part of mortuary practices.

This chapter seeks to elucidate the connections between the ritual practice relating to the treatment and the disposal of the dead, and anxiety as a psychological response to death, and examine to what extent we are able to trace the presence of anxiety in the remains of mortuary rituals among Mesolithic hunters and gatherers around the Baltic Sea. This work builds on my previous reconstruction and analysis of the ritual practices of the treatment of dead human bodies at these sites, but develops it further by combining with an explicit consideration of the psychological and anthropological theories of anxiety. By drawing on theories from ritual studies, which view these practices as central social and cultural phenomena, and from psychology, where ritual behaviors are commonly associated with anxiety, this study seeks to identify ways to access the emotional state of anxiety through archaeological sources. While experimental, the study seeks to illuminate those dimensions of human experience that are not easily detectable in archaeology's material remains, but likely had a central place in the lives of people in the past.

Anxiety, Ritual, and Archaeological Sources

Before outlining the actual case study, it is important to define what I mean by anxiety and how it can be articulated with ritual and discuss briefly how it can be revealed in the archaeological record. Anxiety is an emotion or a psychological state. In the

psychological literature, it is associated with harm avoidance and viewed as a vigilance-precaution system that monitors potential danger. It is understood either as indistinguishable from fear (Wolpe, 1987, p. 135) or very intimately connected to it. Psychologists disagree on both the definitions of anxiety and fear, respectively, and on whether they can even be distinguished. Beck and Emery (2005, p. 9), for example, argue that fear is a cognitive response to threat while anxiety is an emotional response to fear. Thus, a person feeling fear also feels anxiety. However, other work suggests that fear and anxiety are separate emotions. For example, Öhman (2008) argues that fear and anxiety can be differentiated based on perceived avoidance options. While fear occurs when people are *actively* coping with a perceived threat, anxiety is the result of a threatening situation without an effective means of coping. This would make anxiety a more ambiguous feeling with less of a possibility of a resolution in terms of accessible coping strategies. Clinical studies in animals and humans as well as neurobiology suggest that fear and anxiety should be viewed as separate constructs. In these studies, fear is characterized by avoidance behaviors, and anxiety is distinguished by sustained hypervigilance and prolonged hyperarousal that emerges when a person approaches an ambiguous and uncertain threat. This state can persist after the threat is removed (Sylvers, Lilienfeld, & LaPrairie, 2011, p. 133). Again, anxiety is viewed as a psychological state rooted in ambiguity and *perceived* danger, characterized by a lack of clear recourse or strategy that would result in removing the threat. Since the threat is ambiguous and "perceived" rather than "real," it also follows that the intensity of the emotional response would vary more on an individual basis and would therefore be a highly personal experience. Since the evaluation of danger overall varies between individuals, there is, of course, a significant amount of variation here as well.

The connection between ritual and anxiety is by no means a new idea, but neither is it unproblematic. Freud (1907) was the first to make explicit the connection between the repetitive actions of his neurotic patients and ritual practices of observant religious individuals. While this radical suggestion is problematic, many psychologists, anthropologists, and ritual scholars have reproduced the idea of a link between ritual behavior and anxiety in both "normal" and obsessive individuals. Malinowski's theory of magic understands ritual as responses to anxiety-creating threatening situations often associated with high risk endeavors (Malinowski, 1992; see also Homans, 1941, p. 164; Shack, 1971). These practices were viewed as originating in "spontaneous outbursts" (that were perceived by the practitioner as addressing an ambiguous and largely uncontrollable threat) that eventually were "fixed" in magic and became standardized into permanent traditional forms that could be deployed by "primitive man" when the need arose (Malinowski, 1992). Radcliffe-Brown criticized the separation of magic and religion, but recognized that the anxiety that arises at a moment of threat, which individuals feel unsure about addressing, can often be relieved through ritual action (Homans, 1941, p. 166). Radcliffe-Brown also introduced the idea that anxiety may arise from the ritual itself if it was perceived as not having been carried out correctly (Radcliffe-Brown quoted in Homans, 1941, p. 169). This, he believed, would explain the rigidness and

repetition of ritual itself (the characteristic we here shall refer to as invariance). The function of ritual to dispel anxiety within societies is also discussed by Homans (1941), who has found a following in psychology where rituals are often viewed as either externalized compulsions (Boyer & Liénard, 2008) or as having a beneficial calming effect (Anastasi & Newberg, 2008). This has led psychologists to use the term "ritual" to describe actions performed by patients that are repetitive, seemingly nonsensical but contribute to manage or relieve their anxiety. This approach to ritual is dramatically different than that from ritual theory as presented in the social sciences where ritual is not viewed as pathological, but as a strategy for social and cultural reproduction (cf. Bell, 1992). Thus, the psychological and the ritual studies literature define ritual in quite different ways: while ritual studies tend to view rituals as a strategy for cultural reproduction, the psychological literature perpetuates the idea of ritual as "empty" acts without a direct purpose or goal (e.g., Boyer & Liénard, 2008, p. 293).

However, in both literatures, the very form ritual practices take is similar. Catherine Bell (1992, 1997) has described rituals as strategic ways to act. Any act can potentially become ritualized by combining several of the six strategies for ritualization that she presents: formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule governance, sacred symbolism, and performance. All of these can make any act especially powerful, connecting it and the individual practitioner to a deep history, a sense of timelessness, and to cosmological order. From this perspective, ritual acts create a world with significance and order in which individual experience has a specific place. The ritual practice, being both structured and structuring, thus reproduces a set of relations that together shape the world in terms of binary oppositions, creating order out of chaos. While the form it takes—repetitive and formalized—is very similar to that of the obsessive compulsive patient, it ultimately plays a different role for the practitioner. While obsessive patients may suffer from anxiety that can only be relieved through a regiment of compulsive acts (if I do not do *x*, then *y* will happen), the ritual response (in the social sense intended here) addresses a larger and more all-encompassing need for order and structure that is shared by a group of people. In both fields, ritual acts are characterized by invariance, rule governance, and formalism (sensu Bell, 1997). More profoundly, in both fields, ritual practices deal with appeasing a sense of ambiguity in the practitioner, creating a sense of controlling the uncontrollable, and structuring chaos. In particular, the anxiety of not having carried out the ritual properly, where a failed ritual may create additional anxiety, as suggested by Radcliffe-Brown (see above), may offer a useful connecting point between the two views on ritual.

The archaeological study of emotion is recent and developed through the pioneering work of Sarah Tarlow (1998, 1999, 2000, 2012) and Lynn Meskell (1994, 1999). The research remains limited, but the work that has been carried out points to several possible paths forward. In a recent review article on the topic, Tarlow (2012) points out that the general challenge of scholarship on emotion is the question of the universality of emotions. She argues that while some scholars view emotion as part of a biologically determined aspect of human experience, and therefore more or less universal, others understand them as dependent completely on

the cultural context, which shapes the way they are expressed and experienced (a constructivist approach), and which makes any projections onto the past problematic. Archaeological approaches to emotion wrestle with additional challenges. Although it is generally believed to be valuable, even necessary, to recognize emotion when approaching past lived experiences, many archaeologists feel that it is difficult to get "inside the head" of past people through the material record alone. Some archaeologists remain clear about the presence of emotion and its impact on people without necessarily proposing a deeper analysis of the content of those emotions. Such approaches highlight the importance of places and things as imprinted or charged with emotions and memories, without necessarily detailing them (Nilsson Stutz, 2003). It is more difficult, especially in prehistoric contexts, to examine specific emotions, such as anxiety. A few exceptions can be found in mortuary archaeology where the event of death has been used as a departure point to discuss grief and mourning (Meskell, 1994, 1999; Tarlow, 1998, 1999). Additionally, several studies have suggested that other emotional responses be considered as well, related to the sensory experience of the event (Kus, 1992), and a focus on the body as a way to express or fix these meanings (Appleby, 2010; Nyberg, 2010; Williams, 2007). This study takes a somewhat different approach. Here, the focus will be on understanding the ritual response itself as a practice and potential outlet for anxiety about death. In this chapter, anxiety is not viewed so much as fear, but as a more latent response to an ambiguous threat of something unknown and uncontrollable such as death itself, and its consequences for the dead as well as the living. By studying the ritualized practices and by viewing these as both a structuring practice and an outlet or handling mechanism for anxiety, this study seeks to reveal the traces of anxiety in the archaeological record.

The Case Study: Mesolithic Burials Around the Baltic Sea

While the Baltic region is rich in burial sites (for a complete list of sites known to date, please see Zvelebil, 2008), this study will focus on three sites that have been analyzed in detail by the author, including Skateholm, Vedbæk/Bøgebakken, and Zvejnieki (Fig. 2.1). These sites with concentrations of burials, dominated by primary inhumations, are associated with occupation areas, which suggests that they were not exclusively used for the dead, but might be better understood as places where people lived and buried their dead in the proximity of their settlements (Kannegard Nielsen & Brinch Petersen, 1993). For context it should be mentioned that although these concentrations of primary burials have become iconic for how we understand Mesolithic mortuary practices, recent work has revealed that other ways of handling the dead body were more common than has been understood previously. Gray Jones' work on sites in the British Isles and the Netherlands has revealed extensive evidence for burning and defleshing, indicating that dead bodies at these sites were processed extensively (Gray Jones, 2010). These results complement Cauwe's (1998, 2001) findings from Belgium, where extensively processed

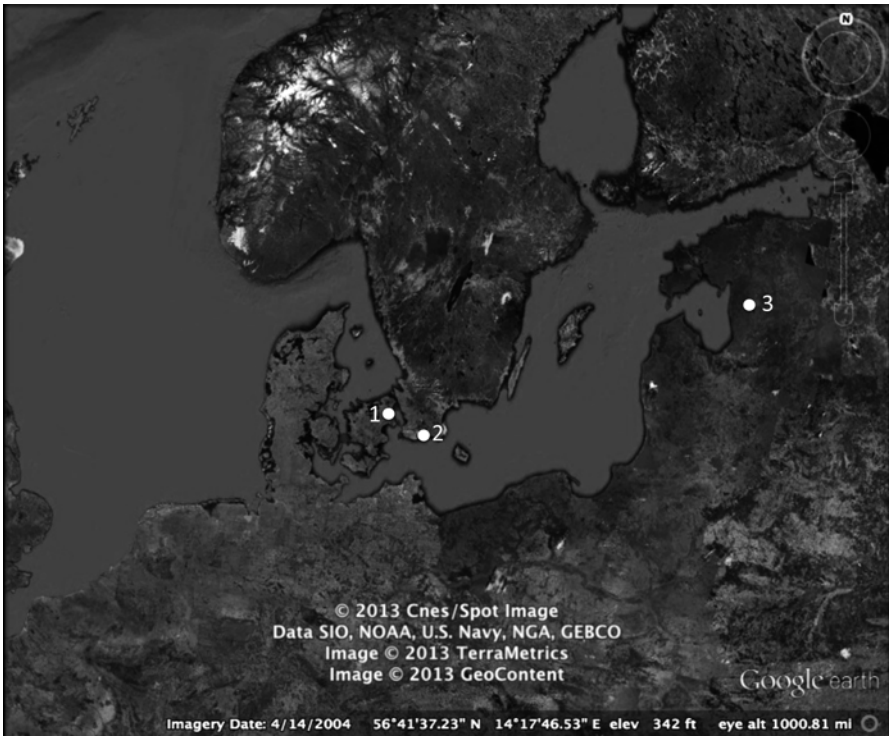

Fig. 2.1 Map of the Baltic region with the location of the sites: (1) Vedbæk/Bøgebakken in Denmark; (2) Skateholm in Sweden; and (3) Zvejnieki, Latvia

bodies were left in caves. The recent finds of crania, sometimes with poles inserted into their base, that were deposited in water at Kanaljorden in Motala (Sweden) also indicate that dead bodies were processed and extensively manipulated in Scandinavia at the time (Hallgren, 2011).

In a previous study, I conducted a detailed reconstruction of the mortuary practices at Skateholm and Vedbæk/Bøgebakken using the taphonomically based analysis approach known as archaeothanatology (Duday, 2009). By combining knowledge from biology about how the human body decomposes after death with comprehensive observations of the archaeological field situation, this approach allows us to establish details of the mortuary practices that are not normally detected through traditional archaeological methods. One can, for example, establish the nature of the burial (in what state of decomposition the body was at the time it was placed in the grave) and the character of the space of decomposition (if the body decomposed in a filled space or in an open space, like a coffin). The approach also allows us, through secondary evidence, to trace the presence of now decomposed elements that affected the body during the process of decomposition (e.g., if the body was placed on top of something, if it was wrapped). This approach also allows us to systematically focus on the handling of the body, which in turn allows us to think

about how death was produced through the mortuary ritual. Combined with ritual theory informed by a practice theory (Bell, 1992), my analysis focused on the importance of the ritualized production of a "good death" through the handling of the dead body (Nilsson Stutz, 2003, 2008). Given the fact that the position of the body mimicked lifelike positions and a concern to not disturb older burials at the site, the study pointed to a production of death that underscored the physical integrity of the dead body at the time of burial. The study could also reveal an interesting tension within the mortuary program that will be discussed in some detail below.

Given the connection outlined above between anxiety and ritual, it is assumed here that it would be possible to see traces also of anxiety in these remains—specifically by looking at the invariance and formalism in the ritualization of the practices. Through a perspective that focuses on the formalized handling of the body in the mortuary ritual, the archaeological material is viewed as a result of prescribed actions characteristic for the context of burial ritual. I argue that we can see a response to anxiety that focuses on getting the ritual right. This is further emphasized by the invariance of the actions that ties the ritual actions into a sense of timelessness increasing their structuring impact on the practitioner. By highlighting these repeated actions we can get a sense of the structured and structuring character of these rituals, a role which in a time of crisis such as death also can be intimately linked to strategies to avoid anxiety linked to an unknown or ambiguous threat of disorder. I will further argue that these dimensions may become especially visible in examples of practices that appear to break away from formalism and invariance indicating a unique or problematic situation.

Vedbæk/Bøgebakken: Brief Overview

The burials at Vedbæk-Bøgebakken were discovered in 1975 as part of a rescue operation. The Bøgebakken site is part of a larger archaeological zone that stretches several miles inland along a prehistoric fjord landscape in which many other Mesolithic sites (some including smaller numbers of burials) were located. The site includes settlement and burial areas with the latter containing 18 graves (17 adults and 5 children), including a cenotaph that contained a deposition of deer antler yet had the distinctive shape of a grave. The burials are dated to the period 7700–5000 BP, with a cluster around 6000 BP.

The mortuary practices at Bøgebakken are characterized by single primary burials, but in some instances more than one individual have been buried together. Among these burials are a triple burial with two adults and a child, and a double burial with a woman buried next to a newborn infant placed on a swan's wing. Archaeothanatological analysis indicated that the woman in this burial was placed on top of a platform, probably supported by deer antlers placed behind her body (Fig. 2.2); there were indications of this practice in a few other cases (Graves 6 and 10). In one case, the analysis confirmed that the body had been wrapped tightly before being placed in the grave (Grave 22). The dominant position of the dead was

Fig. 2.2 Grave 8 in Vedbæk/Bøgebakken. A woman buried on the back with the limbs in extension. To her right a new born child is placed on top of a swan's wing. Photo with permission from Erik Brinch Petersen

on the back with the limbs in extension along the body. In one case, the body was placed in a crouched position on the lateral side (Grave 20). Few burials had been disturbed, and their arrangement—roughly oriented east–west and lying in parallel to each other—seems to indicate a planned and known arrangement during the period the area was used for burial.

Skateholm: Brief Overview

The Skateholm complex includes both occupation and burial deposits on what were once two low-lying islands in a shallow lagoon. The islands were used consecutively, with an older site (Skateholm II) on the lower island and a younger one (Skateholm I) on a higher, neighboring island. With isostatic movements, sea levels gradually rose and submerged the older site, which likely motivated a move to the higher lying Skateholm I. However, sea levels continued to rise and eventually this site was abandoned as well. There was another similar site on a higher peninsula nearby, likely a refuge for the population after the submergence of Skateholm I, but it was destroyed by gravel extraction in the 1930s (Larsson, 1988a). The graves are dated to a period ranging from 6300 to 5800 BP.

There are a total of 85 burials at Skateholm, 22 at Skateholm II, and 63 at Skateholm I. Single primary burials dominate the assemblages. Most burials are in the supine position, with the dead placed on their backs with the limbs in extension. However, the assemblage also includes several individuals buried sitting or in a crouched position. Body position is more variable at Skateholm I while grave goods are more abundant and varied at Skateholm II. Several dogs have been buried at both locations. While inhumation clearly dominates, there are indications of at least three depositions of cremated human bone.

The analysis of the inhumations revealed that they were all buried as primary burials. One of the bodies appears to have been wrapped in bark, and there were also indications, in some instances, of the possible use of platforms. In one case (Grave 28), the analysis revealed that arrangements were made at the time of burial to facilitate continuous access to the remains, as several bones had been carefully extracted from the grave after the active phase of decomposition was terminated (Fig. 2.3).

Interpreting the Ritualized Treatment of the Bodies at Vedbæk/ Bøgebakken and Skateholm

For the burials from both Vedbæk/Bøgebakken and Skateholm, I have argued that the ritualized burial of the dead emphasized a respect for the physical integrity of the body. The inevitable processes of decay and decomposition were hidden by a mortuary program that disposed of the bodies before these changes became obvious. The individuals were buried before decomposition had radically transformed the remains, and in lifelike positions. For example, whether buried lying down or sitting up, there are several instances of bodies arranged to hold or face each other (Fig. 2.4). Additionally, bodies were sometimes supported or shielded through the arrangement of platforms and wrapping which might indicate attempts to protect or retain the subjectivity of the body, which had not yet become transformed into an object of death. At the same time, the extraction of bones from Grave 28 (described

Fig. 2.3 Grave 28 in Skateholm with evidence of postdepositional manipulations of the human remains. At an advanced stage of decomposition, the grave was opened up and the left radius and ulna, the left iliac blade, and the left femur were removed with very little disturbance caused to the other human remains. The archaeothanatological analysis revealed that the body had decomposed in a filled grave pit, and that the pit must have been prepared at the time of burial to make this targeted intervention possible. Photo Lars Larsson

above) suggests that people had intimate knowledge about these processes, such that they could control them with some precision. These findings point to an interesting friction in the mortuary program that I believe offers an entry point to discuss anxiety.

The respect for the integrity of the body also seems to have extended to protect the burials from disturbance and destruction. At both sites, there are few cases where graves were disturbed during the Mesolithic use of the site. The rarity of

Fig. 2.4 Grave 41 in Skateholm. A young man is buried holding a 4-year-old child in his arms. Photo Lars Larsson

disturbances suggests that older graves were assiduously avoided despite the density of burials in a confined and limited area. However, in the rare cases when such disturbance did occur, there is nothing to indicate that they were problematic. There is for example no indication of any attempt to repair the disturbance (Fig. 2.5). I have suggested that perhaps the transformation of the dead body from subject to ancestor or even "object of death" took place after burial and over time in the ground.

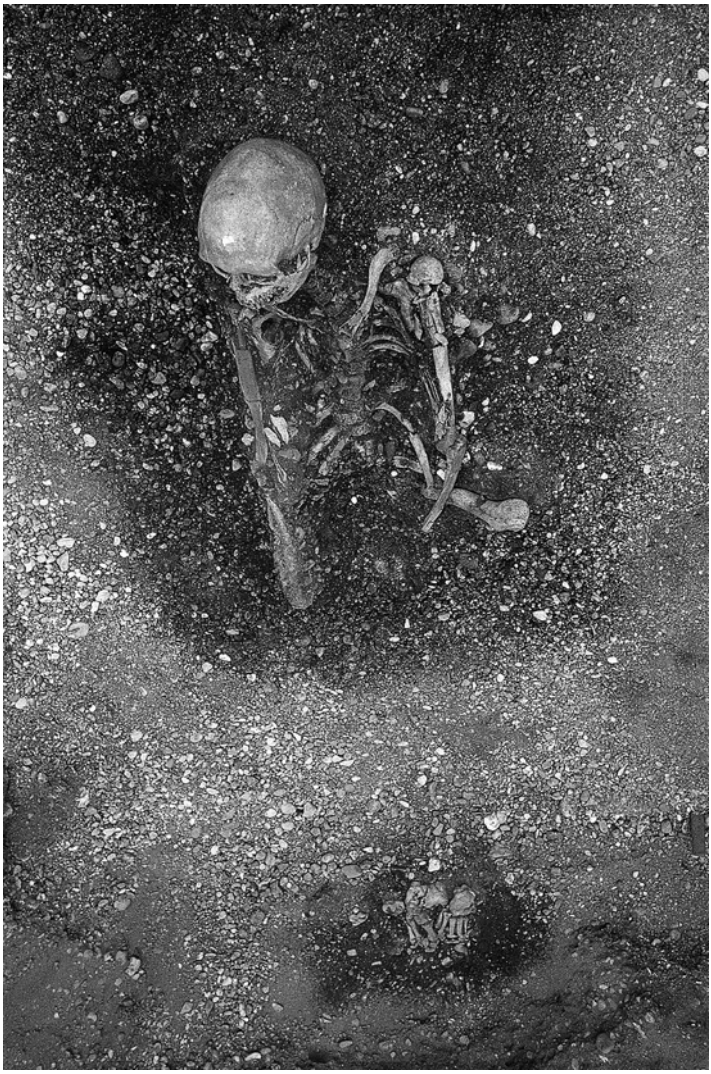

Fig. 2.5 Grave 22 in Skateholm. This grave was disturbed during the Mesolithic, a disturbance that probably took place after the process of decomposition was advanced. The disturbance does not seem to have motivated any attempt at repairing the damage. Photo Lars Larsson

Zvejnieki: Brief Overview and Interpretation

Burials at *Zvejnieki* were quite different compared to the Southern Scandinavian sites. This site is located along a drumlin, close to a river outlet on the shores of Lake Burtnieks in northern Latvia. During the Stone Age, the lake was approximately three times larger than it is today (Eberharts 2006). The Stone Age remains

were known in the nineteenth century, but systematic excavation first started in the 1960s when burials were discovered during gravel extraction in the area (Zagorska, 2006). A large-scale excavation project followed from 1964 to 1971 (Zagorskis, 2004). This work demonstrated that the site had been used for both occupation and burial for a long period of time. The oldest burials at the site date to 7500 cal. BC, with burial continuing until 2600 cal. BC; thus, this site was used over a significantly longer period than the South Scandinavian ones. Although 330 burials have been excavated to date, there were likely many more once present, but these had been destroyed by mining for gravel which was halted after the significance of the site was determined.

Primary burial is the dominant burial practice, but there are a number of graves with more than three individuals buried together. As with the Scandinavian graves, the amount of grave goods varies between individuals, but Zvejnieki contains some remarkably rich graves containing flint tools, bone and antler, and large numbers of amber beads. The site was used from the early Mesolithic and into the Neolithic. It should be clarified here that in Latvia the Neolithic is defined as the earliest stage of pottery (at around 5400 cal. BC) and is not linked to domestication. The graves from the earlier Mesolithic period are found on the highest section of the drumlin, and the graves dated to the Neolithic are concentrated in an area approximately 100 m to the east. There are also isolated burials scattered in the area between these two major concentrations. In addition to the burials, the site also contains settlement remains from the two periods.

Due to the different recording methodologies from the earlier excavations, my work on the burial material from Zvejnieki focused initially on body wrapping, of which there is significantly more evidence compared to the South Scandinavian material (Nilsson Stutz, 2006). In returning to the site in 2005–2009, we were able to adapt our excavation and recording methodologies to new questions (Larsson, 2010; Nilsson Stutz, Larsson, & Zagorska, 2008). This new research yielded the remains of an additional 20 graves (including 24 individuals), where primary burials were also dominant, and the evidence suggests that the bodies were interred shortly after death. However, despite this, the data from Zvejnieki contrasted to what we knew from the burials from Skateholm and Vedbæk/Bøgebakken. Where the burials at the Southern Scandinavian sites were largely undisturbed and seemed to be the result of a mortuary ritual that respected the integrity of the individual body, the situation at Zvejnieki was very different. Here, it was very common to find graves that cut through and partially and even completely destroy previous burials. Elsewhere, I have argued with colleagues (Nilsson Stutz, Larsson, & Zagorska, 2013) that it may have been more important to be incorporated into the place itself, a concern that overrode the focus on the preservation of the integrity of the individual body. The fact that this location was used for burial for a very long time strengthens the idea that place mattered in connecting past and the present. Additionally, at Zvejnieki, there is evidence of more significant transformation of the body before burial. In several cases, the body was wrapped, sometimes very tight, and there are also instances where faces were covered, with red clay and amber rings placed in front of the eyes. While my interpretation of the cases from

Southern Scandinavia suggested that the dead were buried in a way that emphasized the person's identity in life (which would gradually erode as the body decomposed in the ground), it may be that the bodies were marked as different at the time of disposal, having already changed identity into an ancestor the moment they were interred at that ancestral place.

Analysis and Discussion: Connecting Ritual, Practice, and Anxiety

It seems clear that the disposal of the dead at the Zvejnieki sites was carried out in a ritualized manner. The ritual can be viewed as a strategy to reduce anxiety by controlling chaos through prescribed, formalized, and invariant ritual practices. In addition, cases where the treatment of the dead may indicate a friction or contradiction in the mortuary program, the presence of anxiety reveals itself further. I emphasize here the potential connections between anxiety and ritual by viewing the ritualized practices as potentially (but not systematically) connected to managing anxiety, i.e., a feeling of unease regarding an ambiguous and unspecific threat. I propose two separate sources for this ambiguity that potentially can cause anxiety:

- The ambiguous character of the dead body itself, being at once an object of death, literally embodies death, and at the same time retains many of the characteristics of the living subject, to which the survivors have social and emotional ties. The ritual practices would, in these cases, serve to redefine the dead body and produce an unambiguous corpse from which the mourners could separate in order to "move on."
- The insecurity about having carried out the ritual properly in order to assure the complete and necessary passage of the dead person out of the world of the living, and thus the reconstruction of the surviving social group. Here, the importance of getting the ritual "right," or carrying it out correctly is imperative to recreate order and structure. A mistake or an incomplete ritual may delay the healing of the community and, at worst, contribute to additional chaos.

The analysis of the mortuary remains clearly indicates that there was, at each site, a set of ritualized practices that contributed to the production of "a good death": this was a controlled and acceptable death that made sense cosmologically for the mourners. In the process of producing such a death, these practices assured a smooth transition to the afterlife for the dead, and peace and healing for the survivors. To assure this, the ritual had to be carried out in a specific way. It has been argued above (see also Nilsson Stutz, 2003) that while there was variation in the treatment of the dead at these sites—for example, in the position of the body and in the items that were placed with the dead—other aspects of the burial appear more strictly regulated and nonnegotiable. In particular, the body was always buried intact, shortly after death, and long before decomposition radically altered its appearance.

In the South Scandinavian contexts, it also seems clear that the bodies were arranged in a lifelike state as if they retained some of their subjectivity. This arrangement of the body in the burial pit represents the last image the survivors would see of the dead before they were covered with earth. In some cases, there are indications that the subjectivity of the body was highlighted at the time of burial by the use of padding, platforms, or wrappings to shield the body from the surrounding sediment of simply to make it comfortable as if it could still feel the damp of the soil that surrounded it.

In Zvejnieki, the tight wrappings and the use of face covering masks could have been part of a different practice that contributed to transforming the dead before burial. In that case, the disposal of the dead would have been different, not mimicking a lifelike state, but rather the final separation from an already transformed being. Both these ritualized strategies allowed for the mourners to redefine the body of the dead and separate from it as part of a mortuary ritual that made sense of death and allowed the community to heal.

But, what would happen if these acts were not carried out correctly? Was there any risk involved with the ritual and with not "getting it right"? If we view the connection between anxiety and ritual from this perspective, then every repetition of the ritual practice according to the program could *potentially* be motivated by that emotion. To some extent this falls back on a simplified understanding of ritual, relying on the form it takes (as repetitive and formalized) rather than how it functions in cultural contexts. Thus, although there is room for anxiety to be addressed through ritualized responses that could indeed be a part of these formalized collective rituals, it remains an assumption which could only be discussed based on the emotional state of each individual. However, additional support for this reading of the material can be gained by looking at the burials that seem to defy or contradict the normative treatment of the dead. To address this, I will look more closely at two burials that challenge the pattern established in the analysis and thus may suggest a friction and ambiguity in the mortuary program that could be interpreted as a marker of anxiety.

The first case is burial 13 at Skateholm 1. This burial is radically different from the other burials excavated here. In a small pit measuring 1.1×0.5 m, the remains of an incomplete and partially articulated human body was found. The position of the human remains suggests that they were placed there in some form of container—perhaps a sack (Nilsson Stutz, 2003, pp. 249–250). The skeleton is incomplete and almost completely disarticulated. The left radius and ulna, the left carpal bones, and the bones of the left hand and the right foot are the only clearly articulated anatomical segments; the right hand and the left foot are both absent. The pattern suggests that this is not a case of a traditional secondary burial where the body was buried elsewhere in order to decompose only to be excavated later for subsequent reburial. The fact that the articulations of the hand and foot are intact suggests that they were deposited while the cadaver was still "fresh" since these articulations tend to become disarticulated at an early stage of the process of decomposition. Other articulations that are generally persistent, such as the articulation between the femur and the pelvis, are disarticulated. Unfortunately, the preservation of the bone is poor, and it

has not been possible to confirm any cut marks or other traces on the surface. The state of articulation, however, suggests that this body was divided into pieces before it was placed in a container (sack) that was subsequently buried.

How can we understand this burial in the context of a mortuary program that seems to be so concerned with the integrity of the body? I suggest two possible interpretations. Either this is a case where the dead was dehumanized or where the person was actively denied a proper burial. Instead of being buried intact and arranged like all the other individuals at the site, this body was cut up and partitioned perhaps akin to how hunters and gatherers treat an animal. A possible explanation for this atypical treatment of the body is that this individual was sanctioned in death for a serious transgression in life, or, perhaps this individual was especially powerful in life and had to be neutralized in death. Another possible explanation could perhaps be found in the violent death of this individual. A transverse arrowhead was found embedded in the pelvis which could be the cause of immediate death—or the cause of a serious wound followed by a dangerous infection that may have caused death. The wound and possible infection may also have motivated various actions on the body either before or after death, as attempted treatment or perhaps as efforts to extract the projectile or other lethal elements from the body before burial. The concealment of these partitioned remains inside a container could be a strategy to shield the attendants from the traumatizing sight of a dehumanized, disfigured body. In diverging so dramatically from the normal treatment at burial, this case allows us to think about anxiety in several ways. On the one hand, it could reveal a strategy to actively create anxiety in the attendants by treating the body in a way that would have been against the norm. This could also perhaps serve as a warning to the living and instill fear in the attendants. However, if it was a strategy to somehow diminish the impact of a powerful individual that may retain his power also in death, then this might be an example of how a more ambiguous threat, literally from beyond the grave, could be managed by certain precautions at the time of burial. Finally, if the mortuary practices sought to shield the participants from the abject sight of a dismembered body, then this could have been a case where precautions were taken to control anxiety among the viewers by protecting them from a traumatizing sight. While several interpretations are possible, I believe that this case—which breaks so clearly from the treatment of the other bodies at the site—allows us to reflect on the many different ways in which anxiety might be manifest in this type of situation.

The second case I want to present here is a double grave (316/317) in Zvejnieki that was excavated as part of the most recent work at the site in 2008 and 2009 (Larsson, 2010). This grave contains two adult individuals, a female (35–40 years old) and a male (25–30 years old), and in comparison to other graves, it contains exceptionally rich burial goods. Both individuals were adorned with a large amount of amber: the female had a belt consisting of 113 large amber beads around her hips and two large amber rings placed close to her head while the smaller beads were found close to the skull of the male. This is the largest number of amber objects ($n = 135$) in all graves in the cemetery. Also associated with these burials are approximately 40 bone beads in the same shape as the amber ones, and almost 200 beads

made of bird bone. A flint knife was located to the right of the cranium of the male, and a bone dagger made from a red deer ulna was found close to his right arm.

The archaeothanatological analysis established that the male body had been tightly wrapped before burial. His face had been covered with red clay suggesting that it may have been covered by a mask. These treatments would have transformed his appearance in a dramatic way at the time of disposal. The double grave is very deep compared to most other surrounding features, twice the depth of most graves that surrounded it. As this burial was dug, it destroyed *at least* two other graves in its immediate vicinity, and the fill was rich in isolated and considerably sized human bones (including, for example, a whole sacrum and fragment of a femur). These bones would have been easily recognizable at the time as skeletal elements and probably also specifically as human remains, and their position—scattered vertically and diagonally throughout the fill—indicates that they were simply redeposited as part of the filling process of the grave. As discussed above, the disturbance of older graves seems to have been very common at Zvejnieki, at least in this most recently excavated area. Here, graves systematically cut into each other, and the soil was rich in scattered disarticulated human bones. I have suggested that occasionally, the bodies were transformed before burial through the use of wrapping and masks. Therefore, the constant disturbance of older burials at the site may indicate that the main concern at Zvejnieki was not to preserve the integrity of the body as if it were alive (as was observed in Southern Scandinavia), but to become part of the place itself, mingled with the bones of the ancestors, of those who had been buried there before. Therefore, the disturbance of an older grave would not be a problem or even a mistake, but perhaps a desired part of the burial experience.

If that was the case, then why was this burial interred so deeply? While excavating the feature, we also came across a large standing stone in the fill of the feature and it was interpreted as a possible grave marker. The grave marker in combination with the burial's depth could suggest that precautions were taken to *not* disturb this burial. Could it be that despite the common disturbance of older graves, people were uncomfortable with the disturbance of the dead? These precautions—the depth and the grave marker—might be seen as strategies to avoid future disturbance, which in turn translates into an anxiety connected to the disturbance of the dead—as a friction, integrated into the mortuary program at the site that had to be managed.

Concluding Remarks

While speculative, this study aims at exploring how we might understand emotional states, like anxiety, through archaeological sources. The ritualized practices at South Scandinavian Mesolithic burial sites reveal how people there produced an image of death that resembled life and performed the ritual in such a way as to make sense of death through the ritualization of the body. It is argued that every time these practices were carried out, structure was reestablished. The case of grave 13—the cut up body disposed of in a sack—could potentially mean different things, but even if we

cannot be sure if it was a strategy to protect the onlookers or to install fear in them, the case allows us to approach and address anxiety as a possible emotional experience. At Zvejnieki where the mortuary practices seem to be more concerned with the ancestral place than with the individual body, the double grave (316/317) may reveal a hesitation and anxiety relating to the dominant burial practices. The precautions taken, through the significant depth of the feature and the grave marker, may in fact reveal a discomfort or anxiety related to the systematic disturbance of the graves. In this case, somebody may have tried to avoid a similar fate.

I have suggested here that by thinking about these different dimensions of both ritual and anxiety, and in situations when they occur together, we may be able to recognize emotions such as anxiety in the past. The ambiguous threat of death, a phenomenon that is ever present, basically uncontrollable and therefore ideal for a ritual response, both from a cultural perspective where the ritual can create the illusion of control and the sense of order, and from a psychological point of view where the repetitive actions may offer relief, seems like a fruitful place to start this kind of exploration. The interpretations suggested here may be speculative but in no way spectacular, but simply suggest that we look for the story of the repeated struggle to control the world around us in the face of the unknown that is an integral part of human experience.

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Chapter 3
Risky Business: A Life Full of Obligations to the Dead and the Living on the Early Bronze Age Southeastern Dead Sea Plain, Jordan

Meredith S. Chesson

Introduction

In thinking about how living people approach and deal with the dead, I am reminded of my own experience flying down to visit my family in New Orleans roughly 4 months following the devastation of the region by Hurricane Katrina in late August of 2005. Several people on the airplane, including myself, were making the journey to New Orleans for the first time since the hurricane. A man sitting next to me on the Southwest flight out of Midway was not so worried about his families' homes at that point; one of his biggest priorities, he told me, was to check on his family's dead. He was concerned about the state of his family's aboveground tombs (common to the area) and wanted to make sure that his dead ancestors were where they belonged and in a proper state. Dealing with the newly dead or the long-dead following Katrina became a crucial task, much like renovating peoples' homes, installing the blue tarps on roofs, and rebuilding a life in these damaged communities. Dealing with the dead, on streets and in houses after the hurricane, involved a tremendous effort on the part of locals and the National Guard. In fact Chris Rose, a local columnist for the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, published 6 months' worth of weekly essays following Katrina in a collection entitled *One Dead in Attic* (Rose, 2006). As explored by anthropologists and scholars or other disciplines over the last century, death and the treatment of the dead oftentimes involve emotionally charged sets of interactions between living people and the dead (e.g., Bloch & Parry, 1982; Cannon, 1989; Chapman & Randsborg, 1981; Davidson, 2010; Dillehay, 1995; Hertz, 1960;

Deathis a problem of the living
(Oestigaard & Goldhahn, 2006, p. 45)

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J. Fleisher, N. Norman (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anxiety*,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-3231-3_3

Kuijt, 2008; Metcalf & Huntington, 1991; Murphy, 2011; Robb, 2007; Tarlow, 2008; Vizenor, 1986; Weiner, 1976). Thus, this chapter explores sources for anxiety arising from the need to deal with and for the dead, by combining anthropological approaches to mortuary practices and daily life with concepts of risk, cultural obligations, and anxiety.

In situating this paper, I explore the concept of anxiety arising from the daily existence of people living and dying 5000 years ago on the southeastern Dead Sea Plain in the southern Levant. I argue that making a living and dealing with the dead both involve rich and complex webs of social, economic, ritual, and political obligations, interactions, as well as intellectual and bodily engagements within a community and greater cultural world. A person's life, today and in the past, unfolds and emerges within overlapping social, economic, political, and geographical landscapes that require and often inspire incredible and herculean efforts to survive from day to day (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1986; Bolten, 2012; Fernea, 1968; Messenger, 1983). While we might be tempted to believe that life in the past was less complex, rich, stressful, or even anxiety-producing than our own, Glassie (2000, p. 48) cautions scholars against oversimplifying life in the past:

> We have to strain to see the reality of the alternative through curtains of rhetoric, some dropped by the nostalgic, more by the apologists for capitalism. The old life was simple, we are told. Absurd. Life was anything but simple when people in small groups, interrupted by storms and epidemics and marching armies, managed to raise their own food, make their own clothing, and build their own shelter, while creating their own music, literature, art, science and philosophy.

In celebrating the challenges faced by our ancestors, as well as their achievements and failures, archaeologists often focus on evidence for economic activities, patterns, and relationships: for example, potters made these vessels here, they distributed these pots throughout this region, and people used and discarded these vessels in this area. However, archaeologists know from a vast and rich literature describing ethnoarchaeological, ethnohistorical, and ethnographic research, and even from personal experience in our own lives, that no behavior or interaction in daily life is only and entirely economic (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1986, 1993; Fernea, 1968; Keller & Keller, 1996; Lave, 2011; Rosaldo, 1984; Tarlow, 2000). Returning briefly to Glassie's own corpus of work, he (1975, p. 17) argues that:

> Culture is pattern in mind, the ability to make things like sentences or houses. These things are all that the analyst has to work with in his [sic] struggle to get back to the ideas that are culture. The work of mining the artifact for culture begins when the motionless stuff one touches is recognized as the product of an enormously complex and electric transaction in mind between two abilities. One is the ability to compose: "competence." The other is the ability to relate the composition to things external to it in its "context." The result of this interrelation is a person's actual "performance"—the product that can be observed by the scholar.

Viewed in this manner, life involves intellectual and bodily engagement with the world, and no behavior happens without a dynamic integration of thought, emotion, and action. This chapter relies on Glassie's (1975) framework of *competence* and *context* to offer an exploration of the intersection between competence and context by examining possibilities for identifying past elements of daily life that might have

involved anxiety in people living and dying, working to be "competent in context" if you will, as they faced economic, political, social, ritual, and bodily challenges that they either managed or failed to overcome in any given day. This chapter focuses on daily life and death in a cemetery population in the southern Levant during the late fourth millennium BC through the lens of cultural competence. In bodily engagements within and between people during the Early Bronze Age, I believe that we can identify potential vectors or axes of anxiety evidenced in the secondary mortuary practices and the bioarchaeological analysis of the skeletal remains in one sample of the population excavated from the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Bab adh-Dhraʿ, Jordan.

Being Contextually Competent in Obligations of Daily Life and Death

Whether people value remembering the dead, or whether they emphasize not speaking of and forgetting the dead (e.g., Battaglia, 1992; 1990; Kan, 1989; Kuijt, 2008; Raharijaona & Kus, 2001; Sayer, 2010b; Taylor, 1993), people throughout time and space have devised social, economic, ritual, and political structures to deal with death and the dead. Investment of time, energy, and emotion into remembering and forgetting the dead suggests that in many cases, people valued, and continue to value, the proper disposition of the dead for many different types of reasons, metaphysical or earthly in nature. At the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Maurice Bloch gave an inspired lecture about the psychological, moral, and social meanings that are intertwined with death and what we do with or to our dead (Bloch, 2006). He stressed that mortuary practices, be they primary or secondary, involve a crucial type of work (see also Battaglia, 1992). People are obligated to complete this work well for the process of changing a living being into something else (a dead person, a memory, an ancestor, a ghost, or whatever the case may be). This work is valued, is often considered crucial to the communities of the living and the dead, and always involves risk. Approaching mortuary practices as an obligation that may involve many or few steps allows us to consider what happens when this work does not go forward successfully (Davidson, 2010; Gilchrist, 2008; Gilchrist & Sloane, 2005; Tarlow, 2000, 2002, 2008). George (1996) has written eloquently about how rituals, both profane and religious, involve the risk of failure, and it is this fear of failure in combination with a serious personal and community obligation that I want to consider as an axis for anxiety. If dealing with the dead is an obligation of the living, so too is one's daily existence a type of "work-to-be-done." Both daily life and dealing with the dead involve situations and challenges that increase or decrease the risk of failure and the chances for success in behaving with competence in any context (see Briggs (1991) for an excellent case study of learning to live with risk).

This chapter will explore the idea of anxiety involved in fulfilling obligations to the dead and to the living. For the purposes of this chapter, I assume that life in the past was as fully complex with obligations to the living, and to making a living, as

it is today, then it makes it possible to combine (1) Bloch's concept of obligation and "work-to-be-done," (2) George's ideas about the risk of failure in rituals, and (3) Glassie's ideas about competence in order to examine a specific case study: life and death in an Early Bronze Age community in the late fourth millennium BCE. Taking these broadly cast concepts of work, risk, and competence, I then overlay the theoretical foundation and analytical toolkit provided by Tarlow's (2000) landmark article on the archaeology of emotion for considering metaphor and emotion. This chapter is particularly indebted to her claim that emotional meanings can be conveyed in metaphors verbally or materially. I think it entirely appropriate in this paper to amend Glassie's (1975, p. 17) list of the expression of culture as the ability to make houses, sentences, *and metaphors*: to understand and value variably the way to engage as a human being in the world. Tarlow (2000, p. 728) argues that:

> Emotional values are often created and understood through metaphor. In trying to write more complex archaeologies which recognize that humans are thinking, conceptualizing, experiencing beings, the development of our understanding of how metaphor operates in material culture is important (Tilley, 1999; Tarlow, 2000). If emotions are meaningful, meanings are also emotional and archaeological understandings of meanings and emotions in the past must go hand in hand.

Essentially this chapter acts as a "thought experiment" LeGuin (1989) and takes seriously Kus's (1997) concept of "human sensuous experience" considering our bodies as vehicles for engagement in the material world. Increasingly archaeologists pay attention to the materiality of our world and our bodies, and the behaviors that we value emerge from cultural understandings of what it means to be a human in the world in which we live (Borić & Robb, 2008; Joyce, 2005). Kus's (1997, 2006) ethnographic and archaeological research in Madagascar demonstrates the benefits of considering the way people in the past and present imbue daily activities with meanings, values, and emotions. Learning to be a particular kind of person, an appropriately cultured and "behaving" person, in any community involves more than strictly economic, political, and social behaviors represented in the archaeological record. Indeed in considering the life histories of people in the past, there is likely no way that most daily activities and interactions occurred without emotional, symbolic, and intellectual effort and involvement.

Taken together, these theoretical strands combine to create a structure for thinking about how people may or may not strive to behave properly, or in Glassie's terms with attention to context and competence, in order to fulfill economic, social, ritual, political, or familial obligations with the attendant chance of failure and resulting consequences. In all of these interactions with the living, or with the dead, people act with intellect, emotion, and physicality and employ their senses. In a way if they sense risk of failure due to themselves or others, they may experience an emotion we can broadly gloss as anxiety.

This chapter provides evidence for identifying potential axes for anxiety in life and death in an Early Bronze Age community based on the results of excavations in the cemetery of Bab adh-Dhraʿ, Jordan. Choosing to focus on the EB IA period in one region of the southern Levant situates this case study during the late fourth millennium on the eve of the emergence of small-scale urbanism or townism in

prehistoric Jordan, Palestine, and Israel. This chapter will present two lines of inquiry into anxiety: (1) the bioarchaeological analyses of health and pathologies of EBA people buried in the cemetery and (2) the structured disposition of the dead in secondary mortuary rituals in the cemetery. Of these two datasets, this chapter addresses two guiding questions:

- In thinking about the lives and culturally structured experiences of people from birth, through life, into death, and hypothetically into being a not-living person in primary and secondary rites, where can we see possible evidence for anxiety? Can we examine skeletal materials as a pathway to see reasons for anxieties of daily life or at least contexts that might cause anxiety? As one possible vector or cause for anxiety, I examine evidence for health and the physical well-being of EB IA people while they were alive, drawing on Ortner and Fröhlich's (2008a) analysis of skeletal remains from 26 of the cemetery's tombs.
- In the secondary mortuary rituals themselves, what evidence do we have for anxiety or other emotional states? Here I present the archaeological evidence in the cemetery of the patterned burial practices as material metaphors. The EB IA shaft tombs are very structured in terms of construction and deposition of the dead with grave goods and offer the opportunity for us to examine expressions of emotion in material metaphors enacted in the burial practices. I argue that the highly structured burial of their dead in shaft tombs may be interpreted as metaphorical expressions of anxiety and obligations to the deceased, essentially as work-to-be-done carrying risk and the chance for failure.

Background: Life and Death in the Early Bronze Age and Bab adh-Dhra`

The site of Bab adh-Dhra` includes a cemetery that spans the EB IA to EB IV periods (roughly c. 3600–2000 BCE), a walled settlement founded in the early EB II (c. 3100 BCE) and abandoned in the terminal EB III (c. 2500 BCE), and an unwalled village founded approximately 150 years later on the ruins of the walled town (Fig. 3.1). During the EB IA period (c. 3600–3300 BCE), the focus of this thought experiment, no one lived at Bab adh-Dhra` permanently. Excavators did find evidence of campsites near the cemetery (Rast & Schaub, 2003, p. 63), and they interpreted these ephemeral traces as evidence of people camping at the cemetery to bury their dead during the EB IA. This issue of settlement and occupation is very important to keep in mind for this case study. We have no conclusive understanding where or how the people who were buried in these shaft tombs lived and died. They could have been sedentary farmers, pastoral nomads, or communities that combined both these lifestyles. There are many EB IA settlements throughout the area, so there are many options of where these people lived out their lives. Adding to the mystery, we have no evidence for primary burials or processing of the bodies in any other settlements.

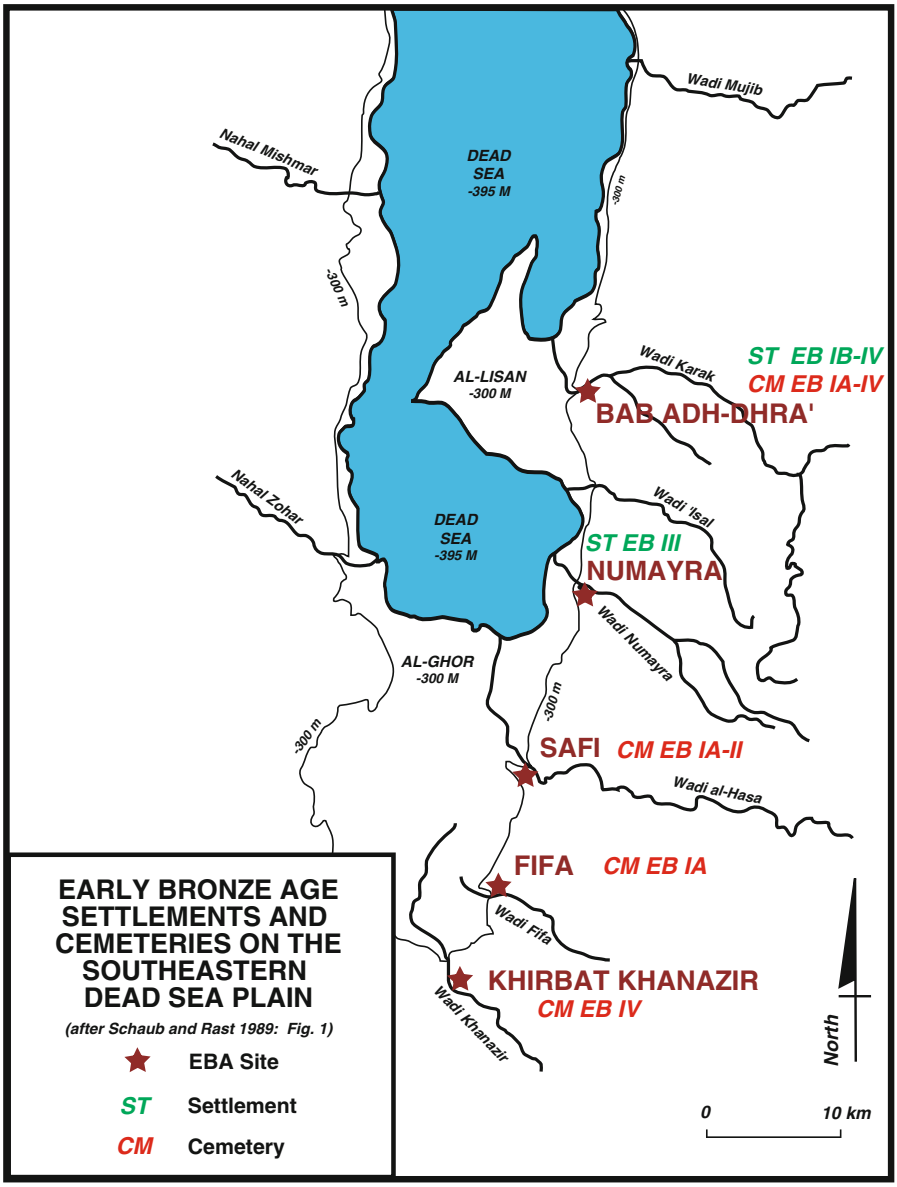

Fig. 3.1 Map of Early Bronze Age sites on the southeastern Dead Sea Plain of Jordan

Approaching this cemetery population and EB IA mortuary practices with a *chaîne operatoire* framework means that we lack entirely an understanding of how these people handled death and primary mortuary practices (for an excellent example of this approach, see Gilchrist & Sloane, 2005; for an excellent overview of the

theoretical toolkit used in agency studies, see Dobres & Robb, 2000). Ortner and Fröhlich (2008a) have suggested that they were buried due to the condition of the bones, but in the end, this issue must remain unresolved without further excavation and a good bit of luck. While we do not know where these people died and where people initially processed their bodies, we do know that they must have traveled from somewhere else to bury their dead in secondary mortuary rites at Bab adh-Dhra`. They also dedicated a thorough effort to collect all of the bones, even the smallest skeletal elements, of all types of people: newborn, children, adolescents, and adults of all ages. This care in collecting the bones of their dead suggests the value placed on successfully fulfilling this obligation to the dead and the living.

Aside from secondary mortuary practices, we can gain a sense of what life might have been for these people, wherever they lived, by looking at evidence for daily life at other EB I–III settlements that have been excavated and published. Evidence for archaeologically visible economic and social activities abound: herding, farming, craft production, food production, eating, throwing out the trash, trading, gifting, building, and living (Amiran et al., 1978; Amiran & Ilan, 1996; Chesson, 2000, 2012; de Miroschedji, 1999; Fischer, 2008; Genz, 2002; Greenberg, Paz, & Paz, 2006; Ilan, 2001; Philip, 2008). We can surmise that their lives were also filled with non-archaeologically visible behaviors, events, and relationships, including rites of passages, births, apprenticeships, adoptions, fostering, moves, telling stories, raising kids, gossiping, altercations with neighbors and family members, growing old, grieving, being ill, and learning how to be a culturally appropriate human member of the community. Their lives, like ours, were filled with repetitive actions—meaningful, thought-producing, and linked to emotions and values. People felt and thought as they lived their lives, and survival 5000 years ago in the southern Levant was anything but mundane. They learned to act competently and contextually and used their senses, emotions, and intellect to engage with understanding the world, interacting with others, and fulfilling their daily obligations despite challenges and risks to survival and success.

The connection between thoughts, emotions, and health offers an avenue for considering potential entry points for anxiety in these Early Bronze Age peoples' daily lives. Rosenwein (2002, pp. 842–843) has argued that in reconstructing the past through historical documentation, scholars should recognize and consider the emotional resonances within any group of people as they lived their lives in a settlement or region. Borrowing her framework, the EB IA people who buried their dead at Bab adh-Dhra` lived in "emotional communities" as well as physical and social ones. Their daily lives were full of responsibilities for members of their community (sensu lato), setting up a context for a broad spectrum of interactions with emotional entanglements. Within this richly textured emotional and material life, one aspect of their lives involved the risk of failure of crops and water resources and, in combination with disease and poor nutrition, may have established a baseline possibility for anxiety about the future survival and well-being on the short- and long-term scales. These lifelong challenges established a context in which people struggled to live their lives competently. Death, mourning, and primary secondary mortuary practices would have been arenas in which people interacted materially, socially, and

emotionally, a context that Harris and Sørensen (2010) call "affective fields." Whether we call these moments in time and space "context" or an "affective field," it is important to remember that they are always imbued with peoples' emotions, their emotional expressions, and ultimately their cultural understandings of the world. I do not intend to suggest that EBA life was limited to the proverbial "nasty, brutish, and short" with no room for joy, happiness, intellectual endeavors, and even boredom. Instead I believe that to a certain degree, illness, hard life, and commonality of death would have weighed physically and emotionally on people and possibly been a cause for sadness, uncertainty, and anxiety.

As a proxy for considering well-being and the potential for anxiety-producing states of being (for a recent anthropological treatment and exploration of well-being, see Matthews & Izquierdo, 2011a, 2011b), I will briefly present two examples from the analysis of the EB IA cemetery population (Ortner & Fröhlich, 2008a). Since thoughts are often tied to emotions, and cultural constructions of well-being may involve senses of health and pain (see Izquierdo (2011) for an interesting case study of the connection between differing cultural conceptions of health and sense of well-being), examining the skeletal remains from the EB IA population provides a starting point to consider how health, either poor or good, can be linked to a wide spectrum of emotional states, of which anxiety is only one. If peoples' feelings of well-being were compromised by poor health, their need (moral, emotional, and intellectual) to overcome illness to fulfill daily obligations to the living in the community may have elicited feelings of anxiety.

In conducting this experiment in considering well-being, I draw on evidence gathered from traditional methods for studying disease, health, and mortality by Ortner and Fröhlich (2008a). However, I do not intend to argue that the small sample of tombs and skeletons discussed below stands as a representative sample for all EB peoples' experiences, nor do I intend to discuss or engage seriously with the very important issue of the osteological paradox (Wood, Milner, Harpending, & Weiss, 1992). Briefly, there are several limitations on an analysis of this kind based on the nature of the evidence at hand. Almost all of the EB IA skeletal remains, certainly those discussed in this paper, were deposited in secondary mortuary practices, and they cannot be assumed to be representative of the entire EB community in which they had lived. Furthermore, Ilan (2002) has rightly argued that to be buried during the EBA was the exception, rather than the rule, and that the mortuary practices at Bab adh-Dhraʿ do not represent the normative pattern for dealing with the EBA dead. Lastly, this thought experiment makes the interpretative leap or assumption that poor or compromised health and well-being, as well as a high mortality rate, can evoke a multitude of emotions, including anxiety. I admit that we can never know with certainty if the EB IA people knew, experienced, or desired any other way of life, but I argue that we can consider the possibility that less-than-optimal health, for example, from chronic sinus infections, osteoarthritis, malnutrition, dental abscesses, and rickets, might decrease a person's well-being and produce differing layers of anxiety. With these basic limitations and assumptions spelled out for the reader, I argue that in the skeletal remains from the three tombs (out of the 26 shaft tombs and charnel houses excavated by the Smithsonian team to Bab

adh-Dhra` in 1977, 1979, and 1981) discussed below, we can identify evidence for potential anxiety in thinking about the daily health and well-being of these people. Admittedly, the three tombs were chosen for their preservation of archaeological and skeletal remains, as well as for the completeness of their documentation; however, I believe that almost any of the EB IA shaft tombs excavated at Bab adh-Dhra` would provide avenues for exploring anxiety for the living and the dead in this community.

Health and Well-Being among the EB IA Living Community Associated with Bab adh-Dhra`

Over three field seasons, the Smithsonian team led by Ortner and Fröhlich excavated 26 shaft tombs containing an MNI of 578 individuals (Ortner & Fröhlich, 2008a, Fig. 3.2). The skeletal population included adult males and females, adolescents, children, infants, and neonates and late-term fetuses. Ortner and Fröhlich's (2008a) provides a detailed description of the skeletal remains and the results of their analyses. For the purpose of this paper, I provide a brief overview of some of the overarching results of their analysis, especially in terms of how the evidence relates to mortality, health, and a sense of well-being. This paleodemographic and paleopathological overview will provide a background when we consider the daily lives of individuals buried in three of the 26 excavated shaft tombs.

Paleodemographically, Fröhlich and Ortner (2008, pp. 251–262) note that life expectancy at birth was 17.6 years. If an individual lived past her or his fifth birthday, then he/she had a probability of dying at 25.5 years of age. The highest probability of death occurred at birth, and the lowest likelihood of death occurred during the early teen years between 10 and 15 years of age. Men were more likely to die in their 20s, while women's probability of death saw significant increases between 15–20 years and 30–35 years of age. More than half of the people who survived birth died before they were 15 years old. From this litany of statistical findings, we can surmise that death and dying were integrated into and experienced frequently in daily life for the EB IA people buried at Bab adh-Dhra`.

From a paleopathological standpoint, Ortner and Fröhlich (2008b, pp. 263–280) found evidence for heavy workloads in the frequencies of enthesopathies throughout the skeletal population, characterizing peoples' lives as a "relatively vigorous existence" (Ortner & Fröhlich, 2008b, p. 277). Moreover, they found that 87 % of the adults, and 25 % of all people buried in these 26 shaft tombs, had linear enamel hypoplasias, suggesting at least one if not more extreme stress events in childhood. Ortner and Fröhlich (2008b, p. 280) concluded that malnutrition was common and postulated that the eight cases of *cribra orbitalia* and one case of porotic hyperostosis were linked to anemia and poor nutrition. They found seven possible cases of scurvy and 12 cases of rickets in subadults, as well as several cases of osteoporosis. Several potential cases of brucellosis, tuberculosis, and osteomyelitis were found in the population. Overall, Ortner and Fröhlich (2008b, p. 304) conclude that the EB

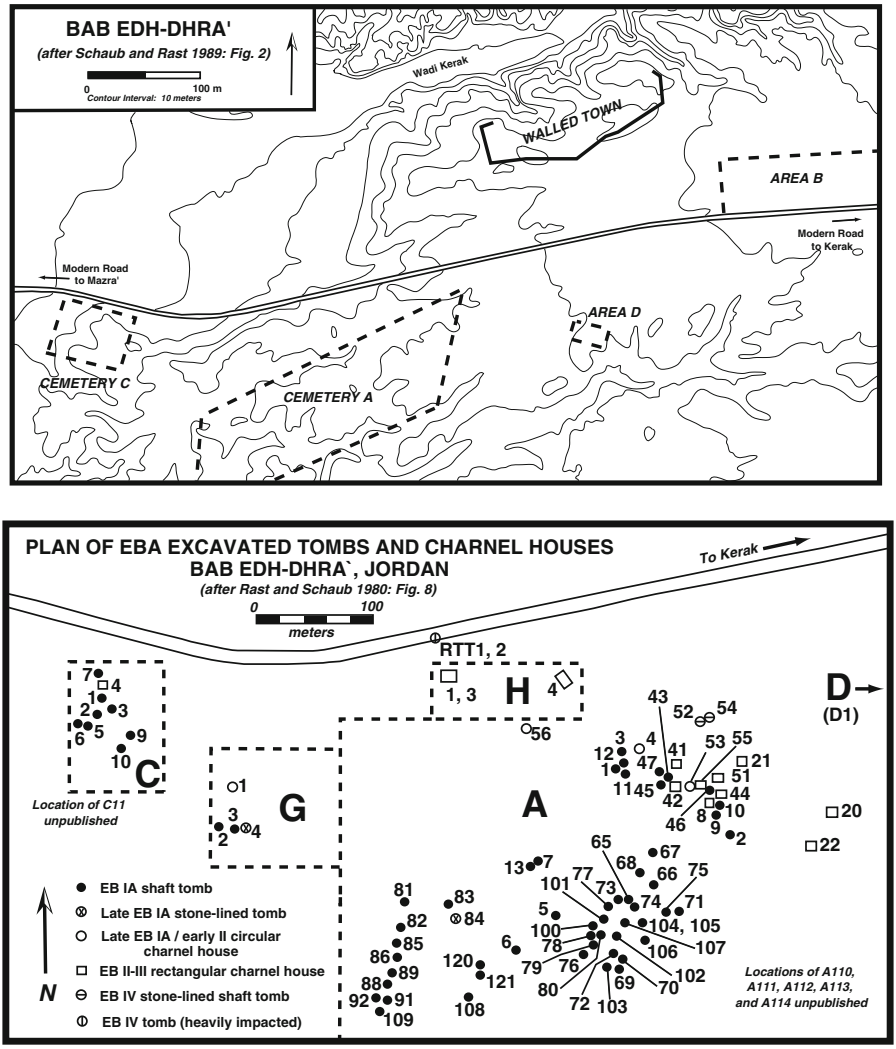

Fig. 3.2 Plan of Bab adh-Dhra` townsite and cemetery with plan of excavated shaft tombs and charnel houses

IA people buried at Bab adh-Dhra` experienced a "substantial level of marginal to poor health." While the authors couch their interpretations in relative terms, we can take away from these findings that daily life might have involved hunger, pain, and fatigue, at least for those suffering from anemia, infectious diseases, and/or malnutrition.

In moving from general conclusions and trends to specific examples in this case study, I present the findings from three shaft tombs excavated by the Smithsonian team: A78, A80, and A107 (Figs. 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6). All of these shaft tombs

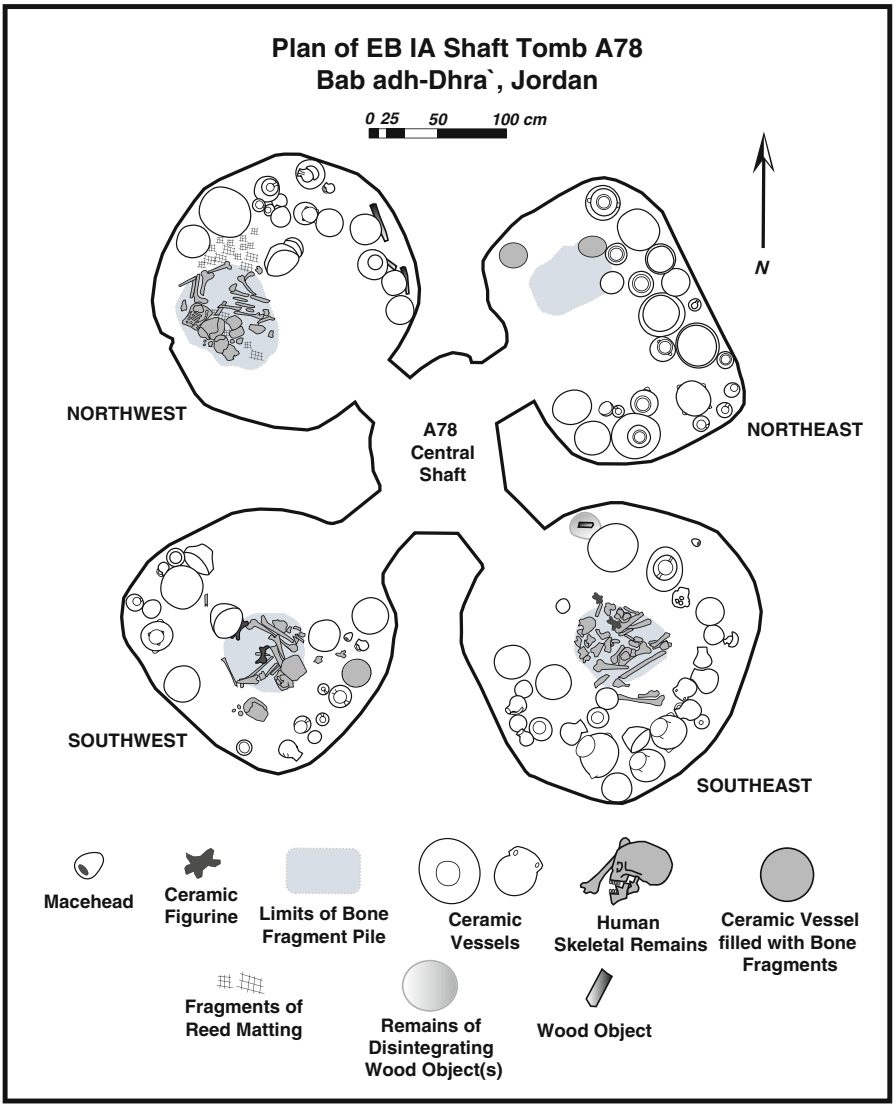

Fig. 3.3 Plan of tomb A78, Bab adh-Dhra`

contained four chambers with the MNI per chamber ranging from 2 to 21 individuals and a combined MNI of 93 (see Table 3.1). Within these three tombs, excavators found individuals ranging in age from late-term fetal stage to over 45 years of age.

When we transfer these bioarchaeological assessments to consider the health and well-being of the 93 people buried in tombs A78, A80, and A107, then we can begin to consider the experiences of being a person in a material body with these kinds of

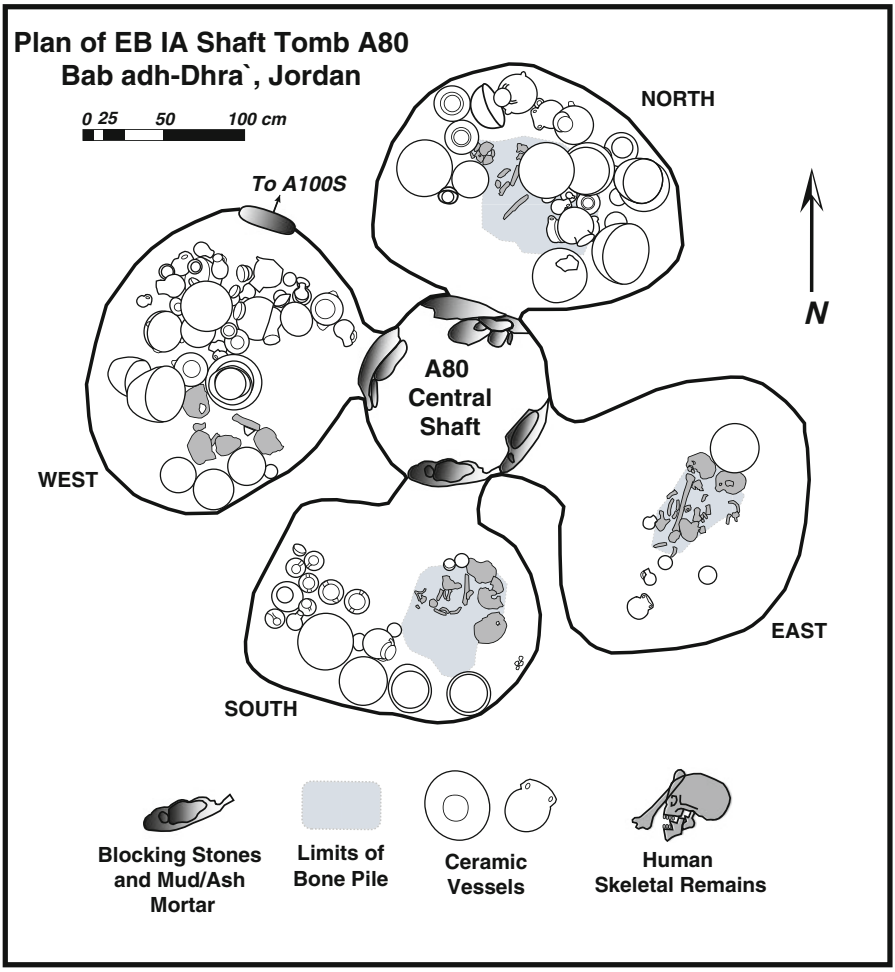

Fig. 3.4 Plan of tomb A80, Bab adh-Dhra'

physical stresses. For example, at least these four individuals in A80 suffered daily pain and restricted movement from osteoarthritis, a slipped femoral epiphysis, and a herniated vertebral disk. Almost all of the individuals suffered two or three extreme stress periods in their early childhoods, likely related to some combination of weaning, infectious diseases, and malnutrition. Children may learn how to go hungry, but that does not translate to a non-stressful situation for parents and children alike. Cases of chronic sinus infections likely involved headaches, while dental abscesses assuredly involved mouth pain. With the possible cases of scurvy and rickets, we can say that at least some of the EB IA people were malnourished, and we can imagine them to be hungry, tired, and potentially anxious about feeding themselves and their families.

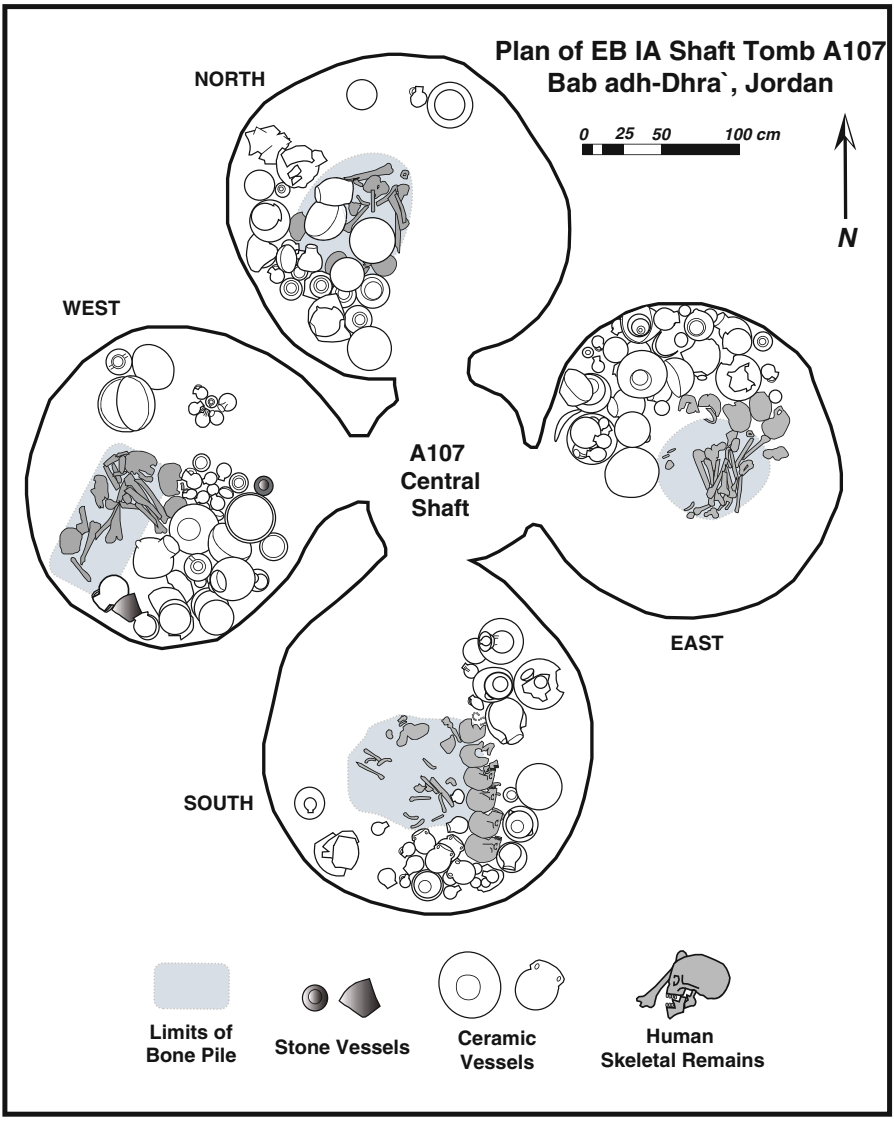

Fig. 3.5 Plan of tomb 107 Bab adh-Dhra`

With the pronounced infant mortality, I suggest that pregnancy, birth, and infancy must have been accompanied by a great deal of anxiety as well as hope and joy for many people. Of the 35 chambers with fetal or neonate bones, 33 of them also contain skeletal remains of adult women (Ortner & Fröhlich, 2008a, Table 10.6). The flip side of this particular coin reveals that three tomb chambers contained no neonates and no adult females (with all adults sexed as males) and 25 chambers with adult females and no neonates. Since Bentley (1987, 1991) and Bentley and Perry (2008) have demonstrated a higher probability of genetic relatedness in people

Fig. 3.6 View into tomb A78SW from shaft during excavation

Table 3.1 Skeletal remains by age and sex in shaft tombs A78, A80, and A107 at Bab adh-Dhraʿ

Tomb	Adults (no sex identified)	Adult females	Adult males	Adolescents	Children	Infants	Neonates/ late-term fetuses
A78NW ($n=12$)	Unaged	Unaged	None	None	Unaged	12 months old	Near term
		Unaged					Near term
							Near term
							Near term
							Near term
							Near term
							Near term
A78SE ($n=2$)	None	None	25–35 years old	None	10–14 years old	None	None
A78SW ($n=11$)	None	Unaged	Unaged	11–17 years old	7.5–9.5 years old	Unaged	Late Term
		Unaged	Unaged		4.5–5.5 years old		Late Term
							Late Term
A78NE ($n=3$)	40 years old	None	None	None	4 years old	9–12 months old	None
A80N ($n=3$)	None	None	50 years old	None	None	Unaged	None
			30 years old				

(continued)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Tomb	Adults (no sex identified)	Adult females	Adult males	Adolescents	Children	Infants	Neonates/ late-term fetuses
A80E ($n=3$)	None	20 years old	35 years old	None	None	None	None
			30 years old				
A80S ($n=5$)	None	40 years old	27 years old	None	3.5 years old	None	None
		Unaged			4.5 years old		
A80W ($n=11$)	None	40 years old	45+ years old	15 years old	10 years old	18 months old	Late term
		19 years old	45+ years old		3–5 years old	12 months old	
					4 years old		
A107N ($n=5$)	None	40+ years old	25 years old	None	None	None	None
		35+ years old	Unaged				
		35+ years old					
A107E ($n=21$)	None	30–34 years old	30 years old	16–20 years old (male)	10 years old	9 months old	36 weeks old
		Unaged	Unaged		9 years old	6 months old	
		Unaged	Unaged		9 years old	2 months old	
		Unaged	Unaged		6 years old	Newborn	
		Unaged			18–24 months old	Newborn	
A107S ($n=7$)	None	30–35 years old	30–39 years old	17 years old (female)	12 years old	None	30 weeks old
		25–29 years old	25–30 years old				

(continued)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Tomb	Adults (no sex identified)	Adult females	Adult males	Adolescents	Children	Infants	Neonates/ late-term fetuses
A107N ($n=10$)	None	≥30 years old	45+ years old	17 years old (male)	3–4 years old	6–12 months old	None
		35 years old	30–35 years old		2 years old		
		25 years old	Unaged				
Total individuals	2	22	21	5	18	12	13

buried within the same shaft tomb, it may be possible that women and neonates who died in or due to childbirth may have been buried together. Since birth and death often went hand in hand, anxiety likely accompanied pregnancy, birth, and early childhood (Murphy, 2011). Clearly, while dealing with secondary mortuary practices and the movement of skeletal remains some distance, we must be careful about relying on such patterns too heavily since we cannot match with any certainty neonatal and adult female skeletal remains.

I do not mean to overemphasize the glass-half-empty perspective, because even with these statistics and the evidence for widespread stress in early childhood from disease and malnutrition, there would presumably have been plenty of room in these peoples' lives for joy, happiness, and even boredom. Instead I argue that there is room for anxiety in the everyday existence of life and death during the EB IA and that these people experienced illness, a difficult workload, and a commonality of death that would have weighed on them emotionally and physically. In making their living, in competently fulfilling economic, social, ritual, and political obligations to their families, kin, neighbors, and community members, their state of health may have presented them with challenges that they met with a certain amount of anxiety.

Competently Dealing with Dead: Material Metaphors and Anxiety about Getting the Job Done Properly

> "Please don't bury me down in the cold, cold ground. I'd rather have them cut me up and pass me all around." John Prine, "Please Don't Bury Me" (1973, *Sweet Revenge*)

I now move from the living people meeting their obligations to their kin, housemates, and community to considering how the living fulfilled their responsibilities to deal with their dead. While the challenges and rigors of making a living, maintaining well-being, and acting as a competent member of the EB IA community may have induced instances of anxiety among the living, I assume that that the people who buried their long-dead at Bab adh-Dhraʿ placed great emphasis on completing

their obligations to their dead as well. As mentioned earlier, archaeological evidence suggests that burial in the EB IA was the exception to the rule throughout the region (Ilan, 2002); however, vast fields of undatable and long-ago-looted dolmens in the Jordanian foothills remain as the elephant in the room (Fraser, 2015; Prag, 1995; Scheltema, 2010; Yassine, 1985). However, for the people who buried their long-deceased community members at Bab adh-Dhraʿ, they devoted a great deal of time, thought, and presumably emotion to complete the necessary rituals to make a living person into a deceased entity (whatever that state of being might have been for their worldview and eschatology).

Drawing on the rich anthropological literature describing, exploring, and analyzing mortuary practices and related belief systems (e.g., Arnold, 2001; Battaglia 1992; Bloch & Parry, 1982; Brück, 2004; Cannon, 1989; Chapman & Randsborg, 1981; Chesson, 2001; Dillehay, 1995; Feeley-Harnik, 1989; Gillespie, 2001; Hastorf, 2003; Raharijaona & Kus, 2001; Laneri, 2007; Metcalf & Huntington, 1991; Pearson, 1999; Sayer, 2010a; Tarlow, 2002; Taylor, 1993; Williams, 2004), I assume that the EB IA people who buried their dead at Bab adh-Dhraʿ believed strongly, or at least acted convincingly, that they were obligated to treat the long-dead in a particular way. In this section I utilize the *chaîne operatoire* approach to describe and consider the steps to complete the mortuary rituals and fulfill obligations to the dead at Bab adh-Dhraʿ (Gilchrist, 2008; Gilchrist and Sloane, 2005). Relying on Tarlow's (2000) argument for theorizing and analyzing the material metaphors for emotionalpractices, I argue that dealing with the dead involved multiple opportunities for anxiety (as well as other emotions). At Bab adh-Dhraʿ we see extensive evidence for highly structured burial practices guiding the disposal of their dead and the accompanying grave goods. From this perspective, I interpret these structured practices as metaphors with strong emotional resonances. These people took their obligations to the dead very seriously, investing a great deal of time, energy, and resources to get this job done well. Moreover, this obligation to act competently always carried a certain amount of risk; risk of this nature walks hand in hand with anxiety.

In reconstructing the steps of work-to-be-done with the dead, we hit a brick wall at the very beginning of this exercise. Despite extensive surveys and excavations on the eastern and western sides of the Jordan River, we know very little about primary burial practices during the EB IA. The majority of burial sites involve secondary mortuary practices, and Bab adh-Dhraʿs EB IA shaft tombs overwhelmingly contain secondary burials. So our first step in the *chaîne operatoire* must remain evidentially blank, but we can imagine that the death of a community member likely elicited social, economic, emotional, bodily, and ritual responses that may have included the initial processing of the body, mourning, and communication of the dead. There is some circumstantial evidence that primary rites involved burial, since Ortner and Fröhlich (2008b, p. 299) suggest that at least some of the newly dead were buried to allow for the defleshing of the body, according to their taphonomic analysis of the EB IA skeletal remains.

In terms of work-to-be completed well, our understanding of the secondary rituals stands on firmer evidential ground, as the vast majority of the archaeological

evidence pertains to dealing with the long-dead. Of the 578 individuals analyzed by Ortner and Fröhlich (2008a), the ages of the dead ranged from late-term fetuses and neonates to adults older than 50 years of age. Inclusion in secondary burial practices encompassed all ages and sexes. Skeletal remains were collected from primary depositional contexts and transported to the Bab adh-Dhraʿ cemetery site, and Ortner and Fröhlich found a preference for skulls and long bones for inclusion in the shaft tombs themselves. While completeness of secondary burials ranged from 1 or 2 elements (with a preference for skulls and long bones) to virtually complete remains, great care was taken in collecting small bones from neonates and late-term fetuses. From their context(s) of primary burial practices, the dead were transported to the southeastern Dead Sea Plain at Bab adh-Dhraʿ. We have no evidence of settlements within tens of kilometers in any direction of the cemetery. The trip likely involved people traveling on foot and on donkey back in a caravan including people of all ages, skeletal remains, animals, food, and material culture. We can imagine that the living collected the skeletal remains of the dead and placed them into baskets, textile bundles, or even ceramic vessels to transport them to the cemetery. These containers may have been carried on peoples' backs, or on the backs of donkeys and dogs, both common domesticated animals during the EB IA (I intend to cast no aspersions on the other common domesticated animals of the period—namely, goats, cattle, sheep, and pigs—but I find it difficult to imagine them as animals well suited to bearing precious skeletal remains over a relatively long distance).

This journey down to the Dead Sea Plain may have started off with ceremonies at the beginning, with material culture and the collection of skeletal remains from their primary deposit. Depending on where they started, people would have traveled to the southeastern Dead Sea Plain on a north–south direction through the Jordan Valley or traveled east–west down from the plateaus that frame the edge of the Valley in present-day Palestine and Israel or from the Kerak Plateau in Jordan. If they traveled down into the Valley, they would have needed to make their way down roughly 1000 m in elevation to the Dead Sea Plain, following what must have seemed like an endless series of switchbacks. This journey would not have been completed without its stresses, as the road down is difficult and dangerous in many places, and would have required a good bit of time to accomplish. In traveling to Bab adh-Dhraʿ at the edge of the Dead Sea, it is not unreasonable for people to have made literal and proverbial connections between traveling to or along a "dead" sea for the final deposition of their dead and the fulfillment of their obligations. Once they arrived at the site, they would set up a campsite, remains of which were found by the excavators at the townsite (Rast & Schaub, 2003, p. 63).

Bentley (1987, 1991) and Bentley and Perry (2008) have demonstrated the likelihood of people burying their immediate blood-kin within shaft tombs. If this kinship relationship guided the general secondary mortuary practices in terms of place of deposition, then the EB IA people would locate their family's or the otherwise-appropriate shaft tomb, descend the shaft, and begin the process of removing the blocking stone, opening the tomb chamber, and placing the skeletal and necessary objects in the proper chamber. Alternatively, they would have begun digging a new

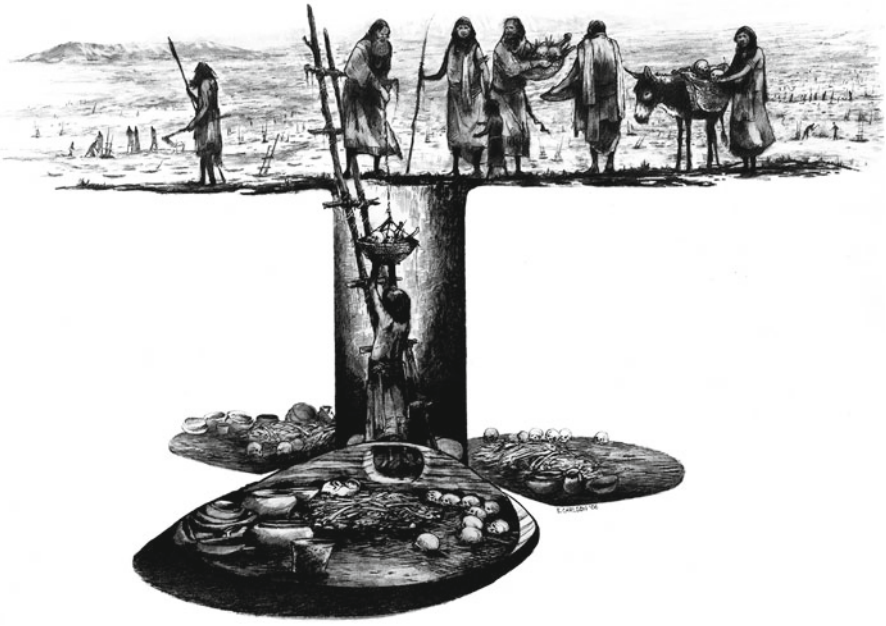

Fig. 3.7 Reconstruction of shaft tomb burial practices, by Eric Carlson

shaft or excavating a new chamber off an existing shaft, by using stone and wood tools to excavate into the soft Lisan marl on which the townsite and cemetery were established (Fig. 3.2).

Once the chamber was opened or created, they would prepare the chamber for depositing the grave goods and the skeletal remains. In a freshly created chamber, they would lay down a reed mat in the center of the roughly circular chamber on which to place the skeletal remains (Figs. 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6). In addition to the reed matting, imprints from cloth shrouds oxidized onto the bones. Skulls were placed in a line along the left side of the mat, and one of the excavators reported that it was common to open an unsilted, well-preserved tomb to find all the skulls lined up on the left facing the entrance "sort of like a greeting party" (Schaub, personal communication; Fig. 3.7). Great care was taken in keeping cranial fragments together. For example, if a skull were broken, the living often placed the fragments inside an upturned skull case, using it like a bowl to contain and keep all the pieces together. Long bones and other postcranial elements were deposited in a bone pile in the center of the mat, and grave goods were placed to the right of the mat. In several cases, including Tomb A78SW, postcranial skeletal remains were collected and placed into an open ceramic bowl to the left of the mail bone pile (Fig. 3.6). If they were adding to an existing tomb, then they might move or even remove some skeletal remains and grave goods as was appropriate to maintain the structure of the tomb chamber. In many cases, grave goods were placed beyond the area to the right

of the mat and doorway, often due to scale of objects and space (or some other meaningful reasons known to the living). Number of individuals per tomb chamber ranged from 1 to 21, and these human remains were accompanied by the patterned deposition of ceramic vessels and anthropomorphic figurines, stone vessels, stone mace heads, wood objects (including staffs and bowls), beads, and bone objects. Once the secondary rituals were completed and the work-to-be-done was fulfilled, the group would close up the tomb and travel back to the living community until the next trip to Bab adh-Dhraʿ.

There is no sense of how often or how infrequently journeys to Bab adh-Dhraʿ might have been made to bury their dead, but we know at least from a well-devised chronology based on ceramic typology that the EB IA period encompassed roughly two to three centuries. With an estimated age of death spanning from 17.6 to 25.5 years of age, then a generation might encompass roughly 20 years. If these estimates are at least slightly accurate, then approximately 10 to 15 generations of EB IA people buried their dead at Bab adh-Dhraʿ. Cultural understandings of how to fulfill competently the obligations to the long-dead would have been transmitted from generation to generation, within and between families, and perhaps because of the relatively short span of time the patterns of deposition seem to hold together well.

In this work to bury their dead properly at Bab adh-Dhraʿ, we can see several patterns and metaphors to consider. In many ways, the journey to the cemetery enacted a journey to a landscape of the dead, literally with the Dead Sea and the cemetery site. In addition to the EB IA cemetery at Bab adh-Dhraʿ, people buried their dead in large numbers at two neighboring cemeteries: Fifa and Safi (Chesson, 2007). In deconstructing the newly dead by separating skeletal elements and co-mingling their long-dead with the longer-dead in these tombs, the EB IA living worked to transform their dead as individuals into some other entities through commemorative rites. I have argued that this work enacted both remembering and forgetting of the dead as individuals and fulfilled a social and ritual obligation to the dead and the living. In reformulating memory, both social and individual, the living performed necessary actions in a highly structured and repetitious manner. In recalling Glassie's (1975) model of competence and context, they acted to complete their responsibilities to both the living and dead in the proper context of the journey, the cemetery, and a greater landscape of the dead. Acting competently in this case meant expressing metaphorically their belief system about the dead in a material manner. These material metaphors lead us back to Tarlow's (2000) argument for considering material metaphors of emotion.

In all of these behaviors and actions, likely accompanied by religious and profane rituals, there existed a very great risk of failure, and this uncertainty might have caused anxiety. We have no idea about any metaphysical, emotional, social, ritual, economic, or even political consequences of such a failure. Nevertheless I believe that the process, which may have occurred seasonally, yearly, or in less scheduled rhythms, would have involved anxiety to complete this necessary work in a proper context and in a competent manner. Over the 10 to 15 generations and centuries of EB IA use of Bab adh-Dhraʿ, the people devoted such effort and attention to burying their long-dead in the properly structured way that I argue we can read more than

anxiety into these cultural behaviors. These shaft tombs embody more than the comfortably analyzed archaeological behaviors of craft production, paleopathology, exchange, and daily economic activities. Indeed, these burials speak to emotional connections, thoughtful interactions, belief systems, obligations to other members of a community, and even eschatological systems to which we have no analytical access. Importantly, however, we should not deny the richness of life so evidenced in our own and other ethnographic worlds to these people living 5000 years ago in the southern Levant.

Concluding Thoughts

Like our own lives, the Early Bronze Age people confronted many obligations to the living and the dead throughout their lifetimes. Their need to competently fulfill the responsibilities to their living friends, families, and acquaintances, as well as to their dead, involved a certain level of risk and potential for failure. I have argued that these people knew of the risks and valued the successful completion of these tasks, be they feeding their families or storing their dead in shaft tombs. The risk of failure held consequences for the living and the dead, and the EB IA people likely worked to manage the risk by rising to the challenge of taking care of their living and their dead.

By examining the bioarchaeological measures of health and well-being, it seems clear that many of these people while alive suffered from ill health and physical discomfort. While they may have not known a different way of being, their compromised health may have caused them to feel anxiety as they worked to make a living while feeling tired, ill, and arthritic. As a thought experiment and an archaeological one at that, it is impossible for me to claim with absolute certainty that these people felt their well-being to be compromised and that they would themselves characterize themselves as living with ill health. Nevertheless, I think it is reasonable to consider that while they were milking goats, weaving textiles, playing with children, weeding agricultural fields, cooking food, or making pots, physical pain and fatigue might have made fulfilling their obligations and responsibilities more difficult and possibly even a source for anxiety.

Similarly, the mortuary practices emphasized a careful stewardship of the skeletal remains of the dead and the proper and structured deposition of these bones and the accompanying grave goods in the shaft tombs at Bab adh-Dhra`. The proper storage of the dead in secondary ceremonies involved a lengthy trip to the cemetery, the creation of new or reuse of old shaft tombchambers, and the placement of these goods in that tomb. The excavators found evidence for the intensely careful curation of skeletal elements, with the smallest bones of the smallest individuals included in the tomb. Moreover, broken skulls were used as receptacles to hold fragmented cranial elements, and not infrequently the living collected small fragmented postcranial elements and placed them in large ceramic bowls. In needing to manage the risks of failure in burying the long-dead, these people took great care to fulfill their obligations to their dead in a competent manner.

The combination of Tarlow's (2000) model for material metaphors and Glassie's (1975) model for competence and context offers anthropologists a powerful framework for understanding how people in the past worked to manage risk and anxiety while fulfilling their responsibilities to the living and the dead. As people growing up in a particular cultural context, we learn how to act correctly and how to be a properly behaving person and member of a community. If death is a problem for the living, so too are the living a problem for the dead. We learn how to take care of our dead, and we expect the living to follow through on their obligations to treat the dead competently in any given context. Anytime expectations are set culturally, risk of failure follows. This risk lays the foundation for anxiety and may imply a dedication to others in an emotional community, founded in love and hope.

Acknowledgments I would like to thank Jeff Fleischer and Neil Norman, the organizers of the SAA session "The Archaeology of Anxiety," for including me in the session and for offering me the opportunity to stretch my own boundaries of epistemological comfort to consider anxiety. I wish to give profound thanks to Tom Schaub who recruited me to help publish the excavations and surveys of the Expedition to the Dead Sea Plain (EDSP) and opened the Early Bronze Age archaeological candy store to let me explore my interest in difference, social complexity, mortuary practices, and daily life. For discussions of mortuary practices and investigating daily life in archaeological contexts over the years, I wish to thank Ian Kuijt, Rosemary Joyce, Susan Kus, Rafi Greenberg, John Robb, Kostalena Michelaki, Paula Lazrus, David Yoon, Lin Foxhall, Tico Wolff, Roger Matthews, Wendy Matthews, Morag Kersel, Yorke Rowan, and Hermann Genz. While I have benefitted over the years from the insights and interactions with all of these individuals, I must claim any mistakes or faults of reasoning as my own. I dedicate this paper to Tom Schaub, whom we lost in October 2015 and to Walt Rast, Tom Schaub's longtime "partner in crime" in the EDSP, as I believe Walt would have loved talking through these ideas and possibilities.

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Chapter 4
Hid in Death's Dateless Night: The Lure of an Uncanny Landscape in Bronze Age Anatolia

Tim Flohr Sørensen and Stephen Lumsden

Introduction: Emotive Landscapes

In this chapter we seek to approach archaeologies of anxiety from the perspective of landscape archaeology, and we focus on a place with particular affective properties during the period of the Hittite Empire in Late Bronze Age Anatolia (ca. 1350–1200 BCE). Evidence from this era offers us a possibility for combining an archaeological landscape study with Hittite textual sources, shedding light on what we suggest was considered a particularly uncanny landscape by the Hittites.

Mythical narratives from many regions of the world and various historical periods often contain elements of fear and fascination, which are in many cases stirred or framed by features in the natural landscape, such as bogs, mountains, caves, or trees. Ethnographic, historical, and religious evidence frequently relate how such mythical realities may even be lethal, when otherwise inanimate objects come alive, when places are inhabited by otherworldly creatures, or when certain natural features become enchanted. In this chapter we propose that the anxieties and apprehensions that emerge from such mythical realities are not simply symbolic or abstract constructions of the superstitious imagination, but can be materially grounded and have their origins in actual encounters with the physical landscape, an observation we elucidate with a look at the locale of Gavurkalesi in Central Anatolia.

In this we expand on geographer Yi-Fu Tuan's contention that "fear is in the mind but, except in pathological cases, has its origins in external circumstances that are truly threatening. 'Landscape' (…) is a construct of the mind as well as a

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J. Fleisher, N. Norman (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anxiety*,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-3231-3_4

physical and measurable entity; 'Landscapes of fear' refer both to psychological states and to tangible environments" (Tuan, 1979, p. 7; see also Ruan & Hogben, 2007). Exploring the case of Hittite Anatolia, we seek to demonstrate how fear and anxiety are emotional states that cannot exclusively be attributed to the psychological, or "inner," mental workings of the human mind as separate from the "external" world. The supernatural forces in Hittite mythical texts are thus seen in relation to actual, physical places in the landscape, where we identify an overlap between narrative and material reality, shared and institutionalized through architectural and ritual enterprises.

Our focus, then, is on the intersections of actual landscapes and mythical narratives. The mythical or sacred connotations of landscapes or particular landscape features can be found at many places around the world, now and in the past. Among the Tzotzil of Mexico, for instance, caves are connected with sorcery and are considered to be gateways to dangerous subterranean "Earth Lords." At the same time, features associated with caves—such as springs, rock shelters, and rock fissures—are also sites of ritual activities and pilgrimage (Prufer, 2005, p. 198), and they may thus be both a threat and a benevolent force. Likewise, the Maya of the Late Classic Period considered caves to be the womb of rebirth and the tomb of the ancestors (Bassie-Sweet, 1996, p. 11, 160). These apparent paradoxes point to the capacity of mythical thought to facilitate a double gaze, connecting otherwise contradictory phenomena seamlessly.

Fear and anxiety may thus theoretically be self-induced and solipsistic occurrences, but the emotional disturbances that we seek to address in this chapter all issue forth as *material* and *social* manifestations; they derive from the very nature of the landscapes themselves or human engagements with them. Similar spatial interpretations may be found in recent developments of non-representational and emotional geographies (e.g., Anderson & Harrison, 2010; Davidson, Bondi, & Smith, 2005; Thrift, 1996, 2008).

Margins, Thresholds, Passages

We aim to offer an alternative to the standard identification of Gavurkalesi as a royal funerary monument (Bittel, 1981, p. 67; García & Belmonte, 2011, pp. 13–14; Güterbock, 1967, p. 81; Kühne, 2001, pp. 232–233; Popko, 1995, p. 141; van den Hout, 1994, 2002, p. 91) or, more recently, as a particular type of political boundary marker (Glatz & Plourde, 2011). Instead, we will argue that the landscape at Gavurkalesi, enhanced by the Hittite monument, was a deified entrance to the underworld—^{d}KASKAL.KUR, "divine earth road"—found in Hittite mythological texts, and in boundary descriptions and lists of divine witnesses to treaties (Börker-Klähn, 1998; Gordon, 1967; Hansen, 1998; Hawkins, 1995).

The emotive approach adopted here emphasizes the marginal quality of the landscape at Gavurkalesi (Lumsden, 2002). Transitional places and boundary zones have an affective agency, with "the capacity to shape our feelings" (Conradson, 2005, p. 107; see also Harris, 2009, p. 112), and our characterization of Gavurkalesi

as an animate doorway, a potent threshold, bestows this place with an especially anxious spatiality. Anxiety (*pittuliya*) and apprehension are expressed in Hittite myths and ritual contexts, which are not just abstract narratives or superstitious fairytales, but, as noted above, are often emerging from particular landscapes such as that at Gavurkalesi.

Within a classical anthropological framework, the Hittite landscapes of anxiety may be referred to as "liminal" (Turner, 1967, 1969), encompassing fear and monstrosity, where the perceiver is situated "betwixt and between" recognized and tamed cultural fixed points. This position is inherently dangerous and may be potentially polluting, and while understanding space or place as liminal per se would be a misreading of Turner's notion of liminality (because it denotes a temporal rather than a spatial quality), we may speculate whether a passage through a danger zone could potentially bring a person into a state of liminality, i.e., attribute precarious characteristics to the person. In this regard, we may also allude to Mary Douglas' contention that "all margins are dangerous" (2002, p. 122), and identify certain Hittite landscapes as essentially marginal, forming a transitional space to a world beyond (geographically as well as cosmologically).

Martin Heidegger asserts that in anxiety one feels "uncanny" (1962, p. 233). We propose that the apprehensive and mythic nature of Gavurkalesi endowed it with this quality, that Gavurkalesi was itself an *uncanny power* (for this concept, see Vidler, 1992, p. 18). In addition, what causes fear and fascination is something that emerges from the material world, and, seen from the perspective of anxiety and fear, it is worth noting that Hittite ritual practices at particular features in the landscape not only materialize a concern with places of danger and threats, but also express a desire to seek out and venerate these places. Being repelled by—and lured towards—a place would thus have been part and parcel of the very landscape.

Furthermore, we take seriously Hittite accounts of their interactions with other-than-human actors in the Anatolian landscape, as we argue that the indigenous perspective should not simply be brushed aside as "superstition" merely because it contradicts modern logics that disclaim the spirit and intentionality of nonhumans, such as in the case of the classical notion of the fetish (e.g., Pietz, 1987). We also argue that beliefs about an animate landscape are reflected at Gavurkalesi, which compels us to suspend "the modernist dichotomy that splits the world into people and things" (Brown & Emery, 2008, p. 302).

Anxiety and the Atmosphere of Ambivalence

Fear and anxiety may of course be defined in various ways, but as we demonstrate below, we hold that fear might be understood as a feeling of the presence of something ominous or the potential for something threatening to take place. Hence, we point to *ambivalent* feelings in the landscape, when something in the immediate surroundings is experienced or perceived as threatening, terrifying precisely because of the inability to pinpoint its exact character, position, or nature (compare with Tuan, 1979, p. 5).

Ernst Jentsch (1997) observed that the uncanny arises from a feeling of uncertainty and the experience of something indecisive; the uncanny, in other words, emerges at the confluence of the known and the unknown. Jentsch specifically addressed the uncanny as engendered by "doubt as to whether an apparently living being is animate, and, conversely, doubt as to whether a lifeless object may not in fact be animate" (Jentsch, 1997, p. 11).

Sigmund Freud (1966) emphasized anxiety in his study of the uncanny and focused particularly on the etymology of the uncanny, *das Unheimliche*—literally, "the unhomely." Freud argued that the unhomely is not the opposite of the homely, but a state of eeriness within the homely. The unhomely is thus a feeling of the presence of something strange within the familiar, an unrestful otherness where there should be a sense of safety, intimacy, and peace. The uncanny emerges when what is considered safe is infiltrated by a feeling of the presence of something that does not belong or is incompatible with the expectations of the homely.[1]

Significantly for our study, Heidegger (1962) moves the frame of reference from psychoanalysis to ontology. The primary aspect of the uncanny is *not-being-at-home* in the world, where the ontological balance breaks down and the coordinates of the world around us fail (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 286–287, 343). For Heidegger, *contra* Freud, the "familiar" uncanny is not something long suppressed or repressed, rather it is something always experienced but "hidden by our daily concerns" (Mahmutovic, 2007, p. 98).

Paradoxically, we are drawn to the uncanny; it is alluring as well as discomforting (Bernstein, 2004, p. 1126; Bowman, 2003, p. 81; Petek, 2008, p. 17). This duality suggests that people, places, and things associated with anxiety can be experienced as simultaneously arousing fear and fascination (van den Berg & ter Heijne, 2005). Carl Jung thus spoke of the "primitive," who "avoids places haunted by spirits, or visits them only with fear, for religious or magical purposes" (Jung, 1977, p. 54). Similarly, Julia Kristeva (1982) addresses the feeling that what one seeks to repel might at the same time be desired kept close, and is hence characterized as uncanny or dangerous (see also Royle, 2003, p. 2). We argue that this simultaneous attraction and repulsion can indeed be found at Gavurkalesi, and that the site

[1] Anthony Vidler contends that "the uncanny" is a modern condition with its origins in Romanticism (1992, p. 6). On similar grounds, Alice Mouton rejects Freudian psychoanalysis of Hittite dreams, arguing that such an approach is an anachronistic imposition of contemporary Western society on an ancient culture (2007, p. xxiv). However, Mladen Dolar (1991) challenges Vidler's association of the uncanny with modernism, demonstrating that the notion of the uncanny may have been coined in the era of the Enlightenment, but did indeed exist within pre-Enlightenment cultural practices (such as rituals, storytelling, and folk traditions), yet the uncanny may have been located in different atmospheres or conceptual regimes, such as "the sacred and the untouchable" (1991, p. 7). With the Enlightenment, Dolar argues, "the uncanny became unplaceable; it became uncanny in the strict sense" (Dolar, 1991). Moreover, one of the two main sources of the uncanny for Freud was "surmounted beliefs," by which he meant animistic concepts that we outgrow as we mature (Bowman, 2003, pp. 67–68). It has been argued that, because "there is nothing surmounted to return" for animists, they do not feel a sense of the uncanny (Clack, 2008, p. 253). However, Freud's "relegation of so-called primitive ways of thinking to infantile complexes" has been challenged (Mueller, 1983, pp. 130–131).

furthermore may improve our understanding of how and why certain places and landscapes become circumscribed by fear and fascination.

Gavurkalesi

Hittite Anatolia is characterized by a multitude of numinous landscapes. Texts, material culture, and rock art indicate that the Hittites held many beliefs about the sacred and mythical nature of mountains, caves, rock outcrops, fissures, rivers, springs, and trees similar to those described earlier.

The site of Gavurkalesi is located in the Haymana region, approximately 60 km southwest of Ankara (Fig. 4.1). Although only an hour's drive from the capital of modern Turkey, this area seems very remote, rugged, and quite unlike the open landscapes that flank it. Topographically, the region is a plateau, which frames a basin with deep valleys, gorges, encircling hills, and sheer buttes. The landscape is also karstic, with caves, numerous limestone and volcanic outcrops, and plentiful springs, including the thermal spring at the town of Haymana (ca. 15 km south of Gavurkalesi).

Gavurkalesi is located in a deeply cut and narrow valley at the eastern edge of the Haymana basin, in rough, hilly, badlands country (Fig. 4.2). The Gavurkalesi valley is approximately 2 km long and runs east-west; it is ordinarily approached today via a road that runs down the deep Dereköy gorge. This part of the Haymana region is

Fig. 4.1 Location of Hittite rock reliefs (after Stokkel, 2005: Fig. 1)

Fig. 4.2 View of Gavurkalesi from the southwest (all photos by Stephen Lumsden)

enclosed by hills and is accessible via narrow, natural "gates" through these framing topographical features. The "gate" some 12 km east of Gavurkalesi, through which the Ankara–Haymana road runs, would have been controlled by the contemporary site at Külhöyük.

It seems probable that Gavurkalesi was an ancient and important sacred place already long before the Hittite Period, although there is no clear archaeological evidence for this assertion.[2] There are a number of small Early Bronze Age sites in the vicinity; the closest, and largest, is at Samutlu, at the eastern end of the valley, from whence there is a good view of Gavurkalesi. There is no settlement in the vicinity of Gavurkalesi in the Hittite Period, except at Külhöyük, and it has been suggested that the two sites may have been connected by cultic functions (Ertem, 1995; Mermerci, 1994). In addition, Gavurkalesi was probably located on or near an important route that connected the west with the Hittite heartland (Börker-Klähn, 1982, p. 257; Garstang & Gurney, 1959, p. 77; see also Lumsden, 2002, p. 120).

The site of Gavurkalesi is principally known for its reliefs, cyclopean masonry, and false-vaulted chamber, all dating to the Hittite Period and located on a limestone

[2] Proposals for the ancient name of Gavurkalesi, Külhöyük, and the Haymana region include Barjamovic (2011), del Monte (1992), del Monte and Tischler (1978), Ertem (1995), Forlanini (1977), and Mellaart (1982, 1984). Although speculative, several indications may suggest that the monument at Gavurkalesi was the work of the thirteenth century king Tudhaliya IV: He seems to have been responsible for most if not all inventories and restorations of cult places in the thirteenth century (Hazenbos, 2003). He was also the "most prolific landscape monument builder of all the Hittite kings" (Glatz & Plourde, 2011, p. 57). Two such monuments along the western frontier, Yalburt and Eflatun Pinar, are assigned to him (Glatz & Plourde, 2011; Hawkins, 1995).

outcrop at the summit of a natural peak that rises ca. 60 m above the valley floor. Studies of Gavurkalesi have generally been characterized by a narrow focus on these three features of the site, although Lumsden also included an investigation of the surrounding landscape (2002; Temizsoy & Lumsden, 1999).

The figures of three deities are carved onto the flat, vertical southern face of the outcrop: the principal figure is a seated female deity; two larger male deities, in stances of reverence, stand before her (Fig. 4.3).[3] A deep fissure in the rock face separates the two male figures from the female figure.

A structure of cyclopean masonry enclosed the summit of the outcrop, anchored in footings cut into the rock. This type of masonry is fairly typical of some Hittite city walls and of temples and other cult buildings, especially. The cyclopean blocks are of volcanic andesite, which was quarried at a site just beyond the eastern limit of the Gavurkalesi valley. In the northern face of the structure is a chamber constructed within a large natural crevasse in the outcrop and measuring approximately 5 m in length and 3 m in width (Fig. 4.4).

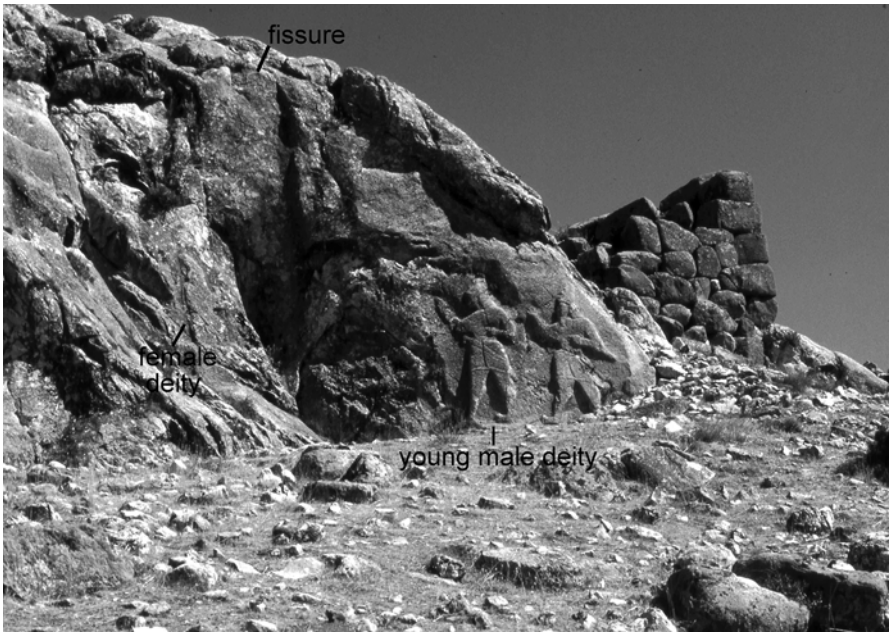

Fig. 4.3 The reliefs and cyclopean masonry at Gavurkalesi

[3] The three figures are usually identified as gods (Ehringhaus, 2005, pp. 13–14; Glatz & Plourde, 2011, p. 54; Kohlmeyer, 1983, pp. 47–48), possibly a typical Anatolian divine triad of mother, child, and father (Emre, 1971; Popko, 1995, p. 90) or a local Luwian divine triad (Giorgadze, 1999). For other identifications, see Bonatz (2007, p. 121, note 16); Börker-Klähn (1982, pp. 95–96).

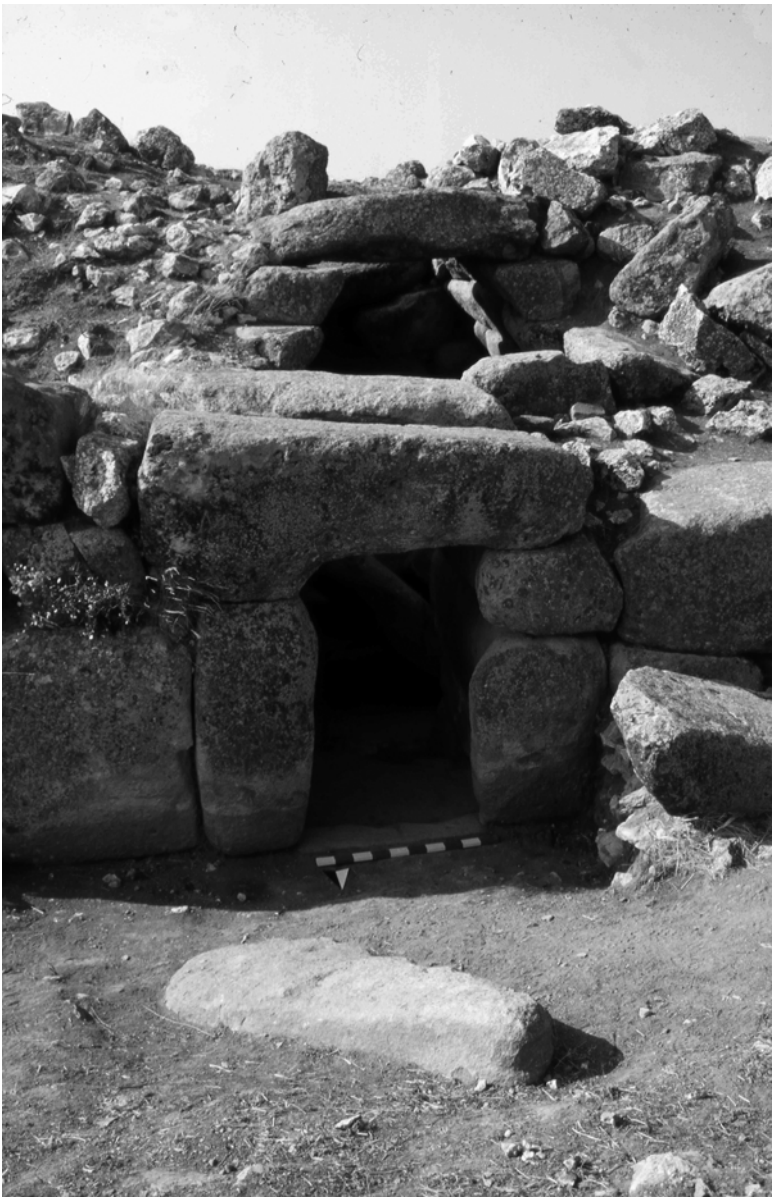

Fig. 4.4 Entrance to the chamber

Landscape and Movement at Gavurkalesi

The almost exclusive focus on the carved reliefs and the built monument at Gavurkalesi is a good example of the nature–culture divide that generally characterizes the study of these phenomena in Anatolia (but see Harmanşah, 2007 for an important exception; see also Glatz & Plourde, 2011; Stokkel, 2005). This approach either completely disregards, or diminishes, the role of the surrounding landscape in the production of space, as well as the affective quality and role of both the limestone outcrop, upon which the figures are carved and the structure emplaced, and the special stone used for the cyclopean masonry (see also Jones, 2009). We reject the implied notion of landscapes as "passive media for interacting bodies" represented by this approach (following Woodward, 2011, p. 332); instead, we will argue that both human and nonhuman actors actively engaged in creating an "affective space" at Gavurkalesi (see also Navaro-Yashin, 2009; Simonsen, 2007, p. 176) (Figs. 4.5 and 4.6).

The landscape within the Gavurkalesi valley is crucial for understanding the Hittite monument. Water seems to be the main defining physical element within the valley. Water flows through the length of the valley in a small creek, which emerges from a large spring at Samutlu along the eastern limit of the valley (Fig. 4.7). Smaller springs augment the creek as it flows towards Gavurkalesi. Immediately opposite the monument at Gavurkalesi, another large spring gushes from the southern slope of the valley, creating a wet, boggy area at the foot of Gavurkalesi where the water from this spring joins the creek. Another brook, fed by a series of springs, flows down the north slope of the valley, joining the main flow west of Gavurkalesi.

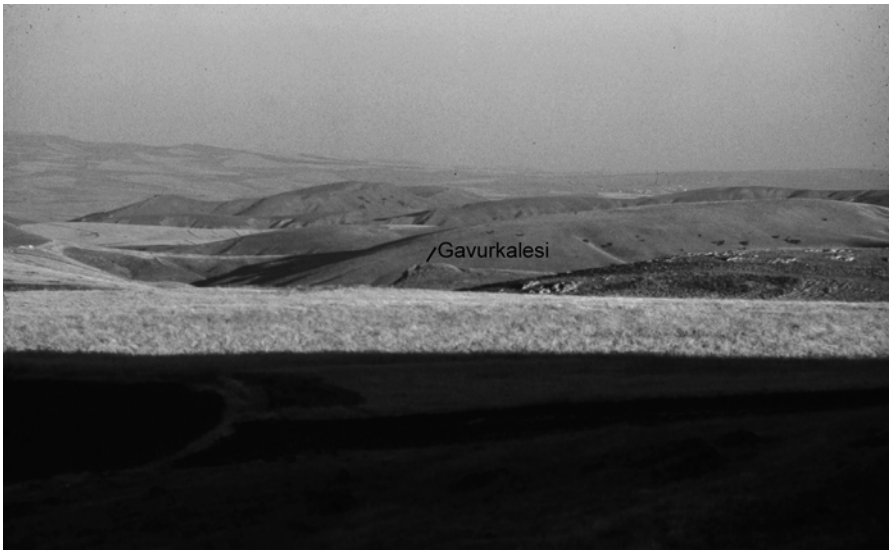

Fig. 4.5 View of Gavurkalesi from the Ankara-Haymana road

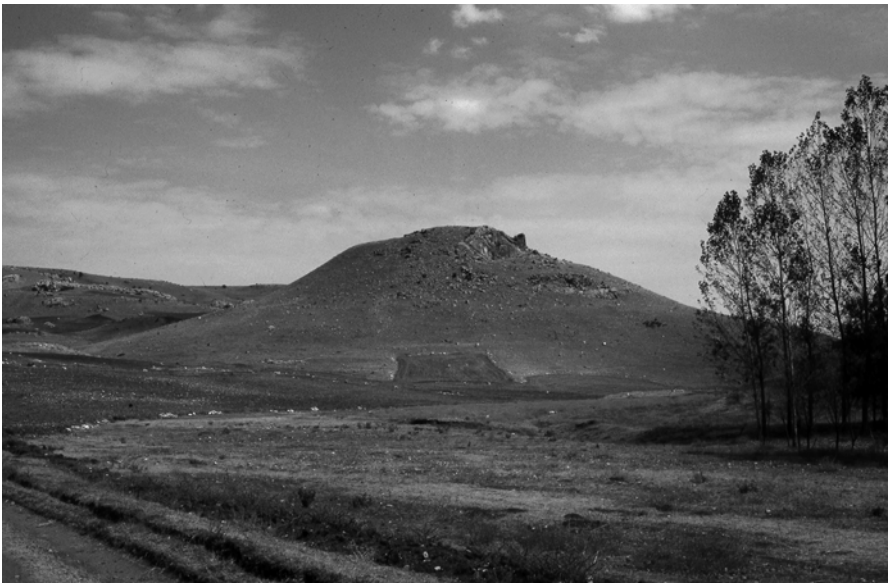

Fig. 4.6 Gavurkalesi from the western part of the valley

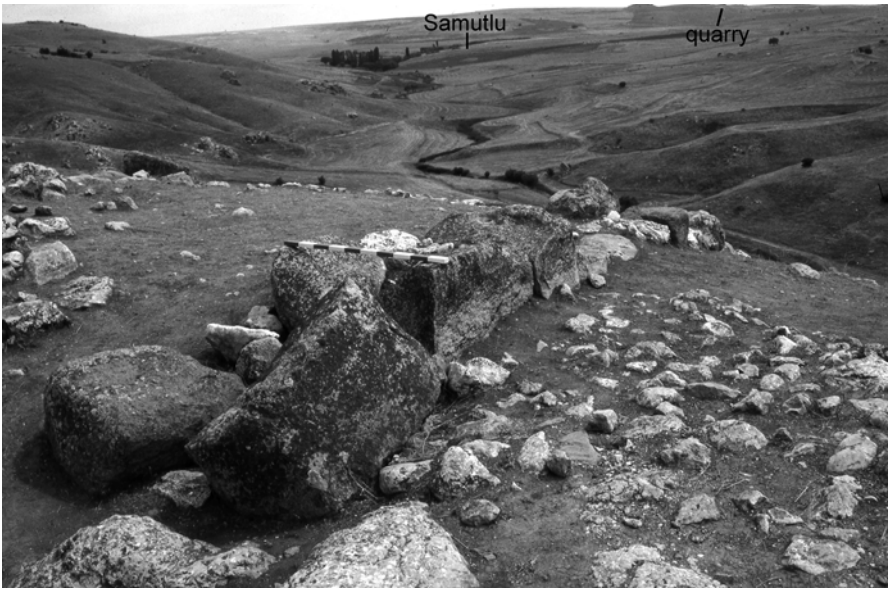

Fig. 4.7 View from atop Gavurkalesi towards the eastern end of the valley

Finally, at the western end of the Gavurkalesi valley, the creek empties into the larger stream that rushes down the Dereköy gorge and flows deeper into the Haymana region.

A corollary to the emphasis on the monument alone in traditional studies of Gavurkalesi is the static nature of these studies. While the social and representational aspects of the Gavurkalesi monument have been investigated fairly intensely over decades, the emotive agencies of body, material culture, and movement have been omitted. We suggest that the enclosed character of the topography serves as a stimulus for building impressions and stories about an ominous landscape, captured most potently by the peak at Gavurkalesi itself. As such, the entire setting builds an atmosphere of potential danger. Atmosphere may in this regard be seen as an emotive force that is often overlooked in archaeology (*pace* Harris & Sørensen, 2010; Sørensen 2015), but which nevertheless builds exactly on the material qualities of a place, or experiences that find material form in the landscape of human habitation.

Movement at Gavurkalesi also contributes to the perception of the landscape. As noted earlier, it appears that the Haymana region was very sparsely populated in the Hittite Period, at least by settled populations. The closest settlement is at Külhöyük, some 12 km away, and folk travelling to Gavurkalesi from outside Haymana had to trek even farther. The salient feature of the topography here is that one must almost always descend into the Gavurkalesi valley, either gradually from the east or more precipitously down the Dereköy gorge to the western entrance of the valley. Once in the valley, much effort is also required to reach the hill and monument itself. Tim Ingold (2007, p. 91) writes about how the traveler inhabits the world moving from place to place, and that walking is a way of knowing as knowledge is integrated along the path of movement. In Ingold's view, movement is a way of narration, and progress through the landscape at Gavurkalesi can be seen in this light as a source of certain kinds of stories that integrate the imaginary, the perceived, and the tactile landscapes. At this confluence, mythical realities and the sensuous qualities of the landscape would have given rise to narratives that incorporate the transitional properties of the landscape: just as the terrain around Gavurkalesi forms a passage, the peak at Gavurkalesi itself is marked by a fissure with no distinct other side.

In addition to the visual and the ambulatory experiences of the landscape, sound carries very far in the Gavurkalesi valley, especially at the monument itself where the valley is at its narrowest, essentially forming a kind of amphitheater. Within this particular setting, sounds would have filled the area around Gavurkalesi at rituals, where dancing, chanting, and singing were performed (Mellink, 1992, p. 202; Rutherford, 2008), creating yet another aspect of a dynamic and changeable landscape. Attending to the soundscape at Gavurkalesi affirms the importance of the non-visual senses in a "whole-body" perception of the landscape (Boivin, Brumm, Lewis, Robinson, & Korisettar, 2007; Ingold, 2000; Macpherson, 2006) and helps in enabling us to consider how place is "constituted through affect and emotion" (Duffy, 2010, p. 54; see also Harris & Sørensen, 2010).

Landscape and Hittite Mythology

Bronze Age Anatolians lived in an animate world, where, in an anthropological perspective, "entities such as plants or even rocks may be approached as communicative subjects rather than inert objects perceived by modernists" (Hornborg, 2006, p. 22). This was an ontology in which relations between human and other-than-human actors were negotiated; the space between nature and society was social (Viveiros de Castro, 2004, p. 481).[4]

Texts and material culture clearly support such a relational ontology as a way of being-in-the-world for the Hittites. Nature and landscapes appear frequently in many of the textual sources, especially those dealing with religion, myth, and ritual activities. Such natural features as mountains, rivers, and springs were divine beings for the Hittites and were provided with offerings (McMahon, 1995, p. 1986); mountain deities were male, and river and spring deities were female (Hazenbos, 2003, p. 173). However, mountains, for example, were not simply static backgrounds to a supernatural world as the residence of spiritual powers. Instead, they were saturated with dynamic forces, meaning that the mountain gave life to the god, rather than the opposite (Haas, 1982, p. 49; 1994, p. 461). Groves at springs, rocks, and venerated trees also constituted ancient places of worship in the Hittite landscape (Haas, 1982, p. 55).

In a passage in the "Song of Ullikummi," in the myth known as the Kumarbi Cycle (Hoffner, 1998), spiritual and material elements are portrayed in a strange yet intriguing unification, where myth and the natural landscape form a continuity. The song relates how the god Kumarbi lay with a rock as if it were a woman in order to breed a son, Ullikummi, who is to be a weapon in Kumarbi's struggle to defeat the Storm God, Teshub. Ullikummi is subsequently born of the rock and is made entirely of diorite. This portrayal of the very conception and birth of Ullikummi may yield a further perspective to the mythical significance of natural features in the landscape: the direct sexual interaction between Kumarbi and the rock not only signifies the rock as a form of animate life, but also as containing a power that reaches beyond its passive and immobile location in a spring. This text also alludes to the significance of the spring, whose potency becomes even clearer through other texts, indicating that the animating force stems from the spring itself and the flow of water.

Narratives of an enchanted nature do not necessarily mean that natural features were viewed as animated outside of the mythical story. Yet if we turn from myth to ritual practice, it soon becomes clear that the components of the landscape were by no means considered passive epiphenomena of abstract, distant, and mythical narratives, but were aspects of a cohesive lived world of day-to-day practices and mythical realities. For example, a variety of natural landscape elements demanded attention: King Tudhaliya IV (1237–1209 BCE) instructed the royal ceremonial staff to carry out regular offerings at certain mountains, springs, and rivers (Haas, 1994, p. 460). Another example of the numinous significance of the natural landscape appears in

[4] For the resurgent interest in animism, see, e.g., Alberti and Bray (2009), Alberti et al. (2011), Bird-David (1999), Ingold (2000, 2006), Viveiros de Castro (1998), and Willerslev (2007).

the first "Plague Prayer to the Assembly of the Gods and Goddesses" of King Mursili II (1321–1296 BCE), in which he addresses the gods and goddesses and the "mountains, rivers, springs, and underground watercourses" (Singer, 2002, p. 61). The natural elements here appear to share a power and agency similar to that of gods.

Indeed, natural elements, such as topographical features, could practice an agency of their own, which means that they did not stand in a direct and unilateral relationship with an anthropomorphic deity, or were simply in alignment with one. For instance, mountains and rivers, as such, were included in lists of divine witnesses to diplomatic treaties (Collins, 2008, pp. 67, 174). This aspect is even clearer in the "Prayer to the Storm God concerning the Cult of Kummanni" of King Muwatalli II (1295–1272 BCE):

> If mountains, rivers, wells or springs have angered the Storm-god in some way, may the Netherworld deities now reconcile the Storm-god with (those) mountains, rivers, wells [or springs] (Singer, 2002, p. 83).

To summarize, in the Hittite Period, particular landscape features might be worshipped as "elements of the landscape as such" (for instance, the Mountain Zaliyanu) or as personified figures (the Mountain God Zaliyanu) or generically (the Mountains of the Land of Hatti) (Beckman, 2004, p. 312).

Gavurkalesi is distinguished by a constellation of the potentially animate and numinous landscape features discussed here, and our focus is directed towards the particular juxtaposition of the reliefs, cyclopean structure, rock outcrop, fissure, springs, streams, and the quality of the landscape at this place in general. It is through the appreciation of the specific copresence of these particular elements that we may connect Gavurkalesi to a wider mythical cosmology.

Although, without an inscription, the identities of the deities carved into the southern face of the rock outcrop must remain speculative, they appear, at the least, to represent a standard Hittite divine household of male and female partners and offspring, as mentioned earlier. We propose that it is the very features of the landscape itself that suggest an identity for the most important figure, the seated female deity, as the Sun Goddess of the Earth (already suggested by Kohlmeyer, 1995, p. 2652).

The Sun Goddess of Arinna and the Storm God of Hatti were the supreme pair in the Hittite pantheon. The Sun Goddess of Arinna was heavily influenced by an earlier Anatolian solar deity, Wurušemu (literally "Mother of the Earth"), so the Hittite sun goddess was ambiguous in nature, being both of the sky and of the earth (Beckman, 2004, p. 310; Taracha, 2009, p. 54). The Sun Goddess of the Earth (*tagnas* ^{d}UTU-*uš*) was an avatar of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, representing the sun in its journey at night, underground (Collins, 2007, p. 177). As such, she was chthonic and ruled the underworld, transporting the souls of the dead there (Collins, 2007). The Hittites are known to have feared the dead and the gods of the underworld, and so they strove to keep the latter satisfied through copious offerings (Collins, 2007, p. 176; Popko, 1995, p. 153); they were anxious to maintain the goodwill of the chthonic gods "in confining pollution and other evils to their underground realm," fearing that if they did not "all hell would break loose, literally" (Collins, 2007, p. 169). At the same

time, the Sun Goddess of the Earth was associated with birth and fertility; incantations were recited to her on behalf of the newborn by the midwife (Beckman, 1993, p. 38; Collins, 2006, p. 170). Indeed, the Sun Goddess of the Earth was one of the most frequently addressed deities in Hittite prayers (Singer, 2002, p. 8).

Gavurkalesi as Threshold, as Passage

Interestingly, the Hittite term for prayer means "pleading" or "defense" (Beckman, 1999, p. 521; Collins, 2007, p. 154), indicating that some of the communication with gods and divine entities would have issued forth as attempts to thwart divine anger. Whether such dangers were caused by concrete incidents or more unspecified, hypothetical threats is not entirely clear, but it is obvious that the mitigation of rifts in the balance of humans and gods took place at certain locales that possessed particular properties. One such property consisted in shaping a physical passage of communication between the realms of humans and divine beings. Thus the textual and archaeological evidence read in concert reveals how the Hittite mythical and material landscape composed a topography of surface *and* depth, transgressing modernist dichotomization of these qualities (Schnapp, Shanks, & Tiews, 2004, p. 10; Thomas, 2004, pp. 149–170).

The terrain at Gavurkalesi directed attention towards movement and passage between domains, and referenced specifically the Sun Goddess of the Earth and the underworld. Worship of the Sun Goddess of the Earth took place outdoors, at night, early morning, or late evening (Collins, 2002, pp. 224–225). Offerings to the Sun Goddess of Earth and the underground deities were placed in pits dug into the ground to facilitate ritual communication (see Fig. 4.8).[5] Pits also served as channels to and from the underworld (Collins, 2002, p. 226) and could serve as dwelling places of deities; incantations at pits acted to draw out the "earth spirits" (Berndt-Ersöz, 2006, pp. 191–192).

Other associations with the underworld are found throughout the landscape at Gavurkalesi. As in many other cultures, natural cavities, such as caves, crevasses, fissures, and cracks served as entrances to the underworld for the Hittites (Haas, 1995, p. 2022; Popko, 1995, p. 130). Water, in the form of springs and ponds, also gave access to the underworld; riverbanks were the locations for both the birth of humankind and a doorway to the underworld (Collins, 2005, p. 32). Because springs were also chthonic (Collins, 2006, p. 42), they too had ambiguous meanings; springs have this contradictory association across many cultures, as conduits to the underworld, primeval connectors between humankind and the spirit world, "both healing

[5] The earliest evidence for use of the terrace below the reliefs at Gavurkalesi are pits dug into the lime deposits that form this terrace (see Temizsoy & Lumsden, 1999, p. 54 and Fig. 4.7a). Due to the lack of any stratified material from the Second Millennium in this area it was assumed at the time that these pits dated to the Iron Age; however, in retrospect, perhaps they represent the ritual activity discussed here during the Hittite Period.

Fig. 4.8 View of Gavurkalesi from the southern slope of the valley

and deadly, generating life and taking it away" (Varner, 2009, p. 12). A sixth century BCE text from Greece, where many of the same views of the underworld as those of the Anatolians were held, expressed this notion of passage thusly: "recesses and hollows and caves and doors and gates (…) through these are the births and departures of the souls" (Fol, 2008, p. 158).

All of these associations suggest to us that the chamber built into a natural crevasse in the rock along the north face of the cyclopean structure served also as a channel to the underworld, a "divine earth road" (^{d}KASKAL.KUR). Although the chamber is in close proximity to a stream and a spring, it apparently was never directly connected with a water source like the proposed "divine earth road" at Chamber 2 at the Sacred Pool Complex in the Hittite capital, Hattuša (Neve, 1993). Still, we propose that this feature at Gavurkalesi served as an artificial channel of communication to, or entrance into, the underworld, its powers connected with underworldly characteristics, residing in the dark and nocturnal, and located beyond mundane perception (Harmanşah, 2007; Mouton, 2008, p. 2). Usually when the "divine earth road" occurs in a cultic context it is directly associated with oracle priests performing libations, suggesting "that the activities performed at the ^{d}KASKAL.KUR were of oracular character in connection with the gods of the underworld" (Berndt-Ersöz, 1998, pp. 96–97; see also Beal, 2002), presumably especially the nocturnal Sun Goddess of the Earth, who transgressed the nether and upper worlds. These notions of a journey and a path are also used in texts that describe "the voyage of the immortal human soul" as "it travels the invisible road" (Hoffner, 1998, pp. 32–33).

Indeed, cosmologies and mythologies are often grounded in specific landscapes (e.g., Christie, 2009, p. xii; Rumsey, 2001, p. 13). Hittite cosmology and notions of the underworld seem to be derived from the prevalence of karstic landscape forms throughout Central Anatolia (Gordon, 1967, pp. 15–16; Popko, 1995, p. 130); the karstic topography at Gavurkalesi, characterized by the dissolving action of water on the limestone bedrock and the presence of numerous springs, has already been noted. The cosmos was conceptualized by the Hittites as having three vertical layers—the heavens, the earth, and the underworld, or the "Dark Earth" (Haas, 1995, p. 2021). The underworld was entered through seven doors guarded by a gatekeeper and included a number of seas and rivers (Popko, 1995, p. 130). We may furthermore connect the east-west oriented Gavurkalesi valley with the passage of the sun; rising in the east, setting in the west, and continuing underground beneath the valley—as the Sun Goddess of the Earth—and rising again at dawn in the east.

Altogether, we may thus propose that a number of elements suggest how the landscape at Gavurkalesi afforded a particular Hittite mythical geography, capturing the essence of how narratives and events—the matter of supernatural powers issuing forth and moving between—are grounded in geophysical materiality. Specifically, we suggest that, in addition to cosmological and underworld associations, a type of "vanishing god" myth found in the text "Sacrifice and Prayer to the Storm God of Nerik" may be embedded in the landscape at Gavurkalesi. In this prayer, the Storm God of Nerik (a town north of the Hittite capital) is asked to return from the "Dark Earth" where he has been visiting his mother, the Sun Goddess of the Earth (who could also be summoned from a cave near Nerik) (Popko, 1995, p. 120; Taracha, 2009, p. 47, note 236).

That a local version of such a myth could have been celebrated at Gavurkalesi may be fortified by the allusions to the underworld in the landscape, the chamber (or artificial cave), and, we argue, the reliefs on the limestone outcrop. In such a scenario, the beardless male deity would represent a young storm god visiting his mother, the chthonic sun goddess. Significantly, these two figures flank, or are separated by, the fissure in the rock face, a common type of portal cross-culturally for the movement of supernatural beings and shamans between domains (see Boivin, 2004, p. 6; Christie, 2009, p. 24; Whitley, 1998, pp. 18–19; for shamanistic practices in Anatolia, see Hutter, 1997, p. 77). From this perspective, the rock outcrop appears to harbor a "fold" in the landscape, a place that serves as entrance to and exit from the underworld. Accordingly, the rock face is not an inert canvas for the figures of the relief; on the contrary, as noted earlier, it is an active participant in the mythological narrative and ritual practices here, contributing to the meaning of the place (see also Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1990, p. 5; Ouzman, 2001, p. 251).

These many references in the landscape to movement and reverberations between domains also suggest to us that the hill capped by the limestone outcrop at Gavurkalesi served as an axis mundi, connecting all three levels of the cosmos. This is a feature, such as a cave or rock fissure that connects with the world below, or a mountain (or hill or peak), which connects with the sky above (Bradley, 2000, pp. 29–30). It serves as a vertical threshold between the familiar and the ambiguous. Places such as this that reach above or below one layer and aim to connect two

levels constitute transitional localities, which is why "peoples all over the world have considered them power places at and through which spirits and supernatural forces may be contacted" (Christie, 2009, p. xiii).

In addition, Gavurkalesi also occupies transitional space "horizontally": It is located at the physical boundary between open and enclosed landscapes, as well as at a probable political frontier (Glatz & Plourde, 2011; Lumsden, 2002). As noted earlier, the liminal condition is an ambiguous state of being, characterized by "in-betweenness" and the copresence of benevolence and danger, familiarity, and strangeness (Shields, 1991; Tuan, 1986; Turner, 1969; van Gennep, 1960).

Orchestrating Gavurkalesi

We have suggested that cosmological thresholds were embedded in the topography at Gavurkalesi, where water, especially, served as a conduit to the underworld, and that many features in the landscape evoked supernatural presences. The ambivalent feelings and responses generated by these expressions of the uncanny at Gavurkalesi would have made this a highly ambiguous and emotionally charged place. We adopt the metaphor of "orchestration" (Ivakhiv, 2003) as a means to understand how the Hittites attempted to come to terms with the animate and the uncanny at Gavurkalesi. Through practices of orchestration, enactment, performance, choreography, and network-building, human actors interact with an "active, agential more-than-human world" to shape sacred space (Ivakhiv, 2003, pp. 11–12, 14). How did the Hittites, in concert with the more-than-human landscape, "orchestrate" Gavurkalesi? We suggest there were three elements to this event: the sculptural program, the cyclopean monument, and ritual practices and movements associated with the site.

Particular features of the landscape at Gavurkalesi, already an ancient, aniconic sacred place when the Hittites constructed the monument on the limestone outcrop, offered specific routes of entry, movement within, and use of the limestone outcrop. Such interplay between the performance of the human actors and the affordances of the material space is crucial to our understanding of the form and function of the monument at Gavurkalesi.

Part of the renovation of cult places by the Hittite state seems to have included the replacement of aniconic and theriomorphic objects and symbols with anthropomorphic ones (McMahon, 1995, p. 1990), and perhaps this is what transpired at Gavurkalesi. The introduction of a familiar anthropomorphism in the reliefs may suggest that, while they acted within the mutual relationship between animate agents here, the Hittites also attempted to disperse "the inherent threat that lurked in the mysterious and the unknown" (as Stephens, 2005, p. 2276 describes this process in the animistic world view of early Greek society).

The outcrop also offered more than just a purchase for the construction of the monumental cyclopean structure; the cut footings acted to entwine the two elements into a single entity. Perhaps this is a phenomenon related to what Carolyn Dean (2007) calls an "integrated outcrop": a circumstance in the Incan world in which,

similarly, a special imperial masonry is fixed in footings in animate rock outcrops. Integrated rock outcrops occupy "the boundary, the threshold, between what the Inca perceived as ordered and unordered spaces," articulating the integration of Mother Earth and the Incan realm (Dean, 2007, pp. 502–503, 505).

The volcanic andesite stone, dragged some 3 km from the quarrying site to be used in the cyclopean structure (Fig. 4.7), may also have been significant in its own right, acting to enhance the cosmological and ritual power of the place (e.g., Boivin, 2004). The aesthetic character of the andesite, its texture and color, and the special quality of the masonry—colossal, finely fitted, and organically shaped—may have created an "enchantment," in which viewers were captivated by the power of the place and those who created it (e.g., Gell, 1992, 1998).

Finally, Gavurkalesi invited ritual and ceremony. We have suggested that it was long a cult center of at least local importance, perhaps integrated into the imperial cultic calendar as a site of a religious festival. We have also suggested that the landscape at Gavurkalesi was an "irruption of inherent power and numinosity" that afforded possible actions and interactions (see Ivakhiv, 2003, pp. 13, 18); it encouraged "event and motion in its midst" (as Casey, 1996, p. 23 notes in general for "place"). We have noted earlier that perception and knowledge are "forged in movement," along paths (Ingold, 2000, p. 227). Movement and emotion are also interrelated (Mazis, 1993; Sørensen 2010; see also Pacifici, 2008, p. 113), and a practice approach to emotions "emphasizes the embodied nature of emotional experience, involving situated and moving bodies" (Simonsen, 2007, p. 177).

Indeed, ritual and performance may actually produce, regulate, and structure emotions (Kapferer, 1979; Sørensen 2010, p. 148), yet little attention has been paid in archaeology to the constitutive role of performance (Inomata & Coben, 2006, p. vii). A performance approach towards the study of ritual, emphasizing an embodied encounter with other bodies and with places, examines what it does—and its transformative nature—rather than primarily what it means (Bærenholdt Haldrup, & Larsen, 2008, p. 176; Suydam, 1999, p. 2; see also Bell, 1992, 1997; Turner, 1967; Verhoeven, 2002). Processions, as "performance in motion through space" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett & McNamara, 1985, p. 2), usually move along prescribed routes towards a goal, stopping at particular places to carry out performances (Moore, 2006, pp. 55–62; Schechner, 1988, pp. 159–160).

Important Hittite religious festivals involved a "large caste of ritual actors" (Rutherford, 2007, p. 224), including the king, queen, and the court, and processions were one of many performances practiced at such events. Of course, offerings and sacrifices, as well as music, singing, chanting, and dancing, were also essential aspects of Hittite rituals (Rutherford, 2008); however, entertainment also played a role in such events, presumably for the pleasure of the gods, the participants, and the spectators. Such entertainment included, among other activities, jugglers, acrobats, gymnasts, stone tossing, foot races, horse races, and mock battles (Collins, 2007, p. 165; McMahon, 1995, p. 1993; Ünal 1988).

Perhaps processions moved through the valley and up the hill to the monument, stopping along the way at the stream, or springs, or other significant rock outcrops, to perform rituals, as well as games and entertainment taking place in the wider part

of the valley at its western end. In line with these thoughts, waterways, as we have noted in particular, formed a link between the world of the living and the so-called Dark Earth, or underworld (Haas, 1994, p. 464), the gloomy world of death and the dead, and of infernal powers and sadness (Haas, 1995, p. 2021), and which were connected to the world of the living by a variety of passages. The most prominent of these were constituted by springs and rivers, which could be connected with both purifying power and the power of the "dark earth," associated with death (Bryce, 2002, p. 180). Offerings and libations were part of purification rituals involving springs, rivers, and clay or mud from riverbanks; food and wine offerings were bestowed on the river and the spring, while these in return gave water and the mud that "gushes" up from the "dark earth" (Goetze, 1938, p. 7).

The landscape at Gavurkalesi, then, offered the possibility for long processions along the valley floor, adjacent to the stream, and movement ascending and descending between the valley floor and the monument or spring; i.e., a material framework that would have enforced the performance of bodily choreographies and drama among the participants (see Edensor, 2006). The form of the narrow valley as a natural amphitheater also facilitated the possibility for spectators to view and hear the proceedings, as the sounds of the festival were amplified throughout the valley.

The human agents and the dynamic environment were involved in networks of motion in this event; water moved through the landscape, discharging from the springs—from the "dark earth"—and flowing through the stream below Gavurkalesi. Simultaneously, the sun would be moving across the sky creating different lighting landscapes at the scene, which could have been connected to the Sun Goddess of the Earth and her dark qualities and with night rituals (see Mouton, 2008). This "polyphonic enactment of performances" (Ivakhiv, 2003, p. 23) would have contributed to the creation of staged, but deeply felt emotions (see Hastrup, 2004, p. 17); the processions through the valley may have been designed "to compete with the existing environment around it, becoming for a time the dominant element" (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett & McNamara, 1985, p. 2), and thusly ameliorating the anxiety of an uncanny presence at Gavurkalesi. The agential landscape supplied the plot; the human actors contributed the narrative.

Conclusions

The title of this chapter takes its cue from Shakespeare's Sonnet 30, which describes the saddening absence of a deceased friend, at the same time finding a balance in the pleasure of the dear memory of the friend. It is the balancing of emotions that we also believe to be inherent in the understanding of the Hittite landscapes of anxiety. These are not about lost human beings, but about the anxiety of death, misery, and being overwhelmed by fear. Rather than avoiding such experiences, it appears that the Hittite logic prescribed a strategy of encounter and embrace, through which the ultimately destructive forces could be checked by ambivalence—the simultaneous fear and fascination of awe. We suggest that the fear of a place like Gavurkalesi for

the Hittites was captured in its capacity to constitute a channel between the underworld and the world of the living. Volkert Haas (1982, p. 55) has noted that people of contemporary Anatolia still hold certain ancient sites to be "uncanny," and even in recent times the landscape around Haymana and Gavurkalesi has continued to be circumscribed by ambiguity and potential danger.

The Aesthetics of Fear

This chapter has addressed how anxiety can issue forth in the material world as something other and more than the encounter with terror and immediate threats, perceived as occurrences to be avoided. In this perspective we argue that it is productive to consider the *aesthetics of fear*, denoting the *lure* of anxiety, the desire to come into the presence of the ominous. This contention draws on Eelco Runia's (2006) notion of presence as the feeling of coming into contact—physically and emotionally—with whatever dismantles the clichéd and mundane. In the Hittite landscape, fear was captured in vague yet sensible aesthetics that unfolded through agencies and operations of the mythical dimensions of the physical landscape, which was home to certain kinds of danger. These dangers were not simply to be avoided, but were instead circumscribed by potentials and potencies, enforced by aesthetics, and framed by a sensible presence.

The ambiguity of the anxious spatiality of the uncanny, with its "passage from the homely to the unhomely" (Vidler, 1987, p. 14), is well represented in the landscape at Gavurkalesi. Springs and caves, for instance, have contradictory and ambiguous connotations for the Hittites; they are places where both benevolence and malevolence thrived. Indeed, the Hittites would have well understood Freud's linking of the uncanny with both birth and death (for Freud, see Jonte-Pace, 1996, p. 68). As we have seen, the very nature of the Sun Goddess of the Earth is ambivalent—of the sun and the earth and of birth and death. The Hittite term "day of the mother," which was apparently used for "day of one's death," also implies such an analogy between birth and death (Rutherford, 2007, p. 224). In addition, the digging of pits along riverbanks to make contact with the underworld deities "is a reversal of the creation of humanity by the gods, specifically the mother goddesses" (Collins, 2007, pp. 169–170, note 22) as the ritual performer announces that "as Hannahanna takes children from the riverbank and I, a human being, have come to summon the Primordial Deities of the riverbank, let the Sun Goddess of the Earth open the gate and let the Primordial Deities and the Sun Goddess of the Earth up from the Earth" (Collins, 2007).

Negotiations at Gavurkalesi

We have also noted that perhaps the element which contributes the most to the uncanny nature of Gavurkalesi is its character as a threshold, at many conceptual and physical levels. Located at both a boundary between two very different

landscapes (one of which may have been quite empty) and a possible political boundary, the monument at Gavurkalesi was most likely a ^{d}KASKAL.KUR, or "divine earth road," which itself was a mythically potent threshold, establishing communication with the underworld and signifying the frontier of a political domain (see also Harmanşah, 2007, p. 196).

In addition to symbolic and cultic functions, the communication of the power of the king and the hegemony of the Hittite State is usually attributed to the reliefs carved on natural rock outcrops or boulders on important roads and at territorial boundaries.[6] This aspect surely played a role in the construction of the monument at Gavurkalesi; however, we take our cue from a suggestion by Claudia Glatz and Aimée Plourde (2011) to turn our attention in an entirely different direction for the main engagement here. They suggest (following Smith, 2000) that monuments such as Gavurkalesi that lack any triumphalist inscription or images may have followed a complementary strategy that focused on "interregional contact and interaction of a more peaceful nature" (Glatz & Plourde, 2011, p. 55).

We propose that, rather than being primarily aimed at a neighboring polity, the monument at Gavurkalesi, which deals with cosmological issues, was mainly aimed at negotiations—social relations—between the Hittites and the animate and marginal landscape itself, located on the edge of a weakening empire (for the state of the Hittite Empire under Tudhaliya IV and his motivation for monument building, see Glatz & Plourde, 2011). This place stood at a boundary zone as a portal between human and nonhuman worlds (see Sellers, 2010). Linda Brown and Kitty Emery have shown that negotiations between human and nonhuman actors often occur "at the boundaries between agent realms," physically forming important thresholds (2008, p. 300). Crossing such thresholds between communities can be a precarious and dangerous business, so that rituals are used to lessen the tension (Brown & Emery, 2008, pp. 303–304).

In this way, Gavurkalesi's role as an animate doorway for ritual negotiations also suggests another connection to the lure of the ontological uncanny of Heidegger. In confronting the uncanny, filled with mystery and the supernatural, we engage in ontological reflection that can aid in self-understanding (Bowman, 2003, p. 81). Likewise, in entering into negotiations through the transitional space of ritual action at Gavurkalesi, the participants would have experienced just such an emotional and transformational catharsis.

[6] Bonatz (2007), Ehringhaus (2005), Glatz and Plourde (2011), Kohlmeyer (1983), and Seeher (2009). Gavurkalesi is sometimes left out of these discussions because of the uncertainty about the identification of the young male figure as human (i.e., a ruler) or divine, Bonatz (2007, p. 121), note 16; see also Stokkel, 2005.

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Chapter 5
Feet of Clay: An Archaeology of Huedan Elite Anxiety in the Era of Atlantic Trade

Neil L. Norman

Introduction

In the historiography of the African Atlantic world, kings of the Dahomey Gap region are regularly characterized as cunning, autocratic, and quarrelsome political agents. The Gap Zone delineates an environmental area stretching from southeastern Ghana to southwestern Nigeria where savanna climes and vegetation interrupt a much longer stretch of coastal forest. In terms of human geography, the Gap Zone takes its name from the infamous Kingdom of Dahomey, which between the early eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries controlled a portion of the Dahomey Gap region now within the politicalboundaries of the Republic of Benin (Fig. 5.1). For the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Gbe-speaking kings (from the polities of Allada, Hueda, and Dahomey) ordered raids on neighboring kingdoms and forays much farther afield to generate captives who then served as enslaved laborers, warriors, and specialists (Akinjogbin, 1967). For those captives who avoided death, slavery in the Americas was also a common fate; African traders sold approximately 10,000 people a year to European merchants, who spirited their human cargo into the Middle Passage.[1] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the region contributed more captives to the Atlantic trade than any other, and accordingly European traders dubbed the coastal zone of this region the "Slave Coast" (Law, 1991).

W. E. B. DuBois (1915), p. 39 in the classic history "The Negro" describes the kings of Dahomey as "fiercer and ruder" than other groups living along the coast and forest zone of West Africa. DuBois, as well as many historians who followed

[1] For a comprehensive, and evolving, account of the number of captives departing from the Dahomey gap region into the middle passage, see Eltis et al. (2009).

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J. Fleisher, N. Norman (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anxiety*,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-3231-3_5

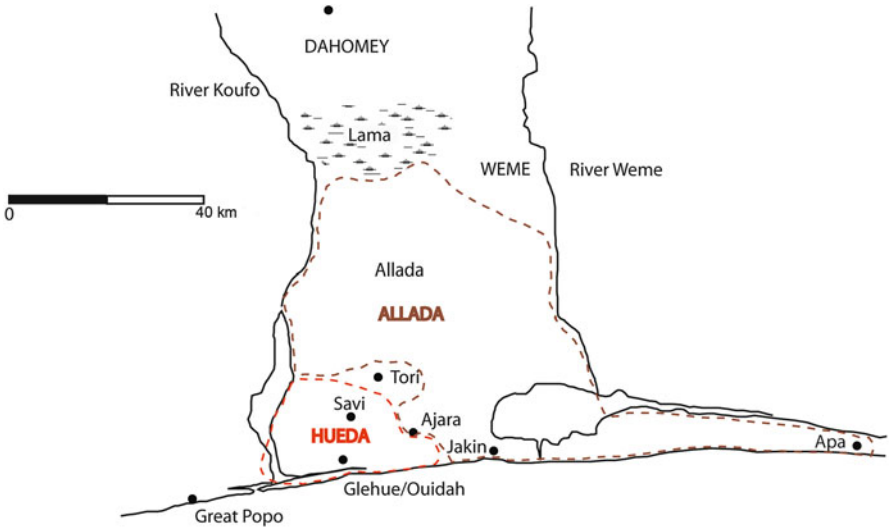

Fig. 5.1 Dahomey gap region

him, drew such characterizations of elite personality and emotional character after reviewing and compiling the writings of European slavers and later colonials, who visited the area from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. In these trader's accounts (e.g., Phillips, 1732), kings and their seconds are described as coolly ordering human sacrifice of thousands to commemorate military operations and stoically organizing the death of former followers (Labat, 1730). The battles themselves had earlier killed thousands and displaced tens of thousands more. William Snelgrave (1734, p. 31), who traded in the region in 1727 just after the kingdom of Hueda fell to Dahomey, describes the difficulty of feasting with Agaja, king of Dahomey, because of a putrid pile of sacrificial skulls pilled near the table (Fig. 5.2).

European chroniclers regaled continental readers with such accounts of "savages" and their sacrifices, and in turn, West African groups commonly characterize European traders as "cannibals" (Fig. 5.3). The former has been thoroughly deconstructed (see Hamblet, 2008), while the latter is receiving increasing recent attention, particularly as the term relates to Europeans metaphorically consuming humans—the motive energy of African states—into slavery (Shaw, 2008, pp. 225–246; Ogundiran, 2002). These cannibalistic Europeans were not numerous, yet their impact was great, as was the economic boom that drew them to the region. From the early 1600s, European traders and fortune seekers flocked to the West African coast, which they described as a place of great potentiality; fortunes were made and lost—literally—as trade winds changed. In the 1700s trading incursions spiked, as did exchanges, with increasing labor demands in slave societies in the Americas (Law, 1991). In these trading exchanges along the West African coast, all groups reinscribed material culture based on their own aesthetic traditions and regimes of value. Cowrie shells held great social and exchange value in West African societies

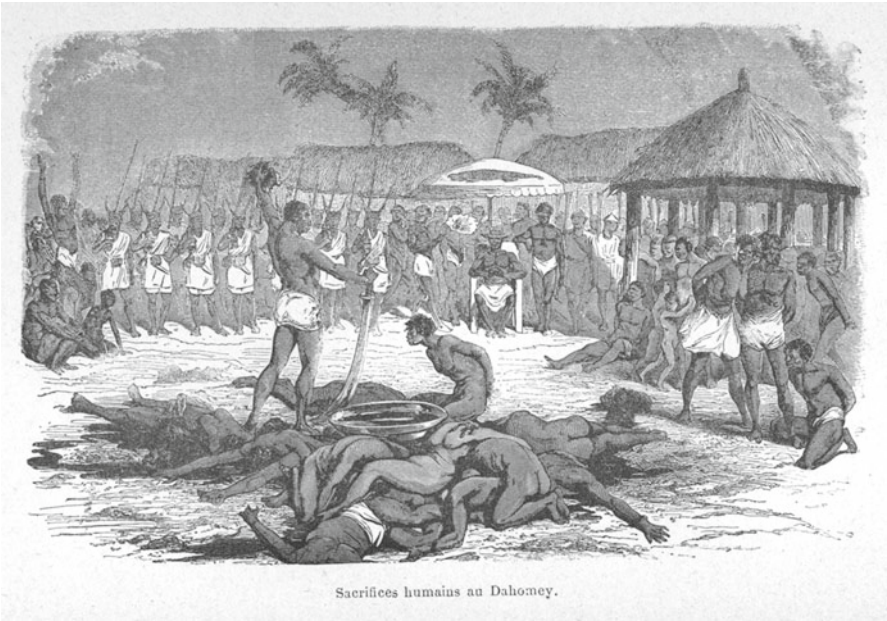

Fig. 5.2 Sacrifice before the King of Dahomey

Fig. 5.3 Portrayal of a nineteenth-century ritual specialist

and virtually none on the European continent, yet European traders moved boatloads of cowries from the Maldives Islands of the Indian Ocean to West Africa (Ogundiran, 2002).

Emotional states existed in a similar dialectic relationship. African and European traders judged one another's mood and disposition based on personal understanding of emotive expressions and acts. Undoubtedly, there was misunderstanding, particularly in terms of African traders conducting socially binding ceremonies with Europeans (Norman, 2009a, 2010); yet, there is common ground in African oral testimonies and European written ones. Both sources commonly cast the region as punctuated with periods of angst over the possibility for loss of treasure or worry over possible harm to family, friends, and/or self (see Bosman, 1705; Labat, 1730). Some of the sources for such stress are straightforward. Tropical diseases took their toll, and the coastal region of West African has been described as "the White Man's Grave," as in the eighteenth century up to half of the members of European trading parties were buried near the coast where they disembarked (Feinberg, 1974). Ship surgeons subjected the crew to bleeding, noxious compounds, and the use of heavy woolen garment to prevent racking tropical diseases. Other sources of European stress emerge from their extraordinarily tenuous political position, removal from military reinforcements, and demographic disadvantage: a 20-person European trading/slaving team might be nested within an African city with a population of 15–20 thousand. The Englishman Bullfinch Lamb(e) is an excellent example of such marginality as he was enslaved by Dahomean King Agaja who forced him to sweep the palace grounds (Law, 1990a).

Through recent archaeological accounts, we have developed a more nuanced understanding of political authority and the negotiation of political power in the ethnolinguistically and historically intertwined kingdoms of Dahomey, Hueda, and Allada.[2] Yet, archaeological discussions into the intersection of material culture, architecture, and emotional states do little to move us beyond DuBois' categorization of fierce politico-military leaders. Such characterizations underestimate the subject-object relations that underwrote elite displays of calm while holding court. This chapter attempts to steer archaeological discussions into historical and anthropological conversations of emotional states that have been hidden or assumed in narratives of the region's deeper past. In particular, it seeks to underscore the constellation of emotions that surrounded elite people in the seventeenth- through nineteenth-century Gap Zone.

In so doing, it takes up Tarlow's (2000) challenge to theorize emotional states within the archaeological past and works to define the items, spaces, and deposits

[2] It is beyond the scope of this paper to present an atlas of the historiography of the region or Hueda. For reviews, see Akinjogbin (1967), Bay (1998), and Law (1990a, 1990b, 1991). This paper builds on efforts (e.g., Bay, 2008; Blier, 1995) to explore and foreground the material culture of *Vodun* and specifically describe the active role that such objects played in mediating and producing cultural processes.

that worked to mediate, negotiate, and shape the socialized experience of fear, stress, and anxiety. It recognizes that emotions occur in specific contexts, which are historically variable (Tarlow, 2000, pp. 719, 728) and are often created and understood through metaphor (Tarlow, 1999; Tilley, 2004). In sub-Saharan African settings, zombies, vampires, cannibals, and witches thusly provide people with means of metaphorically discussing such emotional states as they relate to political dislocation and economic turmoil (Ashforth, 2005; Ellis & ter Haar, 2004; White, 2000). This chapter builds on theories connecting metaphorical and tropic understandings of the state, royal authority, and political process (Kus, 1989; Smith, 2003). Moreover, it addresses what Shanks and McGuire (1996, p. 76) describe as a "craft of archaeology" where practitioners link human emotions, needs, and desires with theory and technical reasoning to form a unified practice.

Indeed, few would argue with the proposition that emotions are part of the social processes through which people in the archaeological past made their lives meaningful. Yet, archaeological considerations of such emotional states are few. Nonetheless, Tarlow (2000, p. 721) makes strong programmatic statements that historical accounts must explore emotional states and the meaning that they convey as part and parcel of a more contextualized rendering of personhood in the archaeological past. New research into such topics converges around issues of selfhood, agency, emotionality, and the place of the individual in the archaeological past (Blake, 1999; Insoll, 2004, 2007; Meskell, 1998, 1999, 2001). At the same time, achieving nuance in an archaeological discussion of emotions often emerges from a clearer discussion of larger social context in terms of regional or global processes (Cowgill, 2000).

The primary case study for this exploration of the regional and global forces converging is the kingdom of Hueda, where kings and community leaders were expected to resonate calm and in so doing represent the well-being of the body politic with their own physical demeanor and bodily comportment. All the while, they were challenged to profit from the trade in enslaved individuals and deflect accusations of immorality and witchcraft associated with amassing material wealth. For the Dahomey Gap region, and indeed the broader region of coastal West and Central Africa, the archetypical immoral individual is the "witch" who takes shelter, sustenance, or pooled wealth from the group and deploys it toward their own selfish pursuits (Miller, 2004). Elites attempted to materialize their own exalted moral positions, in opposition to that of the witch, through gift giving and moving material, labor, or goodwill down the line through political and kin networks (Guyer & Belinga, 1995). In order to make war, or to command followers to repoint and rethatch palatial house compounds, they first needed to establish a record of being a good host; they needed to feast and fete their followers (Fig. 5.4). The section that follows outlines how the duties of remaining at the center of the Huedan political coalition, alongside the structural difficulties of keeping such systems of reciprocity moving—and ever expanding—in a contested political and military environment and how this fraught landscape led to angst and worry.

Fig. 5.4 Portrayal of Dahomean palace

Huedan Emotional Communities

As surveyed in the opening chapter of this volume, inquiry into emotional states is rooted in the early disciplinary history of anthropology. Charles Darwin (1872) theorized emotions as common to both humans and animals as part of the innate hardwiring of the psyche that allowed both to avoid danger. Although Darwin considered emotional responses and stimuli to evolve, based on new threats or opportunities in the natural world, he leaves little room for their cultural or individual mediation. Like many of the chapters in this volume, this one builds on conversations since the time of Darwin that have worked to explore emotions vis-à-vis the social world (Lutz, 1988). If emotions are not biologically hardwired or genetically founded, then "…they must be cultural, or at least deeply influenced by culture" (Reddy, 2001, p. 34). This theorization does not eschew certain biological "leakages" into the consciousness (e.g., raised heartbeat, increased sweating, swollen tear ducts) but seeks to render them "incidental" to what it is to be in an emotional state (Harré, 1986, p. 5). Thus, emotions are common to the social worlds that we live in and underpin and accentuate the cultural frames that groups use to experience, describe, and express events.

Although acknowledging that emotions are mediated and moderated through the social, this chapter does not support the notion that emotions are entirely determined by culture or structured by society. It does, however, build on the notion of emotional community or a dynamic social praxis within which emotions must be

managed to fit with cultural norms or performed specifically to countervail them for personal empowerment (Rosenwein, 2006, p. 24). Emotional communities possess a social and relational quality and are tied together by fundamental assumptions, values, goals, feeling rules, and accepted modes of expression (Rosenwein, 2006, pp. 22–26). Larger emotional communities contain within them subordinate emotional communities, which partake in some aspects of the larger one, but not all, and thus reveal its possibilities and its limitations (Rosenwein, 2006, p. 25; see also Reddy, 2001). Similar to Foucault's (2005) notion of discourse with shared vocabularies and common ways of thinking, emotional communities can have a controlling function.

Emotional states hold the potential to alter what they refer to, or what they represent, and are neither constant nor rotely performed (Reddy 1997, p. 327). Nonetheless, they are performed as part of the calculated negotiations inherent to life, for example, kin are often required to display a range of culturally sanctioned emotions in the presence of elders, and accordingly honor and morality are key components of emotional communities (Rosenwein, 2006, p. 22). Much like kinship ties (Jones, 1997) and communal affiliations (Stark, 1997), archaeologists are challenged to theorize the materiality of emotional states. Rosenwein (2006, p. 27) has charted a course for this in noting that clues to emotional communities are codified, though often inexactly, in text: gestures, bodily changes, words, exclamations, and tears are all attempted representations. Rosenwein focuses on the textual representation of emotional states, yet it is not difficult to extend the search for codified emotional gestures within structured archaeological deposits (Shanks & McGuire, 1996).

This chapter argues that elite anxiety in the Dahomey Gap region involved the need to constantly grow one's house, increase the family name, and serve as the arbiter for family debates and discussions. Modern initiates describe the members of the Vodun—the decentralized religion practiced throughout the Dahomey Gap region—pantheon as playing an active role in shaping emotional states of mortals during such familial and political events (Blier, 1995). In terms of the materiality of Vodun, art historians in the region have effectively demonstrated that the emotional state of anxiety surrounds moments where major political decisions are negotiated, debated, or pronounced (Blier, 1995). Fortunately for the archaeologist, both the exchanges between earthly actors and the negotiation between people and the cosmological actors often leave material residues that can be traced back to the late eighteenth century (Bay, 2008). Suzanne Blier (1995, p. 5) effectively argues that *bo* and *bochio* statuary created in the region function in conjunction with Vodun energies to offer protection and a means of empowerment. Blier (1995, pp. 14, 59) analyzes the psychodynamic properties of Vodun statuary in terms of psychotherapeutic practices where the emotional states of fear, shock, fury, and disorder are each mitigated or alleviated by the reception of certain elements of material culture. Blier (1995, p. 348) concludes that Vodun material culture incorporates at once the desires and fears of the individual and the hopes and anxieties of the community (Fig. 5.5). Assuming vital psychotherapeutic roles, empowerment objects help to harness, counter, and enclose debilitating fears while propelling the individual into taking

Fig. 5.5 Empowerment figures

action. After empowerment figures are in play, initiates describe later actions proceeding in a state of composure. Moving forward, the state of calm is facilitated through aesthetic relationships created by the sculptor and urged on by the ritual specialist who charges the statue with sacred substances, and offerings to help implore the owner/viewer to remain calm, or *cool* (Blier, 1995, p. 154).

Robert Farris Thompson describes (1973, p. 41, italics in original) "…coolness has to do with *transcendental balance*" and references it in terms of a state of composure. The "mask" of coolness is worn not only in times of stress but also in times of pleasure, such as in expressive performance and the dance. Ecstasy betrays the state of coolness, unless it occurs in an expression of group ecstatic fervor, and even then the old and elite remain unmoved. Coolness, therefore, imparts order not through ascetic subtraction of body from mind, but by means of ecstatic union of sensuous pleasure and moral responsibility and the material dimension of such things (Thompson, 1973, p. 42). Control, stability, and composure under the West African rubric of the cool seem to constitute elements of an aesthetic attitude that extends beyond the habits of the body to elements of the house and broader public landscape. The Dahomey Gap region and the nearby Nigeria are considered to be fountainheads of aesthetic of the cool (Thompson, 1973, p. 43). In his early

twentieth-century research in the Dahomey Gap region, Melville Herskovits (1967, pp. 356–357) recorded ceremonies aimed at "cooling" the earth of a grave where the eldest son gives his father's gravedigger a small pot filled with oil palm nuts. In an account of the event, the gravedigger smashes the pot in the grave and then enters it and removes the jagged fragments. This ceremony enacted to "cool the earth" contained in the grave and appease the spirit of the patriarch that appears to interrelate with a larger regional religious process in which religious practitioners used public and private shrines, offering spaces, and other points on the landscape where cosmological actors congregated to enact rites aimed at mitigating anxiety. With the ancestors and other cosmological actors appeased, the populace could live in a state of coolness and keep at bay the hotness or moments of fear where outward emotive expressions and a lack of composure wreck the state of coolness.

Similarly, Thompson (1973) demonstrates that for the region encompassing West and Central Africa, bodily comportment associated with calm or "cool" often requires private spaces that mitigate angst and torment and serve as refuges of emotional security. Blier's research on mitigating anxiety through Vodun and Thompson's exploration of the cool each record the material culture associated with such practices as being secreted away from the public or in the most intimate spaces within the house compound. Just as these items underwrite states of calm, they may also be targeted by one's enemies as a vector into the psyche and a means of shaping actions, composure, or health of the individual who is "bound" to the object.

For the Dahomey Gap region, a discussion of the archaeology of calm, or cool, and its counterpart anxiety, or hotness, that tacks between regional processes and individual expressions/actions necessarily addresses Vodun often characterized as a catalyst for emotional states (Norman, 2009a) as well as the role that the region played in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Hueda rose during the middle Atlantic period, ca. 1650–1727, and both historical accounts and oral testimonies suggest that during this period Huedans practiced a religious tradition that would inspire and influence one known today as Vodun (Blier, 1995; Norman, 2009a). Vodun is the West African religious tradition found throughout the Dahomey Gap region with a particular concentration of practitioners in the infamous Huedan coastal trading town of Ouidah, located today in the modern Republic of Bénin, West Africa. Art historians have charted a connection between modern material items associated with West African Vodun and those used in rites and practices in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While these accounts are founded on sources generated by European traders, the author has excavated the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century religious spaces at Savi, which exhibit similar material items and contextual associations recorded by both art historians and early European chroniclers (Norman, 2009a, 2009b). Taken together these lines of evidence present remarkable stability in the general structure of the ceremonies and veneration of members of the Vodun pantheon. By extension, it appears that Vodun was venerated in the deeper past through parallel material items as they are in the present. The following section draws stronger connections between early Huedan materiality, the practice of Vodun worship, and the angst of the Huedan Atlantic world.

Vodun, Popular Media, and Huedan Political Processes

In popular accounts, Vodun is best known for caricatured portrayals of empowerment objects being used by practitioners to enact sympathetic magic—a term I use purposefully and pointedly given the ways that the characterizations described below follow early anthropological accounts—where cosmological actors are implored, or even commanded, to lash out against one's enemies. In comic books and Hollywood movies, "voodoo dolls" have debilitated American icons of hypermasculinity such as Superman and the archaeological adventurer Indiana Jones.[3] Despite scholarly accounts that focus on the subjective and often joyful moments that envelop modern Vodun ceremonies, shrines, and objects, archaeological descriptions of Vodun track closely with the popular accounts presented above. When Vodun is invoked in archaeological discussions, it is in terms of elite Alladan, Dahomean, and Huedan people, who managed public religious pageants and created massive architectural features to signal political power, managerial prowess, and exalted status (Norman & Kelly, 2004). The intersection of Vodun and landscape is referenced in terms of meaning as being "envehicled" in symbols (Geertz, 1980, p. 135), which are then given physical presence in terms of massive architectural features that work to broadcast, extend, reinforce, and reproduce ideological messages of elite power and prominence to the broader public (Demarrais, Castillo, & Earle, 1996; Earle, 1997).[4] Undoubtedly, the pageants, parades, ceremonies, and monuments of Vodun were incorporated into the political processes and statecraft in the deeper past. However, little attention has been paid to the active role that ceremonies and material culture played in personal discursive relationships in the earliest documented iterations of Vodun within the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century polity of Hueda. In order to understand the intersection between elite subjectivity and the early material culture of Huedan Vodun, it is first important to understand the threatening environment in which Huedans created and used such objects.

Between the first historical documentation of Hueda in the mid-seventeenth century and its fiery conquest in 1727, 183,000[5] captives departed from the Huedan coastal trading entrepot at Ouidah beach. Enslavement in the Americas and the Caribbean awaited a vast majority of those who would survive the terror of the Middle Passage. Elites living in the relatively small coastal polity of Hueda profited greatly by providing a marketplace—at the Huedan capital complex at Savi—for the trade in captives and in turn taxing African and European traders who used the Savi market (Akinjogbin, 1967). The political tensions within the Hueda polity are famous in the African Atlantic world (Law, 1990a, 1990b). Throughout the roughly 70 years of documented history of Hueda, rival elites jockeyed with the Huedan

[3] See *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984) paramount pictures and "The Voodoo of Superman" (1972) DC Comics Vol. 1 No. 413.

[4] For broader critiques, see Pauketat (2001).

[5] During this period, Ouidah dwarfed all other trading ports for captives on the African coast. For the same period, 91,672 captives departed from the infamous port of Luanda. Both figures are drawn from Eltis' website.

royal family over control of both this trade and political leadership of the polity. In several instances these conflicts erupted into civil war with Huedan kings appealing to the nearby polity of Allada for help quelling the internal insurrection (Law, 1991). Archaeologically, this conflict is materialized through the fortified house compounds constructed by elites in the Huedan countryside with ditches and abutting walls that formed an unbroken barrier between the interior and exterior of the domesticized space (Kelly, Brunache, & Norman, 1999; Norman, 2010). The threats to Huedan elites would come not only from rival kings hungry to control this outlet into the Atlantic but also internal rivals with the same desires (Akinjogbin, 1967). As Hueda's prominence grew at the regional and international levels in the early eighteenth century, the nearby polity of Dahomey grew increasingly focused on cutting out the Huedan "middlemen" in trading relations (Law, 1989a, 1989b).

On March 9, 1727, Dahomey began a campaign of military conquest that would forcibly incorporate Hueda into the Dahomean kingdom. During these attacks, tens of thousands of Huedans were displaced, thousands killed, and thousands more removed to the palatial Dahomean capital complex at Abomey or designated for later sale across the Atlantic. A later European traveler's account suggests that Dahomean King Agaja then sacrificed approximately 4000 Huedan prisoners in Abomey, some 90 km north of Savi, to commemorate the victory (Dalzel, 1967[1793], p. 26).[6] King Agaja did not consider the conquest of Hueda complete until after the skulls of the Huedan king and other members of the Huedan elite class were installed in the Dahomean treasury at Abomey (Law, 1989a, 1989b). As to the broader Huedan populace, recent archaeological survey and testing in the Huedan countryside indicates that a vast majority of the structures within the urban/rural complex—an area approximately 6 km by 3 km—surrounding Savi were torched as part of this raid (Norman, 2009b). As Blier (1995, p. 23) argues, the trans-Atlantic slave trade had dire consequences—and angst-filled moments and periods—not only for those men and women spirited across the Atlantic but also for many of those who remained in coastal West Africa.

Anthropological archaeologists of spectacular destructive events, such as war, suggest that such phenomenon be explored in terms that go beyond issues of domination on the battlefield and further address broader social fields such as wreaking terror within the houses of soldiers and populace alike (Gilchrist, 2003). Yet, Huedan domestic spaces—the homes of kings and commoners alike—remain in their earliest stage of investigation largely invisible and unexplored (Kelly, Brunache, & Norman, 2001; Norman, 2010). This historiographic lacuna seems at odds with the historical record which is replete with discussions of such community-wide angst. At least part of the issue is source based. European chroniclers had little access to, or inclination to, record the private interior spaces within households in terms of the subjective bodily processes, ceremonies, and rituals that

[6] Bullfinch Lamb in William Smith's *A New Voyage to Guinea* [London, 1793(1967), p. 186] estimates that after this raid the skulls of approximately 4000 Huedans were piled in heaps within the Dahomean palace complex at Abomey. Law (1989a, 1989b, p. 402) suggests that this figure represents the totality of skulls taken in the battle along with those from sacrificial victims.

are closely associated with emotional stability and the mitigation of anxiousness (Fleisher & LaViolette, 2007). The following section explores such emotion states in terms of material contexts (Hodder, 2006) archaeologically recovered in the Savi countryside.

Archaeology of Cold and Hot Huedan Things

Given the vital place that religious landscapes hold in social action (Insoll, 2004), it is not surprising that they would demonstrate remarkable cross-temporal continuity in their physicality and materiality. Robert Baum (1999, p. 175) makes the point succinctly when he suggests that despite the dramatic changes among Diola—in modern Senegal—society and ritual practice during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the paradigm that spirit shrines serve as intermediaries between the Diola and their supreme being, in order to resolve various types of problems, was not altered. Baum describes that new spirit shrines were created and old ones modified, but they continued to be approached to resolve specific types of individual, family, and community problems and thus negotiate and address anxious states associated with the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial periods.

In the twentieth century, Vodun devotees described shrines in the Dahomey Gap region serving in a similar fashion to mitigate problems and anxiety associated with the unknown and known agitants. Far from simple mediums that convey a message to cosmological actors, Vodun shrines are described as dynamic social actors with, and against, which practitioners negotiate. Cudjoe (1971, p. 188) characterizes such an intimate relationship between congregate and religious avatar as inexorably woven into the fabric of the social life of the Dahomean village such that by "… the very fact that one is a member of the village one has a vested interest in the local Du-legba [shrine] whose chief sphere of activity is to protect the village or town from misfortune, evil, sickness, and such-like and to act as a messenger between [hu]man[s] and some gods." Initiates recounted that one such shrine "made known his displeasure" at cement walls and metal roofing renovations rather than traditional thatch roof and rammed clay walls. The physicality of these religious spaces was a critical factor in that aesthetically pleasing settings—to cosmological actors at least—aided the deity Legba in inviting malevolent spirits to be his extended guest at shrines at the entryway of villages, rather than them entering the village where they might complete their task and do harm (Cudjoe, 1971, p. 195). Thus, Legba—the messenger for the Vodun pantheon and fickle mediator between people and that pantheon—is considered to occupy a liminal space between hot and cool spaces. He is described as carousing with hot and cool deities alike, invoking ire in all but the most cool deities, and channeling that potential for destruction at his will. Yet Legba's cavorting buys the family associated with the shrine time without spiritual attack. Offering of hard alcohol, blood, and palm oil presented in course earthenware ceramics set the table for such cosmological dances and negotiations.

Moreover, practitioners consider Legba to possess the power to violently punish. Historical accounts from the Hueda kingdom in the seventeenth and eighteenth century suggest that Huedans used the terror and fear associated with Legba, as well as other cosmological actors, as a political strategy (Norman, 2010). Fear, anxiousness, and worry were not states that were simply experienced, but states that were at times imposed and exploited through the "drinking god" or "drinking the earth" ceremony in Gbe polities. As described by Argyle (1966, pp. 155–173) and Hazoumé (1937, pp. 158–160), early on in the history of Dahomey, hunters, warriors, and cultivators performed rituals where those entering into an economic or social contract drank an offering, usually involving a concoction of blood, sanctified earth, and other cosmologically potent materials. The ceremony itself was dedicated to a specific deity who was then considered to oversee the contract and ensure that each participant lived up to their obligations. Argyle (1966, pp. 155–173) postulates that such ceremonies—earlier ca. 1600 used to coalesce families and hunting organizations—were exploited by savvy political leaders bent on political centralization to interrelate and integrate groups into village-level defensive organizations. In time—Argyle doesn't give exact temporal markers to his argument—emerging political elites scaled up to the regional and superregional level, with deities sanctioning and monitoring relationships between political leaders and the populace of the Atlantic era kingdoms of Allada, Hueda, and Dahomey.

As to the structure of the ceremony itself, Argyle (1966, pp. 166–168) describes that soil from crossroads was added to the sacrifice so that the oath breaker would lose his or her way in life, would lack resolution, and would be unable to make important decisions, so that the offender's family would be ruined. In the ceremony, soils from the marketplace or a threshold used to ensure that the offense will be in the public eye. Ceremonial axes or thunderstones—often originally Neolithic celts—were placed in the cup to represent the deities Gu and Hevioso, who practitioners considered to bring particularly violent deaths to oath breakers (Argyle, 1966, pp. 155–173). In the Hueda area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the "drinking god" ceremony was often sanctioned and monitored by the tutelary deity of the kingdom Dangbe, whose avatar is, and was, the python (Fig. 5.6). To touch an avatar of Dangbe or speak of him could produce a strong visceral response from Huedans. Astley (1745–7, p. 31) describes that:

In short, the….[Huedans] preserve a profound Fear and Reverence for the Snakes. When Rains are wanted at Seed-Time, or dry Weather in Harvest, the People do not stir-out after Night comes-on, for fear of the angry Snake; which provoked Disobedience, they are taught to believe, will certainly kill them at those Times, if abroad, or make them Idiots. When you want to be rid of the Natives Company, you need only speak ill of the Snake, and they stop their ears and run-out of Doors.

Despite the pejorative language and patronizing glosses, Astley captures the close relationship between emotional states and Dangbe, who among other spheres of influence—such as rain and health—early Huedan Vodun practitioners apparently considered to bring economic prosperity. Despite the Atlantic riches pouring

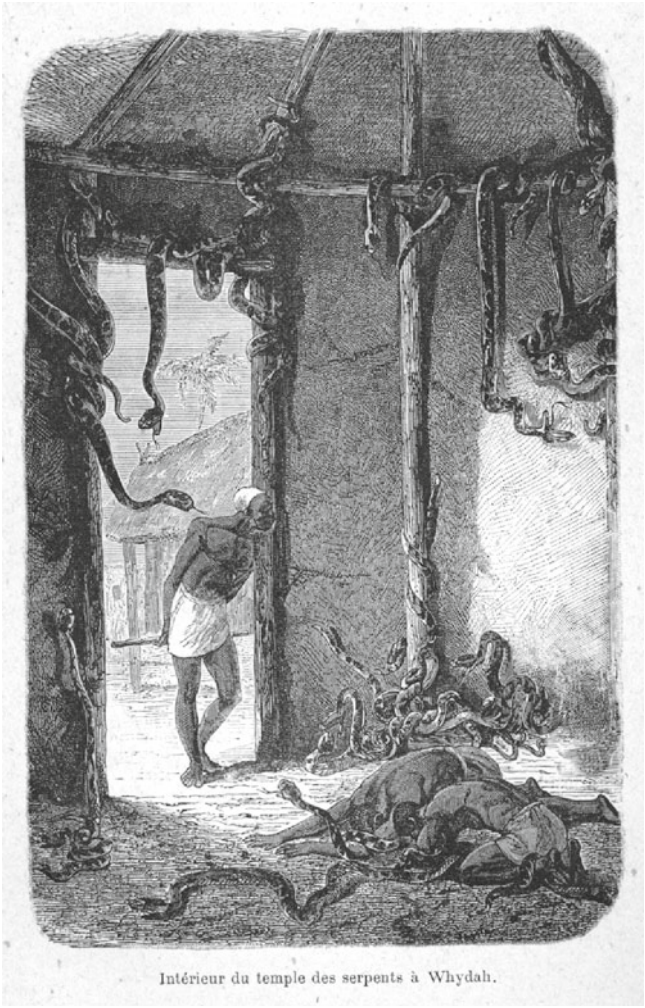

Fig. 5.6 Temple of Dangbe

into the region, it appears that at times many living in the kingdom of Hueda were close to economic ruin. Bosman (1705, p. 391) describes "…one barren Year occasions an incredible Famine here; and sometimes Free-men here have sold themselves [into slavery] for Victuals…."

In the West African forest region, wealth is often referenced in terms of the number of specialized followers and kinsfolk that a patriarchal or matriarchal figure could accumulate and call upon for service (Guyer & Belinga, 1995). Although by definition an elite patriarchal figure presided over a large family, there was apparently anxiousness associated with constantly increasing the size of one's family. In an interview with one of the Huedan king's captains named Agoei, Bosman (1705, p. 347) recorded that:

I once asked him in the presence of one of our Captains and my Assistant, how many Children he had, having always observed a good number with him; to which he sighing answered, that he had been so very unhappy in that Particular, as not to have many, and that he could not pretend to above Seventy: I asked him whether he had not had more that were dead; he told me yes, about as many as were at present alive. And this man thought that both these numbers making together one hundred and forty were but a small number: From whence you may guess what is sufficient to make a Man rich, or well-stocked with Children.

Apparently, among the Hueda tropes of masculinity and patriarchy were closely elided with sexual prowess, and there was anxiety associated with the latter impacting perceptions/performance of the former. As Phillips (1732, p. 221) describes the:

…old king of *Whidaw*, who sent for me one night to come privately to him; which having done, he told me that he had married a pretty young girl that he had great kindness for, and was that night to bed her, and therefore desir[e]d me to present him with a rundlet of brandy to give her friends to be merry with, and to order my doctor something to make him lusty, and perform his task vigorously; but to be sure that what he gave him should do him no harm.

In Hueda, medical remedies were imbricated with cosmological actions. The performance of healing often took place in public spaces as Bosman (1705, p. 351) describes that the material dimension of action:

The Medicinal Remedies are the same with those on the Gold Coast, but the offerings are very different: Here each Person reserves a place under open Air; which is set apart for that purpose, and hedged about with Reeds and other Trash. In this Consecrated Place they continually Sacrifice in order to obtain Health and Prosperity…. They are so very fearful of Death, that they [are] very unwilling to hear it mentioned, for fear that [that] alone should hasten their end.

Given the potentially hot, or angst-filled, environment in which Huedan elites were living in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, it is not surprising that their houses would reflect the social environment in which they lived and contain refuges from the political intrigue and cosmological attacks. In modern times, Vodun ceremonies often take place in intense secrecy. Although the old Huedan trading city of Ouidah, today, contains an impressive array of large temples, they often serve a largely symbolic function to their associated adepts and lay congregations (Sinou, 1994, p. 292). Similarly around the house compound, larger family shrines are often the locale for annual ceremonies and rites to negotiate extraordinary events such as births, deaths, etc.; yet it is the smaller points of worship where daily cosmological dialogs take place (Bay, 2008).

Archaeological Rendering of Huedan Anxiousness

Since 1999, the author has undertaken archaeological and ethnoarchaeological research in the countryside surrounding the former palace complex at Savi (Fig. 5.7). The section that follows aggressively summarizes archaeological findings from

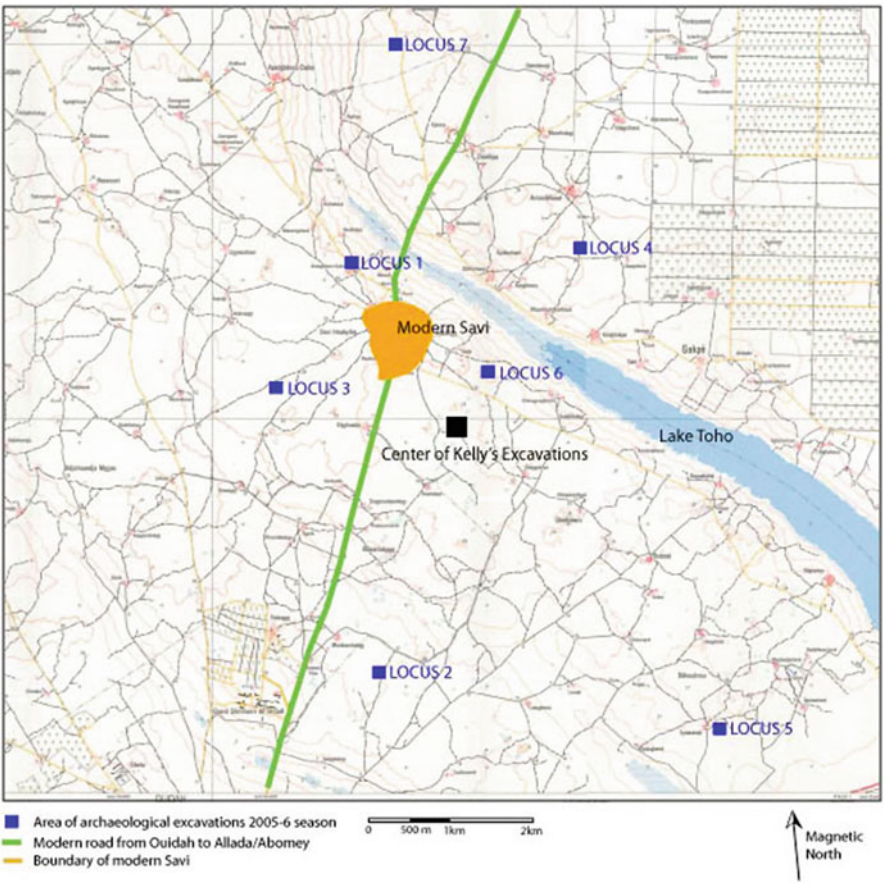

Fig. 5.7 Archaeological excavations

secondary palace complexes surrounding Savi and focuses on spaces interpreted as household shrines and offering locals within living and sleeping chambers (see also Norman, 2009b). Given the material and contextual similarities between archaeological finds and modern Vodun worship, it is argued that Huedans living in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century communities surrounding Savi used a range of both public and private religious spaces in a manner described in the sections above.

At a site (Locus 2) interpreted as an elite residential compound approximately 2 km south of Savi, excavators conducted a test unit to sample the highest concentration of Hueda-era local ceramics recorded during an archaeological survey of the region. The unit explored the central portion of a collapsed structure—approximately 3 m in diameter—located adjacent to the main wing of a collapsed house compound. Spatially, this small free-standing structure was constructed between a boundary ditch/borrow pit and the interior of the house compound. The form of the structure and its spatial placement vis-à-vis the other elements of the house

compound is similar to a Dahomean "spirit house" or *djeho*, literally translated as a "bead house" (Blier, 1995, p. 45). The opening layer of the unit revealed Hueda-era local ceramics and contemporary imported items including a yellow and black striped trade bead, iron fasteners, imported pipe fragments, and perforated local ceramic vessel/*adjalalazen* fragments. Extrapolating from larger sherds, these archaeological vessels were globular in shape, and the potters who created them used a circular reed or other organic stylus to pierce the base, shoulder, and body of vessels. A majority of the perforated vessel sherds exhibited sharp edges on the interior of their perforations, indicative of vessels not used in daily cooking or food processing activities. When found alongside Atlantic trade items and other anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels, perforated vessels serve as vectors into Gbe-spirit realms and metaphoric and metonymic representations of specific kings and the body politic of entire kingdoms (Norman, 2010).

Early on in the excavation of Unit 1, a round vessel similar in construction and form to a modern ritual vessel, or *golizen*, used in modern times to contain offerings, was recovered along the southern edge of the unit within a wall matrix. Apparently this offering vessel was cached in the wall at the time of its construction. At approximately the same depth (60 cm below the opening level of the unit), excavators noted the edge of a shallow bowl in the northern wall of the unit. After expanding the unit to explore this bowl, the excavation team recorded that the vessel contained a fragmentary human cranium. Nearby the excavation team recorded another fragmentary cranium with mandible. Both crania were disarticulated from postcranial material prior to deposition and located in primary context: the cranium and mandible were recovered encased within local ceramic storage jar fragments and the other fragmentary cranium was recovered in the aforementioned shallow bowl. Apparently, both vessels were placed on a rammed earth surface/floor as were the associated imported and local offering items (Fig. 5.8).

From historical accounts of the region, shrines containing human skulls normally relate to two, though not necessarily mutually exclusive, commemorative events: the memorialization of patriarchal and matriarchal figures and the celebration of military victory (Law, 1989a). In the former, it was common to remove the skull of a prominent family member, often after months or a few years of internment, and install it in a place of religious prominence for veneration.[7] European visitors to the Hueda kingdom noted that in the eighteenth century captives taken by Huedan soldiers belonged to them as did heads collected after battle, which were placed in their households, and the solider was "…careful to put them in his home in a prominent place to make his bravery known to his posterity" (Law, 1989a, p. 406).

Throughout the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, it was common for Huedan and Dahomean warriors to collect the heads of fallen foes from the battlefield or from sacrificed captives taken in the battles or related raids. This practice extended to those royals beyond the immediate battle, as Dahomean kings would often not consider the conquest of an area complete until the head of the rival king had been

[7] David (1983, p. 174) notes that large cooking vessels are used by the Gun in southern Bénin to contain the skulls of family members.

Fig. 5.8 Archaeologically excavated shrine

collected and positioned in a shrine or other prominent place in the Abomey palace. On this topic, Robin Law (1989a, p. 413) writes:

…[by collecting the skulls of their enemies' kings, Dahomean conquerors] ruptured the dynastic continuity of the vanquished communities (thus presumably facilitating their incorporation into Dahomey) and deprived them of the supernatural support they would normally anticipate from a deceased king.

Suzanne Blier (n.d.) argues that in the Dahomean social world, skulls serve as symbols and dynamic elements of ceremonies that reinforce the notion that life springsfrom death. The possession of a king's skull would be a powerful source of authority over a conquered population as well as means to call forth the demographic regeneration of that polity after a decimating war. There is good evidence to suggest that the skulls of fallen adversaries held a prominent, perhaps even revered, place within the Dahomean palace. Slave trader and would-be historian Robert Norris (1791, pp. 134–135), after his visit to the area in the 1770s, recorded that King Kpengla of Dahomey preserved the head—of a claimant to the royal stool in 1775—in the palace complex at Abomey "lying on a china [basin]…." Norris (1791, pp. 134–135, italics in original) recounts a conversation with Kpengla, where the king commented on the aforementioned skull that "I am a warrior myself, and if I should fall into the enemies hands, could wish to be treated with the *decency*, of which I set the example." The skull in this instance marked a vector for the victor to forcibly draw the fallen king's family line into the Dahomean fold. Skulls materialized these connections, were active elements of ancestral shrines, and demanded offerings to ensure the tethers between households and cosmologies would remain intact.

At Locus 2, excavators encountered an exterior wall of a wing of the house compound in Unit 5 at 84 cm below the opening level. After excavating through several levels of extremely compact and culturally sterile clay wall fill, excavators encountered a small low-fired *golizen* earthenware jar at a depth of 237 cm. The jar was placed on a prepared clay surface, and thereafter the wall was constructed on top of this offering. The context is similar to offerings in modern Vodun practices where low-fired vessels are often placed within the wall matrix or under the wall of structures as construction is underway (Norman, 2010, pp. 109–119; cf. Kelly et al., 1999; Norman & Kelly, 2004). Noting a similar phenomenon in the Abomey region, Paul Hazoumé (1956, p. 24) records that the Dahomean court official, or *Agbadjigbeto*, was charged with creating offerings in foundations and holes in and around the palace to keep enemies at bay and preventing symbolic and direct attacks on the palace's inhabitants.

At another elite house compound (Locus 4) containing a ritual complex, Unit 8 sampled the interior of a room overlooking a nearby ditch. Excavations revealed grinding stone fragments, local pipe fragments, a knapped quartz cobble, and human molars recovered at 65 cm below the opening level of the unit. This archaeological context relates to offerings cached inside a pit or other prepared surface just below a living surface. At another secondary palace complex (Locus 7) approximately 3 km northwest of Savi, excavators sampled the interior of another collapsed structure with Unit 2. In this unit, excavators recovered European gunflint fragment, lead "dust" shot, colorless faceted trade beads, and numerous local and imported pipe fragments all near a large jar at 100 cm below the opening level of the unit. This jar and related offerings were recorded beneath the main living surface in a prepared pit. When the solidified contents of the jar were subjected to flotation, it revealed shallow bowl fragments (the same form as the one containing the cranium at Locus 2) along with numerous human skull fragments including 11 large crania or cranium fragments (8 g), 8 molars, and 4 premolar and incisor fragments. Most likely, this jar represents a burial similar to ones reported by Barbot (Hair, Jones, & Law, 1992: 640) where Huedans "…bury their dead with many signs of mourning, but after the funeral they keep open house for five or six weeks. The dead are usually interred in the hut where they died, because they have no cemeteries."

In modern times, the honor of being interred within one's house—normally under one's sleeping chamber—is reserved for illustrious family members, usually patriarchal or matriarchal figures. These cemetery rooms serve as points where deified members of the family are installed, taking up permanent residence in the structure. The set of rooms where members of the family line are buried often surround courtyards where family-wide ceremonies are held. Alain Sinou (1994, p. 294) notes that families in Ouidah, "…pool their resources to maintain the sacred sites, that is, the worship rooms and cemetery rooms, and generally take little interest in the dwelling areas" which are often left unoccupied. Often the dead "occupants" of these house compounds, therefore, outnumber the living, and the structures may appear abandoned, except for the few times during the year when family members converge at the house to perform ceremonies that helped to maintain coolness throughout the family line. Apparently and not surprisingly, the dead during the Hueda

era occupied prominent and proximate—though at times out of sight—positions in both the spaces where ceremonies took place and within the social fields which made these ceremonies possible.

In the Savi countryside, the archaeological recovery of numerous *gozin* vessel fragments[8] at Locus 4, alongside imported offering items, indicates a ritual context as does the recovery in the nearby Unit 6 of a highly friable ceramic anthropomorphic figurine along with river-smoothed cobbles. Such cobbles are used in modern times by postmenopausal women as offerings to various shrines (Antoine Agomadje, pers. comm., 2 November 2005). The unit itself sampled a small free-standing structure located between the interior of the structure and the steep slope of a nearby ditch segment. This structure appears to be another free-standing shrine similar to the one described above at Locus 2. The ceramic figurine is slightly cone shaped with a flat base and applied stylized breasts. The figurine's head was broken before it was deposited, yet extrapolating from similar statuary recovered by Kenneth Kelly (1996, pp. 157–161), it is probable that the head would have exhibited elongated facial features including the eyes, nose, and mouth. Kelly (2001, p. 91) notes that such figurines had a possible ritual significance, an interpretation supported by the context in which the current figurine was recovered.

It is probable that these figurines relate to a class of more personal deities/empowerment statuary represented by *bo* and *bochio* statuary described above (Blier, 1995). In modern times, Vodun devotees use anthropomorphic ceramic effigies to represent more corporate deities (e.g., Mawu, Dan) or other forms of religious expression (Norman, 2009a, 2009b). These vessels were also used in the deeper past, though historical accounts are opaque as to their broader relevance. For example, little is known of terracotta figurines paraded by the Huedan king's wives as part of the processions to the temple of the python (Labat, 1730, p. 62). Quite possibly however, Huedans used the figurines described above as well as the archaeologically recovered ones in a manner similar to "empowered cadavers" of *bo* and *bocio*. These figures were apparently part of Huedan religious expression, as Suzanne Blier argues that one of the most complete historically recorded sculptures of the bocio type is the Agoye or "god of councils" recorded in the seventeenth-century town surrounding Savi. Blier writes that the Agoye statue of "black earth, or clay" shares with *bocio* "…not only markedly expressive features which are defined by the massing of diverse materials on the surface but also a concern with averting danger from the community and those living in it."[9] One of the principal roles of *bo* and *bocio* figures is to repel common sorcery often exemplified by complaints of sleeplessness and nighttime pain. Bo and bocio also serve as a counterfoil to aggressive sorcery that is considered to cause emotional disturbances and bodily harm (Blier, 1995, p. 33). Given the role public and private shrines played in tethering Huedans to their ancestral past, celebrating economic gains and regional prominence, shaping the future, and mitigating the conflict and political intrigue

[8] Gozin vessels are used as modern ritual ceramics; see Norman (2009a).

[9] Phillips (1732, p. 224) claims to have shot a "wooden" figure, presumably the *Agoye*, after waiting several hours for it to speak and give a pronouncement.

ever-present in the early eighteenth-century Hueda, the violent conquest of Hueda by Dahomey in 1727 should be viewed not only as a political and geographical diaspora but also the removal of Huedans from the physical places where cosmological actors were rooted to family homes and a landscape where the fine balance between the cool and hot was once negotiated.

Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to address elite Huedan anxiety and its counterpart calm through archaeological recovered material from the Huedan countryside. Such an analysis requires an interpretive leap of faith: it is assumes that the emotional state of anxiety and calm described by modern Vodun practitioners map very closely with those emotional states experienced by the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Vodun and recorded by contemporary European slavers. Given modern Huedan oral testimonies speaking to earlier moments of stress and worry associated with decline and collapse of the kingdom, the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European accounts describing Vodun deployed to mitigate moments of worry, and material similarity in the structure of shrines used today to alleviate angst with archaeological recovered shrines, it seems that such a leap might find footing. In terms of the Huedan emotional community, this chapter argues that common catalysts for anxiety were the imperative for patriarchal and matriarchal figures to expand their house compound and the kin and followers therein all the while maintaining a veneer of calm while negotiating the tumultuous period of Atlantic trade. Elders who could not fulfill these tasks were passed over, or dispatched, by other claimants for the head of household. In Benin today, leaders who lose territory, the goodwill of their people, or the favor of Vodun live infamously beyond their death in cautionary proverbs and memories anchored to landscape features. On numerous trips to Abomey, friends and tour guides have noted that the statue of King Benhazin of Dahomey stands purposefully unrooved, so that both rain and sun will beat down on his head as an eternal reminder that it was he who lost the kingdom to French colonials.

The archaeologically investigated household shrines, burials within house compounds, small offering vessels, and anthropomorphic clay figurines each serve as gestures embodying the intersection between anxiety and calm and materializing the negotiation of this process. Items recovered in the same contexts such as imported trade beads, cowries, foodstuff, nails, beads, and knives suggest that, as in modern Vodun practices, creating potent cosmological dialogs required spectacular sacrifices that would attract the attention of cosmological actors. Given these finds, this paper argues that fear and anxiety was a component of the subjective experience of elite personhood, at least enough so that it was necessary to brace the house compound with costly and personal objects that aided in experiencing cool and deflected malevolent acts. Above and beyond spaces that served to thwart outward attack, these religious spaces served as points of reflection, earnest veneration, and emotional centering. Moreover, they could just as well be used to celebrate the joyous

moments of life; Vodun initiates today note that shrines and ancestors grow weary of supplicants who constantly petition for assistance without sharing good news.

During the apex of Hueda ca. 1700 and into its nadir in 1727, elites did have feet of clay, but not fragile ones. Ceramic offering vessels, alongside other offering materials, provided stout bases to the house compound that linked the family to their ancestral past and mitigated the internal and external hostilities that befell their region in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These religious spaces and related artifacts were involved in the alteration and negotiation of social and emotional states and subjective dialogs where elites came to reference themselves as such and went about training themselves through visual metaphors, mnemonic devices, and hidden testimonies of the appropriateness of social action (Aniakor, 1996, p. 236; Fleisher & LaViolette, 2007). Just as maintaining the Huedan kingship came with the great burden of feasting thousands of followers on an annual basis, organizing elaborate parades, and distributing Atlantic gifts (Norman, 2010), maintaining elite status necessarily entailed negotiating a complex network of social responsibilities and cosmological connections in the house. Although much research remains to theorize how material items worked to evoke and mitigate emotional states among non-elite Huedans, children, wards, enslaved individuals living within the confines of the kingdom, etc., we are broadening our understanding of those Huedans who heretofore have been presented as stoic political actors and ruthless merchants. This project adds yet another case study recognizing that archaeological actors were complex, feeling, thinking humans and not automata responding to situations in predetermined ways (Tarlow, 2000, p. 718).

Acknowledgments The author wishes to thank Adria LaViolette, Kenneth Kelly, J. Cameron Monroe, Jeffrey Hantman, Grey Gundaker, E. Kofi Agorsah, Suzanne Blier, and Joseph C. Miller for comments on earlier versions of this paper and/or the dissertation project from which it was drawn. Jeff Fleisher offered extensive and insightful comments to earlier versions of this chapter and hours of spirited conversation on archaeologies of emotion. Alexis Adandé served as the local coordinator of my project and offered his considerable knowledge of the archaeology of southern Benin. Joseph Adandé, Obaré Bagodo, Souayibou Varissou, Bienvenue Olory, Didier N'dah, and Elisée Soumoni deserve special thanks for their kind encouragement and local logistical assistance. Early field efforts in 2003–2004 were supported by The Explorers Club Washington Group; the Graduate School of Arts and Science, University of Virginia (UVa); the Department of Anthropology, UVa; and the Center for Academic Excellence, UVa. The longer field season in 2005–2006 was funded by a National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement Grant (#0432893), a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship (#P022A0500), and a special grant by the Embassy of the Netherlands to Cotonou.

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Chapter 6
Communities of Anxiety: Gathering and Dwelling at Causewayed Enclosures in the British Neolithic

Oliver J.T. Harris

Vignette

Imagine the scene at Hambledon Hill, Dorset, Southern England, around 3670 cal BC, in the period we now know as the Early Neolithic. People have gathered together to construct a monument on a scale never before seen in this part of the world. Perhaps two hundred people are present, at least half of them children, as are tens of cattle (mainly elderly females ready for slaughter). Precious family heirlooms, new fashionable kinds of pots and dead bodies accompany the living people and animals. Over the next few weeks, they will dig into the ground, each family group producing a single ditch segment within a circuit that together will enclose an area of over eight hectares. Most of the dead will be allowed to rot down, their bodies pulled apart and deposited in the ditches. Some of the skulls may be kept for a while, cleaned and polished, and a very select few, perhaps just one special child at this stage, will be buried in the ditch intact. It is difficult to know which treatments of the dead were looked on as positive validation and which were not, though it seems particularly likely that the child buried whole was singled out for their difference from the others. These activities were not the first acts on this site; at least one long barrow had been constructed a few years earlier, nor were they to be the last. Unlike most enclosures of its kind, Hambledon was a place of importance for centuries to come. Throughout the gatherings of people, things and animals that took place, people would have been anxious: who would come and who would stay away? Would rituals come off successfully? Debts repaid? The threat of violence, as elsewhere in the Neolithic world, was always around the corner….

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J. Fleisher, N. Norman (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anxiety*,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-3231-3_6

Introduction

Hambledon Hill represents one of the earlier (though not the earliest) examples of a causewayed enclosure, a particular type of monument constructed in Britain during the Early Neolithic, the first period of farming in Britain, more precisely between 3730 and 3525 cal BC (I return to the issue of chronology below) (Whittle, Healy, & Bayliss, 2011, p. 684). The people who built it were most likely still relatively mobile, and while we have some evidence for houses in this period, they remain largely ephemeral. These people herded cattle, kept sheep and pigs (the latter at least closely guarded to prevent breeding with their wild cousins (Rowley-Conwy, Albarella, & Dobney, 2012)) and made and used monuments. The first examples of the latter are the linear tombs made from wood, earth and stone that we know today as long barrows and chambered tombs. Later causewayed enclosures came on the scene. These were interrupted circuits of ditches and quickly became fashionable in Southern Britain after the first one was built around 3730 cal BC. At about the same time, new kinds of pottery became popular, and long-distance exchanges involving polished stone axes became widespread (Whittle et al., 2011).

At the enclosures themselves all manner of activities probably took place: feasting, exchange, the exposure and disposal of corpses, rites of passage, ritual, ceremony and marriage; of course we have better archaeological evidence for some of these than for others. It is almost impossible to separate these into the modern categories of ritual and secular activity (Edmonds, 1993, p. 106). Whereas the chambered tombs represented a smaller commitment in terms of the time it took to build them and the numbers of people involved, causewayed enclosures, at least in their initial construction, represent a new kind of gathering together of multiple communities, something evidenced in the varied diets of the people who were interred at Hambledon Hill (Richards, 2000; 2008).

Within these gatherings and activities, so evocatively described by Mark Edmonds as ‘tournaments of value’ (1993, p. 124), it seems implausible that tensions, fears and arguments as well as a feeling of togetherness were not at play. Who consumed the choice cuts of meat when cattle were slaughtered? Who marked their success with the richest acts of deposition in each ditch? Who left with more gifts, possessions and connections than they arrived with? This clearly raises issues germane to the topic of this volume: to what extent might anxiety characterise the emotional textures of people’s activities at Hambledon Hill? In this paper I want to suggest that by building anxiety into our accounts, and specifically by treating it as an analogy for a particular quality of an affective field (defined below and see Harris & Sørensen, 2010), we can not only add further richness to our experiential accounts of causewayed enclosures, we can develop the specific histories of this period now emerging (Whittle et al., 2011) in new ways. I will return to this cultural context below, but first it is necessary to conduct a little theoretical legwork to give us the tools we need to navigate this argument.

Anxiety

Let us start by considering anxiety itself. For that most notorious of twentieth-century phenomenologists, Martin Heidegger (1962), anxiety was one of the vital aspects of Being-in-the-world. Rather than a specific emotion, anxiety, Heidegger argued, was one of the key elements in how human beings related to the world and to death. In this formulation anxiety was caused by people being aware of their own Being, their own existence and its temporal, finite, quality (Heidegger, 1962, p. 232). Although Heidegger (1962, p. 393) acknowledges we can be anxious about something specific, he still contrasts it quite strongly with fear (Moran, 2000, p. 241). As he puts it:

Fear is occasioned by entities with which we concern ourselves environmentally. Anxiety, however, springs from Dasein[1] itself. When fear assails us, it does so from within-the-world. Anxiety arises out of Being-in-the-world, as thrown Being-towards-death. (Heidegger, 1962, p. 395)

Thus, from this perspective we could undoubtedly argue that anxiety, as an existential element of the Being of all humans, would certainly have a key role to play in the Neolithic (and indeed all periods). This of course throws up a problem; it takes a central part of what it is to be human and places it outside of history (something directly against Heidegger's philosophy). In effect it acts to essentialize this aspect of humanity, something all anthropologically or historically minded academics loathe to do. Indeed, this is a constant difficulty when looking at emotions in the past. Elsewhere I have discussed the relationships between emotions and memory (Harris, 2010), emotions and place (Harris, 2009) and emotions and community (Harris & Sørensen, 2010). However, in each of these cases, I have not offered accounts of *specific* emotional valances. As demonstrated by numerous anthropologists, archaeologists, sociologists and psychologists (e.g. from a *much* longer list Averill, 1980; Harré & Finlay-Jones, 1986; Lupton, 1998; Lutz, 1998; Tarlow, 2000), emotions are historically contextual. That is, the experience of them varies through time and space. Any attempt to pin down specific experiences of emotions, or rather to suggest that certain emotions exist outside of these histories, is potentially essentialist, universalising and ahistorical. However, as Susan Kus (2010) has recently argued, just because emotions are contextual does not mean that there will not be areas of overlap between different contexts. Here we can note similarities with considerations of gender in the past. While it is clearly problematic to take modern understandings of gender and thrust them into other contexts—because this ignores both the history of these concepts and the fact they are produced through repeated performative practice (Butler, 1993; Harris, 2005)—it is equally the case

[1] Dasein is the term Heidegger (1962) uses in place of human, person, mind or body. He does so to capture the always-already-contextualised nature of Being-in-the-world. There is no existential category of Dasein, separate from the world, which can be discussed apart from the world. Rather Dasein is always part of the world, always thrown into its own history.

that we do see time and again conceptions of gender that have things in common with one another. Thus, all known societies have at least two genders which we can broadly recognise as male and female, even as we also acknowledge the manifest differences between our understandings of these terms and the probability of other genders also existing. These shared categories do not exist because of a shared 'natural' aspect of humanity, but rather because of shared histories over the very long term (cf. Harris & Robb, 2012; Robb & Harris, 2013).

We can turn our attention to emotion in a similar manner. The compelling argument Heidegger makes for the centrality of anxiety to Being-in-the-world allows us to posit the importance of a version of this emotion, through humanity's shared history, in all societies. Thus, in one of the classic anthropologies of emotion, Catherine Lutz (1998) discusses the importance of an emotion (*metagu*) that broadly corresponds to fear and anxiety, even as she also identifies emotions which do not have an equivalent in the Western world (e.g. *fago*). Recognising the potential for discussing anxiety as a broadly shared category or texture of emotional practice, however, is only half the battle. This does not tell us what people might have been anxious about. Despite his obsession with death and nothingness, Heidegger acknowledges anxiety can have more specific causes. What might this be in the Neolithic, for example? How did people deal with anxiety? Just as importantly, how can we engage with these questions archaeologically?

Anxiety as a Quality of an Affective Field

To answer these questions, we need to develop other tools. To begin with we need to acknowledge three things about emotions:

1. Emotions are entirely and necessarily embodied (Ratcliffe, 2002; Sheets-Johnstone, 1999; Slaby, 2008). That is, we cannot distinguish between mental and physical aspects of an emotion. To feel something is to be moved, or more precisely to be *moved to move* (Sheets-Johnstone, 1999). As such, emotions do not produce physical responses; we do not decide on an emotion and then feel the appropriate physical sensation. Nor do we feel something and then interpret it as an emotion. Rather the mental and the physical are the same thing: the emotion that moves us. As with all embodied practices, they thus fall under the remit of archaeological investigation because our 'record' (however we couch that problematic term) is the material conditions through which people moved and simultaneously the outcome of those movements (cf. Barrett, 2000).
2. Emotions are necessarily social. That is, although emotions are of course felt by people, they are not felt and experienced alone; rather, they emerge out of engagements with the world that include other people, places and material things (Konvalinka et al., 2011; Singer et al., 2004). Because emotions are directional—about something and towards something—they thus form a connection between people and the world (Ahmed, 2004). This social nature of emotion means that in particular times and places, we can define particular kinds of 'emotional

communities' who are linked by a shared understanding of particular emotional valences and experiences (Rosenwein, 2006).

3. The inevitable follow-up to this is that emotions are also material (Gosden, 2004, p. 39). They are not bound by the human body but rather emerge through people's engagement with the material world. Emotions are thus distributed across people, places and things. Emotions of feeling at home offer a good example. It is by decorating your rented flat with your own furniture, paintings and objects that it gains the ability to generate feelings of comfort and familiarity. Equally removing all these things or preventing them from ever arriving can leave places 'cold' or empty (cf. Parrott, 2005). Material things can become *sticky*, as Sara Ahmed (2004) puts it, with emotions as they connect us to other people and places: the souvenir of a foreign holiday, the watch given to you by your grandfather and the wedding ring that instantiates a new form of relationship or the absence of a deceased spouse. As Tim Flohr Sørensen and I have argued at much greater length (Harris & Sørensen, 2010), it is this material quality to emotions that renders them fundamentally central to the stuff archaeologists dig up.[2]

To capture the manner in which emotions emerge out of relationships with the world and with other people, Sørensen and I have proposed the term 'affective field' (Harris & Sørensen, 2010, pp. 150–151). This term captures the way in which relations are at the heart of how emotions emerge and thus the way that emotions in no way belong to the individual but always emerge from the conjunction of multiple people and things. Affective fields do not require co-presence to be instantiated, precisely because they are materialised through people, things and places. Thus, objects used in exchange relations can bind people into an affective field over considerable distances. A highly prized object, for example, might instantiate feelings of pleasure in its new owner, while the person who gave it away might miss its reassuring presence, the histories and memories it invoked or the manner in which it helped complete a sense of self. Indeed as Thomas Maschio (1998) has argued, it is notable that emotions are at the heart of gift giving in Melanesia. There can be multiple affective fields in play at any one time, and the scale at which they operate can vary extensively, from a couple of people, an object or a place, to large fields involving thousands or even millions of people over enormous geographical areas (a good example of this is people watching the World Cup final).

Before we turn to anxiety itself, I want to make one more point about affective fields: that is their crucial connection to forms of sociality we tend to gloss as community. Much like affective fields, communities require neither co-presence nor co-residence to come into effect and are sustained as much through material things as through people (Yaeger & Canuto, 2000). Indeed like affective fields we may be better off seeing communities as assemblages of people, things, animals, places and

[2] Of course this division between the social, material and embodied nature of emotions is entirely heuristic. People have social relations with things and material relations with one another, and all of this is embodied. Indeed I mean to imply no categorical distinction between how people relate to each other and to the world in the terms 'social' and 'material' (cf. Webmoor & Witmore, 2008).

so on, rather than collectivities solely restricted to human beings (Harris, 2013, 2014). Communities in effect are produced in part through people's emotional connections to one another, particular places and ways of doing things (Anderson, 1991; Overing & Passes, 2000; Whittle, 2003, 2007). Thus, communities themselves are the outcome of particular kinds of affective fields that operate at certain kinds of scales. Just as multiple affective fields can coexist, so multiple communities too can be at play in any one situation (Yaeger, 2000).[3]

Where does this leave anxiety? Anxiety, I suggest, is a particular quality or texture of an affective field. It can be experienced individually, but it is equally something that can have a much wider influence. Think of an academic department collectively anxious about potential job cuts or a football crowd collectively anxious during a penalty shoot-out. Archaeologically, individual experiences of anxiety are unlikely to be detectable in the past, particularly in the absence of written records. However, when we consider anxiety as a texture of larger-scale affective fields, particularly those associated with communities, we can consider in some depth how this might have emerged and what the consequences might be. Fundamentally to demonstrate this, however, we need to turn from the theoretical to the applied and examine these arguments within a specific historical and political context.

Early Neolithic Britain

So let us return to Neolithic Britain and causewayed enclosures. Before we can really get to grips with questions of anxiety at these sites, however, some further background to them may well be helpful, particularly in the light of recently emerging chronologies which will play a crucial part in the argument I wish to make. This history will concentrate on Southern Britain, both because this is now the best dated and understood region of the country and because this is where most of the causewayed enclosures are located.

Until very recently it was commonplace to remark that the Neolithic in Britain began around or shortly after 4000 cal BC.[4] These farmers kept cows, sheep and pigs and grew crops (to a greater or lesser extent depending on point of view (compare Fairbairn (2000) or Thomas (1999) with Bogaard and Jones (2007) or Rowley-Conwy (2004)). Pottery, initially in the form of carinated bowls (Cleal, 2004), was widely used. While much of this basic understanding remains in place, in the light

[3] The kinds of community I am discussing here forms a scale of analysis between the affective fields instantiated in particular circumstances and the broader emotional communities defined by Rosenwein (2006).

[4] The understanding of this transition has somewhat been polarised between people who see it as solely the product of farmers arriving from the continent (e.g. Sheridan, 2010) and others who prefer to see it as the outcome of local hunter gatherers taking up a new lifestyle (e.g. Thomas, 2008). As is often the case, such oppositions do much to suppress the complexity of these processes in the past, and narratives involving *both* continental farmers and local people playing a key role are more convincing (Cummings & Harris, 2011; Whittle et al., 2011).

of new modelling of radiocarbon dates with Bayesian statistics,[5] carried out by Whittle et al. (2011), we can now tell much more sophisticated narratives.

Farming did not begin all over Southern Britain at the same moment, but rather in different places at different times. In the Thames estuary, for example, it begins in the forty-first century cal BC (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 731). It can then be found around the Cotswolds to the west and Sussex to the south by about 3950 cal BC (Whittle et al., 2011, chapter 14). Over the next hundred years, it spreads into other areas of Southern Britain, including the far south-west, with Wales perhaps the last area to 'go' Neolithic around 3700 cal BC (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 738). While these people do indeed use sheep, pigs and especially cows from the very beginning, it is also clear that specific histories can be traced in how they used material things and in the development of particular trading networks, especially after 3700 cal BC.[6]

There is a variable gap between the start of farming and the first construction of monuments (Whittle et al., 2011). In Eastern England, with a couple of possible exceptions (e.g. Coldrum in Kent) monuments appear about two or three generations later mostly in the form of earthen long barrows constructed over timber chambers holding dead bodies (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 835). In slight contrast in the south-west of the country monumentality follows hot on the heels of the start of the Neolithic, being either contemporary with or following very shortly after the start of farming. By around 3750 BC people in Southern Britain, except perhaps in Wales, were building and using monuments dedicated to the dead, though not all at the same time and not all in the same way.[7] These farming communities, mobile to some extent, but with clear relationships to place established through both agriculture and architecture, came together in relatively small numbers to build tombs. It is striking that the evidence does not suggest that many were in use at any one time; it is thus probably not the case that all communities had their local tomb where the ancestors were interred. Rather tombs appear to have been constructed in response to particular circumstances, on occasions connected to violent events, such as the potential massacre that preceded the construction of the long barrow at Wayland's Smithy 1 in Oxfordshire (Cummings & Harris, 2011; Fowler, 2010; Whittle et al., 2011; Whittle, Bayliss, & Wysocki, 2007), a point I return to below.

[5] This is not the place to conduct a detailed review of how Bayesian modelling works (but see Bayliss & Whittle, 2007; Whittle et al., 2011, chapter 2). Suffice it to say it involves the combination of prior knowledge (e.g. of stratigraphic sequence) with computer modelling to combat the scatter inherent in radiocarbon dates. Explicitly interpretive, the models proposed by Whittle et al. (2011) will be challenged or refined over the coming years. In this paper, however, this is not my aim. Rather I have adopted their chronology as the best available in order to develop the historical account I wish to offer. As a result I will not attempt to justify all the dates quoted here, and the reader who wishes to interrogate them should turn to the various references.

[6] This remains a very superficial summary of the complex chronology proposed by Whittle et al. (2011); readers are encouraged once more to examine this source for a fuller picture.

[7] For the sake of clarity and brevity, I shall gloss over the other forms of monuments constructed in the first half of the fourth millennium cal BC, though these obviously have their role to play as well in the narratives that follow.

Then at the end of the thirty-eighth century and the beginning of the thirty-seventh century cal BC, we see a number of significant developments. Decorated bowl pottery begins to be made in the last few decades of the thirty-eighth century across Southern Britain and use of Gabbroic clay starts in Cornwall and this becomes widely traded across south-western Britain (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 771). The long-distance trade in axes, beautifully polished well beyond any functional necessity, develops, probably getting going between 3680 and 3645 cal BC (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 794). These are undoubtedly highly valued items, often quarried from rock faces that were deliberately selected because of the inaccessible and dangerous nature, presumably adding to the power and potency of their materiality (Bradley & Edmonds, 1993). It is also in this period that causewayed enclosures are constructed for the first time in Southern Britain. Again they did not all begin in the same place at the same time, with the earliest examples being in the Thames estuary (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 690). Beginning perhaps around 3730 cal BC, their construction peaks around 3650 cal BC before declining, reaching a low about 3575 cal BC only to rise again to a second peak around 3550 cal BC, then declining again (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 698). What is clear from this is that there is a real history and rhythm to the construction of enclosures, principally in two waves. Of the well-dated examples, most are short-lived, though exceptions (Etton in Cambridgeshire, Windmill Hill in Wiltshire and Hambledon Hill in Dorset) are used for several hundred years and are well spread across the distribution of these monuments (Whittle et al., 2011). There are also a few in use for a middle range between the short-lived monuments of a few generations and those in use for centuries; Hembury is a good example of this (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 892).

A History of Anxiety in the Early Neolithic

Before turning to a detailed examination of these causewayed enclosures, I want to explore this background a little further and in particular tease out some of the ways in which anxiety and other related elements of the affective fields were historically situated within this newly detailed chronology.

With the Neolithic must have come new tensions and anxieties; in Rosenwein's (2006) sense, new emotional communities were emerging. Despite some claims to the contrary, there is little evidence that the start of the Neolithic saw an immediate rise in population (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 914; *contra* Collard, Edinborough, Shennan, & Thomas, 2010). These tensions were not about population or land per se, therefore, but rather about the new world in which people were living. The Neolithic was a much more interdependent world than its Mesolithic predecessor; connectivity, as Whittle et al. (2011, p. 904) stress, was of great importance. The small groups that began farming would probably not have had herds of cattle that were self-sustaining and would have relied on one another for support in bad times even more than in good. With this increasing sense of reliance across communities also came the potential for particular groups or individuals to build up renown and

prestige through the ownership of large herds or powerful animals. While hunting continued to be socially important (Cummings & Harris, 2011), it no longer provided much economic ballast in the manner it had prior to the fourth millennium. These relationships, links and connections on which people relied could have been a source of anxiety, something that had to be worked at and sustained rather than simply taken for granted (Overing & Passes, 2000). Becoming Neolithic created new forms of dependency on the fertility of specific crops and animals and on relations with neighbours. While the Neolithic offered much in terms of new foods and flavours and the potential in good years for bountiful surplus, people had much more to be anxious about than their Mesolithic forebears.[8]

As the initial communities that had arrived in Eastern England became part and parcel of wider sociality, of links going back millennia, alliances may have become more fragile, spread out over greater distances and more vulnerable. The violence that we see in the Early Neolithic may have reflected back directly on these anxieties; when people were worried about food, personal prestige, honour and so on, violence may have been one way of restoring all of these qualities (cf. Thorpe, 2003, 2006). In turn violence itself would have been a source of anxiety. It is in this world of fragile alliances, anxiety and low-level but continuous violence that the first monuments were constructed. It is remarkable how many chambered tombs and long barrows contain evidence for people who died violently, whether by arrowshot—as at Wayland's Smithy 1 or Ascott-under-Wychwood—or through head trauma such as at Belas Knap (Fowler, 2010; Schulting & Wysocki, 2005; Smith & Brickley, 2009). Of course these are only the archaeologically detectable examples. Indeed, so many leaf-shaped arrowheads were identified by Green (1980) that they were at one stage interpreted as grave goods. That they entered the tomb within rather than with bodies now seems far more likely.

The construction of monuments would have helped to bring small-scale communities together and offered a potential way out of violence and disagreement; they may thus have been about dealing with the anxieties that followed violence, including the potential for further attacks, as anything else. These monuments also had other, unforeseen, consequences, however. They raised the potential for competition between communities, driving change and innovation as new forms of monumentality emerged. They did not solve the potential for violence, even as they struggled to alter particular affective fields through their presence.

It was in this world that the great changes of the thirty-eighth and thirty-seventh centuries took place. As people entered new trade networks so new kinds of emotional relations emerged. The chronologies are not yet defined enough to know which came first - the new networks or causewayed enclosures - but both speak to a new scale of trade, exchange, movement and gathering along with new opportunities

[8] In commenting on this article Alasdair Whittle pointed out that the choices people had to make around food management in this period was something that processual scholars (e.g. Bogucki, 1988; Halstead, 1996) had tackled much more seriously than their post-processual counterparts. He is undoubtedly right that there would be much to gain from rethinking risk and reward at the beginning of farming from a perspective rooted in the archaeology of anxiety and emotion.

for competitiveness, success and failure. The rhythm of enclosure building, peaking first about 3650 cal BC and then again circa 100 years later (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 698), is perhaps indicative not just of the changing fashion of enclosures but of changing forms of emotional engagement as well. Did enclosures themselves help to mediate the exchange relations on which both daily life (in the form of animals, plants, marriage partners) and more exotic prestige and status were based? As communal, open constructions, they helped to produce feelings of broad community, to instantiate a particular kind of affective field, one that might have been central to a world where greater aggregations took place.

Anxiety and Causewayed Enclosures

If this provides some thoughts on the historical setting of causewayed enclosures, how can we develop our narratives and consider how anxiety might make itself manifest in the construction and use of these monuments? Here I examine in more detail some of the activities that took place to see how anxiety, alongside other emotions, may have played out as a quality of the affective fields in which these enclosures existed. To do so I want to look at four specific aspects of the practices that took place at these sites.

Gathering and Anxiety

At all of the sites, even those of notably small size such as Rybury, significant numbers would have gathered together to build and use these sites. At larger enclosures, such as the outer circuit at Windmill Hill and the main enclosure at Hambledon, hundreds of people could have been present. The affective fields at such gatherings would quite likely have had one textural component among others we could describe as anxiety. These were gatherings far in excess of those people would be used to in daily life (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 888). For many people their first visit to an enclosure would have involved meeting people they had never seen before, on a scale unprecedented in the rhythms of life they were largely familiar with. Given the large numbers of children that probably made up these groups, each visit might have been the first for many of the people attending. The shock of participating in an affective field that was constituted not only by people well known but also by distant friends, relatives and potentially enemies would have been palpable. Indeed part of the point of enclosures may have been the way in which they instantiated this particular aspect of an affective field and the way they made people realise the wider world in which they lived (cf. Riviere, 2000). Whittle et al. (2011, p. 903) have recently argued for the role that dominant or competitive people may have played in organising and controlling the emergence of these enclosures. A competitive aspect may well indeed explain why enclosures tended to be built in a rush at particular times as

powerful persons sought to demonstrate their status and why they spread across Southern Britain after their first construction (see also Edmonds, 1993, p. 123). In a world absent from the kinds of social strictures we are familiar with from state societies, however, it seems unlikely that people could have been compelled to attend, nor is this what Whittle et al. imply (e.g. see 2011, p. 904).

Thus, it might not only be the neophytes who were anxious attending these gatherings. For elders and leaders it may too have been a source of concern; how many people would turn up and answer the summons? Perhaps the variation in size and longevity of the enclosures relates directly to the success, fame and renown of their founders. The failure of people to attend, to build and to join in could have resulted in shame and other emotions for those playing a leading role, another manner in which the affective field instantiating the enclosure could have been textured with anxiety. If larger-scale communities, as I argued above, are instantiated as an emotion generated precisely through the kinds of affective fields that were constituted at causewayed enclosures, then the success and failure of these projects related directly to the success or failure of establishing these kinds of community. Larger communities would have had more opportunities for trade and exchange, for supporting each other in times of poor harvest and for the circulation of breeding animals and wedding partners and the opportunity to cement alliances against occasional outbreaks of violence. Each of these in themselves may have been sources of anxiety for people in the Neolithic.

Exchange and Anxiety

It was not only in the affective fields surrounding the acts of gathering itself that anxiety textured the engagements of people. It has often been suggested, probably quite correctly, that causewayed enclosures were sites where extensive levels of exchange and gift giving took place (Edmonds, 1993; Harris, 2006; Sharples, 1991; Whittle et al., 2011). Although exchange by its very nature is hard to localise (the things in question often leaving with their new owners), the deposition of axes, occasionally as at Hambledon Hill of continental origin, and of pottery made from clay from far-off sources, does suggest that important goods were coming in to the enclosures. Some stayed there for archaeologists to find, but in the gatherings that marked these sites, some no doubt also left as well. Anxiety may have played a key role within these exchanges. Annette Weiner (1992, p. 40), in her reconsideration of exchange in Oceania, has recognised that the central concern of exchange there is not, as has commonly been assumed, reciprocity, but in fact the paradox of keeping while giving. That is to say, people invest time and effort in trying to keep the most important inalienable possessions while meeting their debts by giving away others. The most prestigious inalienable possessions are of key importance in setting up exchange networks, as people give gifts and incur debts in the hope of one day being able to secure the exchange of a particularly desired object. The presence of inalienable possessions, particularly of more desired ones, thus becomes a central part of

all exchanges, as their presence, displayed or not, and their possession, acknowledged or not, demonstrate the differences between people (Weiner, 1992, p. 41). Thus, the motivation for exchange in these groups comes not from the desire to give, but the desire to keep (Weiner, 1992, p. 43).

The possession of these inalienable items can also have consequences in terms of power, authority and hierarchy. The development of hierarchy in Oceania, Weiner points out, is directly connected with the possession of inalienable goods and how they authenticate the rights and privileges of their owners (1992, p. 131). The possession of a powerful inalienable item can legitimate claims to resources, to meaning and to knowledge that cannot otherwise be made. But in turn 'what is most essential about the trajectories of inalienable possessions […] is not their individual ownerships but the source of their identification' (Weiner, 1992, p. 100). In the Neolithic, therefore, particular objects may have been understood as intensely powerful because of the relationships they embodied and represented, the complex histories of movement and exchange in which they were involved and the multiple bodies of which they had been a part. How these items were ranked would have depended on these relational aspects.

The aesthetics upon which the community judged the power of an item, above and beyond its authentication, rested upon its history, claimed or real, rather than solely on its form or function. In the centuries between 3700 and 3500 cal BC, the authentication of inalienable possessions may have taken place in a public surround—within causewayed enclosures. Perhaps it was here, through the relationships between the enclosure, the people and the objects, that the veracity of claims of inalienability, and of the specificity of biography, could be assessed. These are moments in which people, objects and the community may have been caught up in 'tournaments of value' to return to the earlier quotation from Edmonds (1993, p. 124; cf. Appadurai, 1986, p. 21). These tournaments judged the veracity of claims made about objects. Or as Appadurai has put it, 'what is at issue in such tournaments is not just the status, rank, fame or the reputation of actors, but the disposition of the central tokens of value in the society in question' (1986, p. 21). Such moments of judgement, I argue, would have empowered the community, rather than any particular individual, to assess the authenticity of inalienable possessions, because of the open and inclusive architecture of the enclosures (cf. Whittle, 2013). What makes a possession inalienable in this context, what the authentication may have judged, was 'its exclusive and cumulative identity with a particular set of owners through time' (Weiner, 1992, p. 33). An affective field thus emerged at causewayed enclosures through the interactions of multiple people, objects and the place itself. It was here that objects could be brought and authenticated, acknowledged as genuinely coming from places far away, say, from North Wales in the example of one axe deposited at Etton (Pryor, 1998). Anxiety would be one of several emotions that emerged through these conjunctions of people and things as concerns were raised: who would get to keep certain possessions and what would have to be given away? Which possessions would be authenticated, judged to have truly come from certain sources, to have passed through certain hands and to have, in other words, particular and compelling histories?

The Dead and Anxiety

There is another category of practice at causewayed enclosures that plausibly raises issues of anxiety: the treatment of the dead. Although not present at all enclosures, many do show evidence that these sites were selected as places where the dead could be worked on and transformed (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 893). At Windmill Hill a man was placed in a pit but left exposed prior to the construction of the outer ring of the enclosure (Whittle, Pollard, & Grigson, 1999, pp. 79–80). Elsewhere at this site human remains were encountered in the ditches. Of particular interest is the association of child bones with animals, notably where certain equivalences are drawn between types of bone: the cranium of a 3–4-year-old child nested inside an ox frontlet in the outer ditch (Whittle et al., 1999, p. 89) and the insertion of a child's femur within a cattle humerus in the inner ditch (Whittle et al., 1999, p. 110).[9] At Hambledon Hill the evidence for the treatment of human remains is even more widespread. Bodies appear to have been allowed to rot down at the site, judging by both their disarticulation and the evidence for gnawing on several examples (Mercer & Healy, 2008). On some occasions the process was speeded up by people cutting away the flesh. Skulls may have been kept longer, and on occasions other bones too may have been in circulation for a period of time (McKinley, 2008; cf. Harris, 2010, pp. 365–366). The vast majority of burials at both the central enclosure at Hambledon Hill and its nearby sister site, the Stepleton enclosure, appear to have been allowed to rot down in the open. Articulated burials stand out as special for various reasons, usually either because they are victims of violence (notably at the Stepleton enclosure) or because of the specific abnormalities, such as the two children buried in the main enclosure who suffered from the premature fusing of the skull (Harris, 2010; McKinley, 2008). It should be noted that experiencing violence was not in itself enough to be selected for 'whole' burial, as two of the skulls exposed in the main enclosure have evidence for having been struck with a blunt instrument (McKinley, 2008, p. 510; cf. Schulting & Wysocki, 2005).

How can we relate this engagement with the dead back to the question of anxiety? Given the discussion of Heidegger above, this might seem very straightforward. As we noted for Heidegger, the relationship between anxiety and death is clear cut: it is precisely the awareness of our own death—the temporal nature of our Being-in-the-world—that generates a sense of anxiety for Heidegger. Equally we could consider the work of the philosopher Julia Kristeva (1982) who discussed the concept of abjection—that which is radically other. As Liv Nilsson Stutz (2003) has shown, there is much to be gained from considering the corpse in terms of its abject status, as something that might generate fear, anxiety and even terror in those who engage with it.

Rather than develop these interesting approaches further, however, I want to get past just the fact that these bodies are dead, to consider the actual practices a little bit further. Perhaps we can draw an analogy to suggest alternative possibilities.

[9] See Harris (2011) for further discussion of these spectacular deposits.

Constantina Nadia Seremetakis (1991; cf. Harris, 2010, p. 360) has examined the ritual of secondary burial in rural Greece. Tensions here surround the uncovering of the bones because unexpected factors—the failure of all the flesh to rot away, the bones being black rather than white—can lead women conducting the ritual to discover new and potentially unpleasant truths about the deceased (Seremetakis, 1991, p. 189). At a site like Hambledon Hill, some people would have been familiar with the way a body breaks down, the speed it should take and so on. The evidence that some of the time this process was speeded up by cutting away the flesh indicates, perhaps, that people were anxious about how this process played out. Here an affective field linking the bones, the monument and those in charge of caring for the dead became tinged with anxiety. At Windmill Hill the specific selection of ox frontlet and child cranium, cattle humerus[10] and child femur, cannot be accidental and suggests specific links are being drawn between children and these animals.

Speculatively, perhaps this is in response to a specific set of anxieties around fertility, childhood mortality or human/animal relations. Rather than merely seeing the deposits here solely as a source of anxiety, we may well be better off seeing anxiety as a motivating force for action (cf. Milton, 2005, p. 223; Slaby, 2008, p. 439). It was people's anxieties that led them to engage with these remains in particular ways, to insert a child's femur into the cattle humerus, to speed up the process of decay by stripping flesh away from skeletons at Hambledon Hill.

Violence and Anxiety

The final area of potential anxiety I would like to turn to is perhaps the most obvious cause for concern of all—the potential for violence at enclosures. This goes well beyond the already noted victims of head traumas at Hambledon Hill. Indeed throughout the use of causewayed enclosures in the south and west of the country, we see a range of sites where large-scale attacks have taken place (Whittle et al., 2011, pp. 716–719). At Hambledon itself, for example, the outworks on the Shroton spur early in the enclosure's use and the palisade around the Stepleton spur of the hill were attacked and burned to the ground in the mid-thirty-sixth century cal BC (Healy et al., 2011, pp. 140–141). Two deaths can be linked to this event, and two other men also died at the Stepleton enclosure having been shot with leaf-shaped arrowheads (Mercer & Healy, 2008). Enclosures in Cornwall such as Carn Brea also saw attacks in this period. Most famous of all is the so-called battle of Crickley Hill where the enclosure was assaulted and up to 400 leaf-shaped arrowheads fired at the entrance (Dixon 1988).

The fact that much of this violence crowds into the period when enclosures were constructed in the middle of the fourth millennium BC suggests large-scale violence was not endemic throughout the Neolithic (though small-scale interpersonal

[10] The cattle humerus, unlike its human counterpart, is still a *leg* bone of course (Harris, 2011).

violence undoubtedly was (Schulting & Wysocki, 2005; Smith & Brickley, 2009). Rather there was a particular time when the affective fields generated at these sites could be characterised by these specific kinds of anxiety. Furthermore, we can again see anxiety as a motivating factor. The construction of the palisade around Stepleton enclosure at Hambledon Hill seems to have immediately preceded its destruction. As Whittle et al. (2011, p. 718) point out, it appears people knew of the potential of attack and deliberately prepared themselves for it; they were anxious and attempted to alleviate that anxiety through altering the affective field through the construction of this defensive feature. In turn we can imagine that anxiety helped to motivate the attacks, no doubt alongside other emotions including anger, jealousy and envy; these latter emotions perhaps stimulated by the success of these particular enclosures (Whittle et al., 2011, p. 718).

Conclusion

These four areas reveal both the complexity of practices at causewayed enclosures and the potential for us to investigate these actions in terms of particular affective fields and the emotions they instantiated. Despite many disciplinary (mis)conceptions, archaeology is a discipline ripe for engagement with emotion and affect (Harris, 2009, 2010; Harris & Sørensen, 2010; Kus, 2010; Tarlow, 2000). By approaching emotions not merely as something contained in people's minds, but rather as an embodied/social/material practice, we can see how it both motivates action and textures the material conditions people lived through, and we excavate as archaeologists. Anxiety offers a way of describing some of the tensions inherent in how people live, in the worries at the heart of Being (Heidegger, 1962). We do not need to take the experience of anxiety as precisely comparable in the modern world and the past, nor do we need to assume the causes are the same, to explore how behaviours and histories were driven by and drove this quality of affective fields. As Kay Milton puts it, 'understanding why people act as they do requires an understanding of how they develop emotional commitments that motivate their actions' (2005, p. 223). In Neolithic Britain we can thus add to the detailed histories now being produced by considering not only rivalry and competition, but concern, anxiety and the emergence of new emotional communities (Rosenwein, 2006) as driving forces of the changes we can now detect through the first half of the fourth millennium cal BC. As such anxiety is not merely a peripheral quality of phenomenological experience, but an agent of history itself.

Acknowledgements Thanks go to Jeff Fleisher and Neil Norman for the invitation to appear in this volume and their patience in waiting for my submission. I am also enormously grateful to Alasdair Whittle and the editors for their comments on this piece. They have improved the work immensely, but they should not feel anxious that anyone will hold them responsible for its inevitable shortcomings. The article was written during a Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellowship split between Newcastle University and the University of Leicester. I am enormously appreciative of both institutions and the trust for their support.

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Chapter 7
Bodily Protection: Dress, Health, and Anxiety in Colonial New England

Diana DiPaolo Loren

> *Souls are mixed with things, things with souls. Lives are mingled together, and this is how, among persons and things so intermingled, each emerges from their own sphere and mixes together.*
>
> —Marcel Mauss, The Gift (1973)

Introduction

Many colonial contexts in North America can be characterized by the anxieties surrounding transgressions and disruptions to colonial orders. While disease, starvation, and violence were constant threats to survival, so were social and economic manipulations and transgressions. Colonial officials, missionaries, and priests fretted over the physical and spiritual state of the colony, souls that would be lost when colonists would "turn native," as well as the interethnic relations that disrupted ordered colonial hierarchies and threatened imperial loyalties. Fears and uncertainties revealed themselves in new understandings and categorizations of bodies, identities, and sexuality when colonizer settled among the colonized and familiar and unfamiliar intersected. These anxieties regarding the discord, fear, and uncertainty of the colonial world were palpable, marked, and recorded in historical accounts, preserved in colonial archives (Lindman & Tarter, 2001; Loren, 2007; Stoler, 2009).

Colonial narratives emphasized the physical body as a locus of anxiety during European contact and encounter: the place of lived experiences of colonialism where matters of race, gender, identity, and otherness were crafted and categorized. In an attempt to counteract fluidity and curb imperial anxiety, empires created laws and proclamations to keep those under colonial rule in their social, sexual, and sartorial places. The lived reality of colonialism, however, was as much about its subtleties and disjunctures, failures, and subversions as it was about its

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J. Fleisher, N. Norman (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anxiety*,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-3231-3_7

decrees and imagined order (Dawdy, 2008, p. 4). Colonial peoples often created their own ideological and material strategies to stabilize uncertain environments and curb anxieties of the flesh, disease, and sin. In text and material culture, we can understand early colonial contexts as more fluid and complicated than orderly, as places where identities were performed, subverted, and negotiated.

These concerns are found in the archives of seventeenth-century Harvard College. Disciplines of body, intellect, and soul were entangled at the Puritan institution where fear and apprehension played into the constitution, reproduction, and transformation of social life. In this chapter, I use the archaeological and archival records of colonial Harvard to explore how these anxieties regarding one's body impacted embodied practices relating to dress and protection of the physical and spiritual flesh. I read the archive of colonial Harvard for accounts that suggest anxious thoughts regarding the body, sin, and health. I couple archival information with archaeological material recovered from Harvard Yard to explore how these anxieties regarding one's body impacted embodied practices relating to dress and protection of the physical and spiritual flesh. I discuss the sumptuous and material strategies employed at colonial Harvard to maintain, protect, and police Puritan notions of modesty, morality, and health of Native American and English students in an otherwise uncertain colonial context.

Colonial Harvard is a unique context for investigating colonial anxiety in New England. Established just 6 years after the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and 16 years after the founding of the Plymouth Bay Colony, the College was situated among a small community of homes and farms in Cambridge, part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Both colonies were religiously conservative, predominantly populated by Puritans seeking relief from persecution in England (Bremer, 1995). Harvard was constructed in this world, a somewhat sequestered place to train ministers who would preach in the English and Native American communities outside the College walls.

As an archaeological context, the site is also unique. Other seventeenth-century sites in Massachusetts include Native American burial contexts, notably the Burr's Hill site, or Native American praying towns, such as Magunkaquog (Gibson, 1980; Mrozowski, Herbster, Brown, & Priddy, 2005, 2009; see also Brenner, 1984; Hodge, 2005; Rubertone 2001; Willoughby, 1935). Archaeological investigations of English contexts have largely been conducted at tavern and domestic contexts in Plymouth, including the Winslow site (Beaudry, Goldstein, & Chartier, 2003; Deetz & Deetz, 2000), and Boston, notably the Cross Street back lot site and the Katherine Nanny Naylor privy (Brown & Bowen, 1998; Cook, 1998; Heck & Balicki, 1998; see also *Historical Archaeology* 32(3), a special issue focusing on the archaeology of colonial Boston). Given its educational mission and population—primarily English but also Native American students and other community members—the seventeenth-century Harvard College archaeological context is distinct from these other colonial Massachusetts sites. And while archaeological investigations on institutional and educational contexts are a growing research area, there are no institutional contexts that date to the seventeenth century (Skowronek & Lewis, 2010; Wilke, 2010).

The Anxious Colonial Body: Morality, Dress, and Physick

Consideration of embodied action and material anxieties at seventeenth-century Harvard must take into account Puritan perspectives on the body, its appearance, and health. The tenets of Puritanism were founded on the belief that the Church of England was corrupt and that true Christians must separate themselves from it, to "purify" the Church of England of its remaining Catholic traits (Bremer, 1995). Central to Puritanism was the doctrine of predestination, which taught that only God would save a select few "saints" and the remainder of humanity was condemned to hell. Humans, inherently sinful and corrupt, were rescued from damnation only by arbitrary divine grace and were duty bound to do God's will. For Puritans, the moral soul and physical body were inseparable (Godbeer, 2002; St. George, 1998). The dialectical relationship of body and soul both impacted and foretold action and intent. The actions of the body that housed an unclean soul were suspect and unclean thoughts and actions corrupted the soul. These fundamental beliefs generated expectations and anxieties of what it meant to act and live as a true Puritan in colonial Cambridge, and archival documentation indicates that anxieties of body and soul were experienced and materialized.

This historical context allows the placement of this study comfortably within current literature of embodiment and materiality. Theories of embodiment in archaeology—often influenced by the work of phenomenologists such as Merleau-Ponty, Husserl, and Heidegger and practice theorists such as Bourdieu and Giddens—posit that it is through the body that a person experiences the world and forms a sense of self and identity (Crossland, 2010; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984; Giddens 1984; Joyce, 2005, 2007; Kus, 1992; Merleau-Ponty, 1989; Meskell, 2004). Consciousness and perception of the world and the body are intricately intertwined forming the body's lived experience, its "being in the world" (Merleau-Ponty, 1989). Lived experience and, concomitantly, the creation of social identities and tastes are situated within and through the body. More importantly, lived experience is situated in a discourse of appropriate bodily action, and bodily experience is given meaning through that discourse (see Moore, 1994, pp. 58–63); that is, experiences of the body can only be understood in the context in which that body exists, such as seventeenth-century Cambridge. This focus on the context poses bodily experience as culturally specific, moving away from the critique that embodiment and phenomenological approaches treat lived experience as universal (cf. Crossland, 2010, pp. 389–390; Grosz, 1994, pp. 86–111; see also Joyce, 2007).

The sensing body is situated within a material world (Crossland, 2010; Gosden & Knowles, 2001; Joyce, 2005, 2007; Kus, 1992; Meskell, 2004; Miller, 2005; Thomas, 1991). Lived experience is constituted with and through material culture, and the residues of those embodiments and lived experiences are found in texts, objects, and space. While definitions and conceptualizations of materiality vary widely within archaeology, a general goal of theoretical approaches to materiality is in explicating how an individual both shapes objects and uses objects to shape identity (Crossland, 2010; Gosden & Knowles, 2001; Joyce, 2005; Meskell, 2004; Miller, 2005; White & Beaudry, 2009). Material engagements during periods of

colonization carry the stamp of imperial desires and imaginations. That is, how colonized and colonizers were to live in relationship to the politics of inclusion and exclusion: sumptuary laws, imperial rules, and expectations. The lived experiences of colonial subjects—how they lived (or were forced to live) in their material worlds and how material worlds shaped people—redrew the contours of colonialism (Gosden, 2005). The memory of those lived experiences resides not only in the histories of indigenous peoples, but the materiality of colonial engagements is found in museums, archives, and archaeological sites (see Cipolla, 2008; Gosden, 2005).

To say that the colonial world was experienced (and remembered) without emotion is simply false. Lived experience was not only material, it was also emotional (Kus, 1992; Tarlow, 2000). Emotions are part of being in the world; they are part of the experienced reality arising from and orientated toward the social world (Crossley, 2001, p. 85). Following this logic, we cannot understand embodied action without making intellectual room for emotions, such as anxiety (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 231–234; sensu Kus, 1992; Tarlow, 2000). This is not to say that anxiety is a universal emotion; rather, moments of discord and disquiet produce spaces for conscious evaluations of the embodiment of social identities, such as those experienced at colonial Harvard.

By the mid-1630s, English Protestants known as Puritans founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony in present-day New England among existing Massachusetts, Narragansett, Niantic, Nipmuc, and Wampanoag communities. Harvard University was founded in 1636 during this period of settlement and conversion to create a bastion of Puritan ideology where English and Native American students could be trained in "knowledge and godliness" to become ministers for the growing colony (Stubbs, Capone, Hodge, & Loren, 2010). Adherence to Puritan ideology was regulated through the production of College Laws, modeled after the laws of the newly formed Massachusetts Bay Colony, regarding comportment, action, and dress of English and Native American students. College laws were put into place to counteract ambiguity and anxieties that abounded in Puritan New England regarding the dangers of witchcraft, overt sumptuous behavior, and pleasures of the flesh.

The clean, devout Puritan body was policed through sumptuary laws. The logic of sumptuary laws was simple: they were intended to restrict lavish dress in order to curb extravagance, protect fortunes, and visually mark the distinctions between levels of society and between Christian and non-Christian Native Americans. Bay Colony sumptuary laws loudly enforced a modest and conservative style of dress among all inhabitants, a style that would indicate at a glance who you were by what you wore (De Marly, 1990, pp. 35–38; Goodwin, 1999, p. 112). In 1651, for example, the Massachusetts legislature declared, "our utter detestation and dislike, that men or women of mean condition, should take upon them the garb of Gentlemen, by wearing Gold or Silver Lace, or Buttons, or Points at their knees, or to walk in great Boots… which tho allowable to persons of greater Estates, or more liberal education, is intolerable of people in low condition" (quoted in Degler 1984, p. 11). Not surprisingly, the 1655 Harvard College laws mirrored this orthodox vision of conservative dress, dictating that English and Native American students were not

permitted to leave their chambers without "Coate, Gowne, or Cloake" and that "every one, everywhere shall weare modest and somber habit, without strange ruffianlike or Newfangled fashions, without all lavishe dress, or excesse of Apparell whatsoever" (Colonial Society of Massachusetts [CSM], 1935, p. 330). The maintenance of appearance was paramount at the Puritan college as disorder in dress indicated transgressions of the body and soul and reflected disorder in one's personal relationship with God (De Marly, 1990, pp. 36–37).

In the Puritan worldview, sin brought suffering. Like others of his time, Puritan Minister Cotton Mather—who was trained at Harvard in the mid-seventeenth century—linked physical illness to a soul's corruptions (Godbeer, 2002). Puritans believed in demons as did most Christians of this period, and fear of the devil and other evils was a cornerstone of Puritan faith (Godbeer, 2002). Because the body—composed of the classical four humors—contained the same elements as all other material things, the boundaries between body and soul were permeable and, thus, susceptible to the devil and temptation (Finch, 2001). Mather wrote that the devil's goal was to "seduce the souls, torment the bodies" (Mather, 1692, p. 67). Increase Mather—father of Cotton Mather and president of the College in the late seventeenth century—bemoaned the immoral behavior of his parishioners in his 1674 sermon entitled "The Day of Trouble Is Near," noting that, "great decay as to the power of godliness is amongst us" (Lepore 1999:6). Satan attacked the soul by assaulting the body (Brown, 2001; Reis, 1995, p. 15; St. George, 2001). Sinful temptations, such as carnality, drunkenness, and licentiousness, provoked the body, allowing it to become vulnerable to Satan (Brown, 2001; Reis, 1995, pp. 16–17). When exposed to sin, both body and soul would suffer ill-health or worse yet result in possession or witchcraft (Reis, 1995, p. 19) (Fig. 7.1). The Salem witch trials of 1692 included several notable figures from the College: Harvard president Increase Mather, his son Cotton Mather (Class of 1678), and Judge Samuel Sewall (Class of 1671). While witches and the possessed were subject to more extreme forms of treatment and punishment, other Puritans were able to return their bodies to its pure Christian form through religious instruction, the practice of physick, and folk remedies.

It was during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the workings of the body were put into print to educate a growing number of physicians (Gowing, 2003, p. 17). Physick, or the art or practice of healing, was included in the curriculum of European universities as well as early Harvard. At Harvard, courses in physick were taught alongside courses in Latin, mathematics, and theology. In their common books, Harvard students would copy out assigned texts, which included the 1687 *Compendium physicae* by Charles Morton (Blair, 2008, p. 58). Morton's influential volume summarized scientific learning about the body, blending knowledge of religion, anatomy, physics, astronomy, chemistry, physiology, and alchemy.

Scholarly education about the physick accompanied folk understandings of disease. While the practice of the physick was being taught at Harvard, care of these ailments often occurred at home or in apothecaries. Drugs were compounded from local plants, including Indian hemp, papoose root, Indian mallow, anise, and snakeroot (Rapoza, 1990, p. 85, Gill, 1963, p. 62). As John Winthrop, Jr., complained in

Fig. 7.1 Illustration of an authentic case of witchcraft (detail). From Glanvill (1681)

1652 when compelled to prepare medicine himself: "I am not provided of things alwaies ready for such cures yt are usuall to be had ready made in other places at the Apothecaries" (Gill, 1963, p. 62). And there was a profound need for relief from sickness. People in seventeenth-century New England were, in modern terms, suffering on a daily basis. Smallpox, whipworm, and roundworm were prevalent. Malaria and dysentery accounted for the majority of deaths among Native Americans and English, and primary sources tend to focus on smallpox and yellow fever as "dramatic onslaughts" (Beecher & Altschule, 1977, p. 3). Bacterial stomach infections, intestinal worms, epidemic diseases, contaminated food and water, and neglect and carelessness all contributed to a society in which 40 % of children failed to reach adulthood in the seventeenth century. Smallpox likely affected the daily lives of Harvard students, as major outbreaks occurred in 1621, 1633, 1679, and 1689 (Gordon, 1949, p. 58, Rapoza, 1990, p. 84). A smallpox epidemic in Boston in 1677–1678 killed one-fifth of the town's population. Many of the individuals who survived a smallpox epidemic were left blind or pockmarked for life.

Other common sicknesses included respiratory illnesses, dysentery, diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, whooping cough, tuberculosis, mumps, malaria, typhoid fever, typhus, scurvy, and syphilis (Gordon, 1949, p. 63). Increase Mather noted

more than 30 incidences of illness for his family during 1675 as well as numerous accounts of visits to the sick among his community. Also included in the first few pages of his diary was a recipe [receipt] by Dr. Butler useful against the plague, smallpox, measles, and other diseases (Mather, 1900). At the turn of the eighteenth century, Harvard President Benjamin Wadsworth's medical account book noted about sixty recipes for common ailments like coughs, fevers, and pain, as well as more dire diseases like cancer and tuberculosis. Multiple entries for bloody noses and "fluxes" (dysentery) suggest that previous remedies listed had failed and that Wadsworth had opted to try yet another recipe for the health of himself and the students. Considering beliefs of the bodily composition and the vulnerability of the soul and body when exposed to sin, frequent sicknesses reinforced the idea that temptation and the devil were ever present.

While smoking was prohibited at seventeenth-century Harvard, special dispensation for "taking" tobacco was noted in the 1650 Overseer's records, which stated, "No scholar shall take Tobacco unlesse permitted by ye President wth ye Consent of their parents or guardians, & on good reason, first given by a Physitian & then in a sober and private manner" (Colonial Society of Massachusetts [CSM], 1925, p. 28). Native Americans, and no doubt Native American students at Harvard, had introduced tobacco and other herbal medicines to English. Tobacco quickly became a common remedy for most conditions, such as syphilis, epilepsy, and breast cancer. In particular, smoke inhalation was used to stave hunger and thirst as well as treat fever, scurvy, ulcers, gangrene, asthma, and colds (Reiss, 2000, p. 217). Green tobacco and vinegar paste applied to the surface of the body were believed to shrink tumors, and as a syrup mixed with sugar, this compound was taken orally to expel the body of worms and other parasites (Reiss, 2000, p. 217).

English and Native American use of tobacco as a medical treatment suggests a shared understanding and a shared "emotionalcommunity" around illness (Rosenwein, 2010; see Norman and Fleisher, this volume for a fuller discussion of emotional communities). While Native Americans and English in New England understood and treated illness differently, both communities shared emotions that equally committed them to healing the sick. For example, in 1622, Puritan leader Edward Winslow presumably cured Wampanoag sachem of a presumably fatal disease (most likely food poisoning) by prescribing sassafras and chicken soup after Wampanoag healers were unsuccessful (Cohen, 2009, pp. 66–74). By curing Massasoit, Winslow meant to demonstrate the superiority not only of English medicine but also, because body and soul were so intimately tied, the superiority of the Puritan religion in maintaining bodily health. Although Wampanoag healers were unsuccessful, their conceptualizations of the body and illness were in line with Puritan understandings. As was the case with the English, supernatural forces were the cause of many illnesses, and for both communities, when one operated on the body, one operated on the spirit (Cohen, 2009, p. 83). For the newly converted, however, the supernatural force was the devil.

Considering beliefs of the bodily composition and the vulnerability of the soul and body when exposed to sin, frequent sicknesses in seventeenth century New England and Harvard, specifically, reinforced the Puritan belief that temptation and

the devil were real and ever present. This belief was insidious, reinforced in sermons and lectures, copied and transcribed by Native American and English students at Harvard into their common books, and meant to replace all other worldviews.

Materializing Anxiety: Medicinal and Dress Artifacts from Colonial Harvard

In the mid-seventeenth century, early Harvard's campus was comprised of four buildings: the President's lodging, Goffe House, the Old College, and the Indian College (Fig. 7.2). The President's lodging (also known as Peyntree House) and Goffe House were preexisting structures purchased by the College when it was established to house students and a master. The wooden Old College building (completed in 1644) included study and lecture areas, rooms for students, as well as a buttery and kitchen. The 1655 Indian College was Harvard's first brick building and its second building built for educational purposes (Morison, 1936). Meant to house Native American students who were to be educated alongside English students, the Indian College building also housed North America's first printing press. By the end of the seventeenth century, these four structures were torn down and dismantled, disappearing from Harvard's landscape along with Puritanism that was replaced by enlightenment ideals embraced by the College in the eighteenth century.

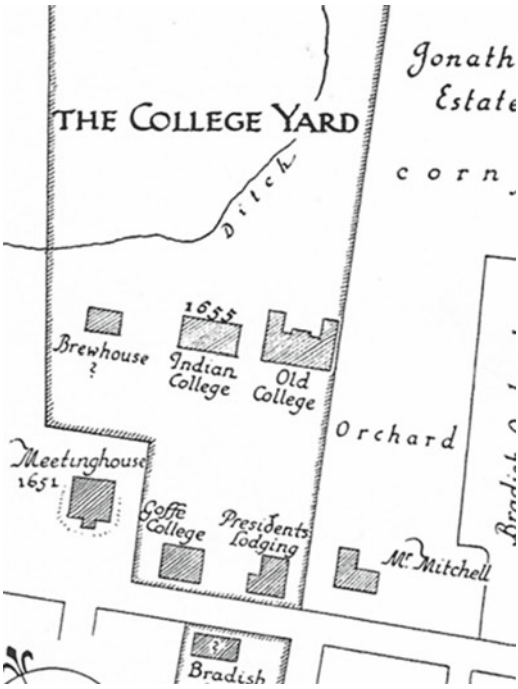

Fig. 7.2 Harvard College Yard in the seventeenth century. Map detail from Morison (1936)

Table 7.1 Summary of seventeenth-century artifacts from Harvard Yard excavations related to healing, clothing, and bodily protection

Location	Glass pharmaceutical bottles	White clay pipe stems	Dress and adornment artifacts	Coin charm
Old College cellar	4	30	9	1
Goffe House well and trench	2	35	13	0
Indian College foundation	10	9	0	0

While excavations in Harvard Yard since the 1980s have focused on three of the College's seventeenth-century buildings, only a small percentage of each building has been excavated. Excavations in the early 1980s revealed a well and trench feature of Goffe House (Graffam, 1981, 1982). At the Old College building location, a portion of the cellar located below the 1644 wooden structure was partially excavated in the 1980s (Stubbs, 1992). And most recently, a foundation trench of the east wall of the 1655 Indian College was uncovered in 2009 (Peabody Museum, 2009). In this discussion, I want to focus on the recovery of artifacts associated with health of the social and physical body: pharmaceutical bottles, medicines, pipe stems, and artifacts of dress to interrogate some the strategies that were used to counteract and stabilize bodily anxieties (see Table 7.1).

Numerous pharmaceutical bottles that were recovered from the Olmstead-Goffe House, Old College, and Indian College locations suggest the commonplace nature (and perhaps need) of medicine in the lives of students at early Harvard. Two green glass pharmaceutical bottles with simple flaring lips were recovered from the Goffe House location; the Old College cellar contained several sherds from small pale green and blue glass pharmaceutical bottles; and numerous green and amber pharmaceutical glass fragments have been recovered from the foundation trench of the Indian College building (Graffam, 1981, pp. 71–72; Stubbs, 1992, p. 516) (Fig. 7.3). Floral remains recovered from the well at the Goffe House location included *Datura stramonium* or thorn apple, *Hyoscyamus niger* or black henbane, and *Oxalis* or lady's sorrel (Graffam, 1981, p. 129). Neither black henbane nor thorn apple was an indigenous North American plant, so their presence suggests that they were consciously cultivated at Harvard. English herbal handbooks like *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (1597) and *Culpeper's Complete Herbal* (1652) recognized henbane and thorn apple as poisons, writing "take notice that this herb must never be taken inwardly" (Culpeper, 1652), suggesting that these plants were strictly used for medicinal, rather than culinary, purposes, namely, for the treatment of inflammation and burns (Culpeper, 1652; Gerarde, 1597).

While 1655 College laws ruled that only students with special permission may "take" tobacco, an abundance of pipe fragments has been recovered from Goffe House, Indian College, and Old College locations and accounts for a larger percentage of the total seventeenth century assemblage at those locations. At the Goffe House location, approximately 35 seventeenth-century pipe fragments were recovered, while nearly 30 seventeenth-century pipe fragments were recovered from the

Fig. 7.3 Pharmaceutical bottle fragment, Goffe House location, Harvard Yard, Cambridge, MA. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM# 2009.9.1568 (digital file# 99160051)

Old College cellar (Stubbs, 1992, p. 534). By the end of the 2011 field season, 9 white clay pipe stems have been recovered from the Indian College foundation. The prevalence of pipe fragments suggests anxious moments both with the students who were likely disobeying college law by smoking, while other students were using tobacco to provide relief from illness perhaps caused by sin or other supernatural forces.

With regard to artifacts that provide insight into the efficacy of sumptuary laws, items of clothing and adornment have been recovered from the Goffe House and Old College locations. At Goffe House, these include three hook and eye clasps (for holding cloaks together), a small knee buckle, two blue glass beads, and seven shell beads (Graffam, 1981). Artifacts of clothing and adornment recovered from the fill of the Old College cellar that date to the late seventeenth century include four metal hook and eye clasps, a bone button, a copper alloy button with embossed decoration, one iron knee buckle, several lead fabric seals (most likely from bales of

Fig. 7.4 Pierced Richmond farthing, Old College location, Harvard Yard, Cambridge, MA. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM# 987-22-10/100153 (digital file# 99160050)

woolen fabric), and a pierced Richmond farthing (Stubbs, 1992, pp. 553–554, 558) (Fig. 7.4).

Such a modest assemblage suggests that Native American and English students likely followed proscribed institutional fashions with the exception of the pierced Richmond farthing. Coin charms, such as the farthing found at Harvard, were commonly used in many parts of Europe from the fourteenth through the nineteenth centuries as a form of countermagic, a touch piece, or amulet worn to protect the wearer from sickness or sin (St. George, 1998, 2001; see also Davidson, 2004, 2010; Hill, 2007). The practice of wearing a touch piece was part of a host of Puritan practices intended to protect body and home that also included apotropaic objects such as shoes and "witch bottles" (glass or ceramic bottles filled with pins, urine, hair) concealed in foundation walls or under hearthstones (Crossland, 2010; Gilchrist, 2008; St. George, 1998). Touch pieces were also concealed, usually worn under a cloak or gown next to the skin. The presence of this rare object at the Old College suggests that the wearer was anxious about bodily protection while being educated at a Puritan institution that discouraged the use of ornaments and countermagic. Yet this same individual lived in a community vocal about hellfire and witchcraft, the dangers of the flesh, and God's wrath (St. George, 1998, 2001). When

viewed within the suite of artifacts recovered from this context, the pierced coin suggests a moment of uncertainty when religious and magical beliefs and personal and institutional goals entangled. In this case, a hybrid practice that was not Native American or English but unique to a context where proscribed fashion was melded with the needs of body and soul, resulting in a way of dressing that went against the grain of institutional ideals.

Conclusions

Although the legacy of Puritanism is celebrated in some areas of New England (such as Salem, MA and Portsmouth, NH), Puritan Harvard has been erased from the contemporary College landscape. The nineteenth-century idealized statue of John Harvard, featured proudly in the center of the Old Yard, is the most public face of the early colonial past. But the memory of Puritan Harvard is found in archives and the archaeological record of Native American and English students who lived, studied, prayed, and ate in four modest structures surrounded by cow yards. Seventeenth-century Harvard students looked to lecturers and masters to help them forge their identity as Puritan ministers and the words of those ministers, including John Eliot and Increase Mather, generated and shaped bodily expectations and anxieties.

As these worlds were experienced, they were felt. We cannot claim to know the feelings of seventeenth-century Harvard students, but the cultural context of Puritanism in New England certainly promoted anxieties regarding one's body and soul. Those anxieties, however, were not universally experienced. As Tarlow (2002, p. 728) notes, "The subjective experience of emotion varies from person to person or even within a person. Responses are not predictable or even consistent." The presence of glass pharmaceutical bottles and herbal medicines such as tobacco does not provide insight on a particular student; rather, these artifacts suggest the materiality of emotive practices experienced at the seventeenth-century Harvard community.

Material and archival data suggest that at seventeenth-century Harvard, Puritan anxiety regarding disease, sin, licentiousness, and witchcraft was real, experienced in daily life, and mediated in material practice. College overseers and tutors stemmed their anxieties regarding the actions of the student population through College laws, reinforced through Massachusetts Bay Colony laws and strident Puritan ministers. While schooled in the physick, piety, comportment, and moral behavior, these practices were not enough to safeguard body and soul. Material evidence suggests that Native American and English students curbed their own anxieties regarding the lived experience of Puritanism through the use of medicine, tobacco, and even countermagic. At seventeenth-century Harvard, embodied practices of health and dress helped stabilize the anxious needs of body and soul in an early colonial world.

Acknowledgements I extend my sincerest gratitude to my collaborators on the Harvard Yard Archaeology Project, Trish Capone and Christina Hodge, for their support and feedback on the ideas presented in this paper. I am also grateful to Harvard University Archives, particularly Barbara Meloni, for support in navigating Harvard's 17th century documents. As always, any mistakes in this paper are entirely my own.

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Chapter 8
Ritualized Coping During War: Conflict, Congregation, and Emotions at the Late Pre-Hispanic Fortress of Acaray

Margaret Brown Vega

Introduction

As Tarlow (2000) has pointed out, emotions are often implied in archaeological interpretations, but remain undertheorized. Moreover, the assumptions underlying these implications have not been thoroughly examined. Such uncritical assertions result in matter-of-fact, common-sense-derived notions about how people in the past felt. This paper is an exercise in making emotion an explicit part of interpreting the archaeological record.

The context in which I am interested in examining emotions is one of congregation and conflict in a time of war. While the anthropological and archaeological literature on war abound with reference to fear and anxiety, from an archaeological perspective we have not fully considered ways in which those emotions are made material. Their materiality can tell us more about people living with war than what has been asserted as obvious—that they are angry, full of rage, or afraid. Some archaeological treatments of war depict past peoples as unemotional, or simply sidestep the issue. In the history of warfare studies, this is probably related to the pacification of past peoples as peaceful "noble savages" (Keeley, 1996). Alternatively, societies that wage war may be labeled as aggressive and vengeful, but does this state characterize them all the time? Simplistic characterizations of societies as "warlike" or "peaceful" (Kelly, 2000) essentialize groups of people as having principal emotional states.

More recent studies of war in the past recognize people as active agents in complex "fields of actions" (Nielsen & Walker, 2009, p. 9) or "multidimensional fields" of culture, space, place, practices, and conflict (Pauketat, 2009, p. 251). Climates of fear might be acknowledged in these studies, yet archaeology can do

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J. Fleisher, N. Norman (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anxiety*,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-3231-3_8

more to specify the cultural contexts of fear and bring emotion to a central place in studies of war and violence. Otherwise, ancient people seem not to have the complexity of emotions that humans experience today, but rather vacillate between happy passivity, fierce aggression, or passive fear. More importantly, without such attention, emotions are considered to play a relatively insignificant role in culture change.

I do not doubt that there were happy, passive, fierce, angry, vengeful, or afraid peoples in the past. However, how they have sometimes been characterized is not their constant emotional state. Just as people enact a variety of behaviors in their daily lives, such as cooking, dancing, and killing, it is reasonable to assume that they experience a variety of emotions. What constitutes emotional experiences also varies by cultural context. Understandings and expression of fear must, then, vary. An array of emotions must go into making war. Moreover, people, as active agents, may creatively "unmake" war and violence in their own lives (Nordstrom, 1998, pp. 110–113). The residues of these varied activities and emotions are important to consider to better understand not only conflict, but the circumstances of conflict and culture change more broadly. I seek to specify the emergence of an "emotional community" (Rosenwein, 2010) in the context of late pre-Hispanic warfare on the coast of Perú. I argue that collective efforts of physical and spiritual defense, evidenced by the construction of a large fortification within which group healing rituals took place, indicate two things: what this new community perceived as harmful to them and how they worked together to confront that harm.

I will first highlight the materiality of emotion by reviewing how emotions are embodied. Following Harris and Sorensen I treat "emotion" as encompassing the states of emotion (in this case, fear, anxiety, and stress) and their bodily expression (as illness). Their terms "attunement" and "atmosphere" are also useful for illuminating the impetus for certain emotions to be embodied. I recognize the possibility for a range of emotions contingent on specific circumstances and relations, what they term "affective fields" (Harris & Sørensen, 2010, pp. 149–150).

Drawing on literature from medical anthropology and ethnography, I develop some specific expectations for the evidence for ritual coping with emotions that we might see archaeologically. I will then consider such evidence from the Fortress of Acaray in the Huaura Valley, Perú (Fig. 8.1), to demonstrate that it is feasible, and desirable, to recover emotion in the archaeological record.

Materiality and the Embodiment of Emotion

Recent theorizing in archaeology emphasizes practices and is informed by theories of materiality (Dobres, 2000; Miller, 2005; Pauketat & Alt, 2005; Saunders, 2003; Sillar, 2009; Walker, 1995; Walker & Schiffer, 2006). This shift to a focus on human practices has focused attention to the body as a site of cultural construction. Anthropological studies have moved beyond conceptualizing the body as a receptor of culture, reflective of culture, or "inscribed" by culture, much like a text (Csordas, 1994;

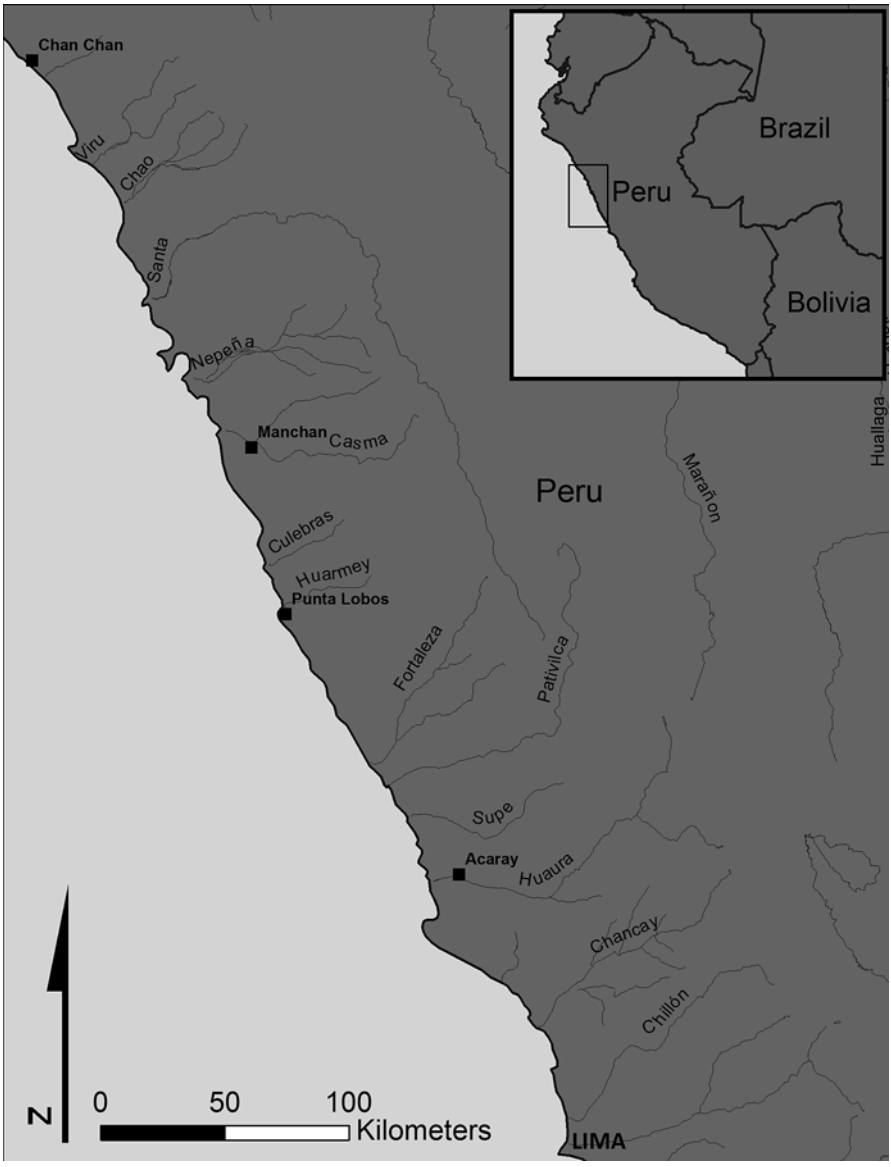

Fig. 8.1 Map showing location of the Huaura Valley and sites mentioned in the text

Joyce, 2005). The concept of embodiment emphasizes, rather, bodily experiences and engagement with other human and nonhuman agents in the social world (Csordas, 1994, p. 12).

For some scholars in medical anthropology, embodiment refers to "sensations, perceptions, and experiences bounded by the interior, frame, and flesh of an individual," although Greenway has pointed out that these extend beyond the human

body to society and to objects (Greenway, 1998b, p. 148). Objects can become stand-ins for people, their qualities making them appropriate for embodying emotions of people or groups. Yet objects are better viewed not as representations, but as material things that, in tandem with people and places, come into being together (Dobres, 2000; Harris & Sørensen, 2010; Ingold, 2006; Latour, 2005). This perspective makes an explicit link between things, people, and circumstances as a "relational construct," or affective field (Harris & Sørensen, 2010, p. 150). In archaeology, we have access to evidence that informs directly on things, perhaps less directly on circumstances, and indirectly on people and practices. I draw on this perspective of embodiment that extends beyond the body by focusing on: (1) the qualities of certain objects and inferring relationships between those objects, (2) the practices of peoples, and (3) their experiences and surroundings. This approach highlights emotion as something that is beyond the body—as a social and a constructive force in the world.

In arguing for social (i.e., collective) emotions, it is not my intention to assert that there are universal emotions shared by all people. My use of emotion in this paper is more in line with a "constructivist" conceptualization of the term (Tarlow, 2012, p. 170). I make reference to fear and anxiety, yet I focus on the specific cultural context in which people have different understandings of these emotions and in which they construct them through the material world. The revealing of the world, including emotions and affective fields, to those in it is achieved through materiality, i.e., "attunement" after Harris and Sørensen (2010, p. 151). This conceptualization of emotions is consistent with the idea of "emotional communities," within which people define what is harmful to them (Rosenwein, 2010, p. 11). In studying a context of war, archaeologists cannot assume fear and other associated physiological or psychological reactions. Rather, the material dimension by which people express concerns for their safety must be interrogated. The construction of fortifications, "an architectonic setting," creates an atmosphere "that emerge[s] at the intersection of people, places and things" (Harris & Sørensen, 2010, p. 152). Ritual practices in this atmosphere inform on affective fields and attunement. Emotions are commonly expressed in rituals, making them an ideal context through which these expressions are revealed to the archaeologist (Tarlow, 2012, p. 173).

Physical Harm and Illness: Ethnographic Perspectives

Much ethnographic and medical anthropological literature deals with the emotional or psychosocial aspects of the lived experiences of war and postwar times (Green, 1994b, 1998; Henry, 2006; Nordstrom, 1998). Social violence, and more specifically warfare, creates contexts in which people embody conflict. People may be physically injured or may report trauma, distress, and bodily ailments that have physical manifestations.

> War brings tremendous suffering and illness, revealed both in very direct ways like visible wounds, severed limbs, or dead bodies, but also in innumerable indirect ways: somatic

> expressions of fear, exposure, and vulnerability. Because war and political conflict are often directed toward a group, the violence is collectively experienced yet also uniquely and individually manifest. (Henry, 2006, p. 391)

Osteological studies of human remains inform on understandings of the physical experience of violence and war (Komar, 2008; Martin, Akins, Crenshaw, & Stone, 2008; Milner, 1995; Tung, 2007; Verano, 2007; Walker, 2001). As Walker pointed out, human skeletal remains, including trophy heads and dismembered bodies, can provide direct evidence of violence (Walker, 2001, p. 574) and are clearly approachable through archaeological analysis. Yet as the quote from Henry above also points out, people embody the experience of war in other ways, such as through illness. Because people deal with illness in material ways, the remains of these practices can be available to archaeologists for analysis as well.

Illness has been linked to experiences of social violence and war. In our own society, the reluctant yet growing recognition of posttraumatic stress disorder is a clear example of the physical manifestation of violence and war on people's bodies (Green, 1998, p. 5). Such illnesses are referred to as psychosomatic or "culture-bound" illnesses and may be explained as "folk" beliefs. Yet Pederson and colleagues argue that such states are better considered as "idioms of distress," which are culturally defined and changing depending on past and present circumstances (Pederson, Kienzler, & Gamarra, 2010).

Pederson and colleagues demonstrate how chronic violence, social inequality, and uncertainty contribute to the appearance of various maladies, which are assigned different meanings (Pederson et al., 2010). In a similar fashion, Pike and colleagues argue that "community-wide insecurity, displacement, individual trauma, and loss of access to sufficient food and other necessary resources" create health and psychosocial consequences for people who experience violence and disruptions in their normal daily existence (Pike, Straight, Oesterle, Hilton, & Lanyasunya, 2010, p. 48). Explicit links to health seem logical, and recent theorizing emphasizes "social suffering," which is both individual and collective in scale (Kleinman, Das, & Lock, 1996; Rylko-Bauer, Whiteford, & Farmer, 2009; Scheper-Hughes, 1996; Tapias, 2006).

Well-known illnesses that are pervasive in Latin America, and that have been ethnographically documented in the Andes, are *susto* (fright sickness or soul loss), *mal aire* (bad or evil airs), and *nervios* (anxiety or worry, literally nerves) (Burman, 2010; Dressler, 2010, pp. 280–282; Greenway, 1998a; Lincoln, 2001). These illnesses are acquired from frightening events (*susto*) or can be absorbed from forces outside of the body for which there is a lack of protection (*mal aire*). These illnesses may be interrelated. For example, losing one's soul to *susto* makes one more susceptible to *mal aire*. In one study of the long-term effects of the Peruvian "dirty war" of the 1980s and 1990s, scholars found that the embodiment of sustained political violence as *susto* and *nervios* was manifest even long after the war was over (Leatherman & Thomas, 2009, pp. 211–212).

Other illnesses with deeper antiquity in the Andes have been documented as well. Pederson and colleagues identify *llaki* and *ñakary* as present-day conditions that have roots at least as far back as the early colonial period from the late 1500s to the early 1600s (Pederson et al., 2010, pp. 290–292). Both are a form of suffering. *Llaki* is linked to individual suffering. *Ñakary*, a collective form of suffering, is of interest for the present discussion. Holguín mentions a related root in his early dictionary, *ñaccari*, which

means "to suffer" (Holguín, 2007 [1608], p. 176), and Taylor confirms this meaning (Taylor, 1991). Today, *ñakary* is believed to afflict an entire group of people and results from unexpected, and unfortunate, external (to the community) events. Once the external source of the malady is removed the collective suffering ceases, but the illness cannot be defeated by a single individual. Only a collective effort can overcome *ñakary* (Pederson et al., 2010, p. 290).

These ailments are treated in a number of ways, usually through traditional methods and medicinal plants. It is commonly reported that treatment involves pulling the illness out from the body to heal the individual (Oths, 1992, p. 81), or in the case of *susto* in calling the soul to return to the body. Medicine bundles, referred to as *mesas* in much of the Andes, are commonly used when removing illness and contain a variety of ritually charged materials such as minerals, plants, and miniatures (Burman, 2010, pp. 466–467).

Mesas can be quite varied, but generally entail the assemblage of various items on a textile cloth used by a ritual specialist (Sharon, 2006; Tschopik, 1951; Zorn, 1986). Among indigenous peoples of the highlands, *mesas* are contained in their textile wrappings when not in use. Ceremonies that employ *mesas* can be aimed at many things, but often they are used to ensure the health of the community. Importantly, they can be multifunctional in that they address multiple community concerns (Bolton & Bolton, 1976).

Generally much ethnographic literature provides evidence that war is embodied as illness. In the Andes such illnesses have been recognized among contemporary groups of people who have experienced political violence. While *susto*, *male aire*, or *nervios* are not exclusive war-related illnesses, war and violent events would create the circumstances for such afflictions to take hold of people's bodies. Ethnohistorical documents indicate similar conditions of suffering, including collective suffering known as *ñakary*, existed in the early colonial period and may have pre-Hispanic roots. Collective cohesion, health, and survival would depend greatly on coping with the emotions and illnesses that infiltrate groups. Coping and healing strategies, then, can be assessed when seeking to understand the social and emotional experiences of war in the late pre-Hispanic period.

Archaeology and Emotions in Times of War

From an archaeological perspective, there are a number of different ways in which we may identify emotion in material remains. Activities related to physical and spiritual defense should be enmeshed in the recognition of, and coping with, expression of heightened emotion. I discuss emotions and preparations for war and a variety of coping strategies for dealing with emotions and illnesses that are set in motion by the social milieu of war.

Fortifications and Fear in Times of War

The construction of fortifications is a collective task. The building of defenses, and in particular fortifications, is thought to be prompted by fear (Vencl, 1999, pp. 67–68).

> Fortifications are above all the materialized expression of the human fear of being attacked, and of losing life, freedom or property…. Feeling safe is a basic and permanent human need, and fortifications are the manifestation of one possible answer to that need…. (Vencl, 1999, p. 67)

How fortifications are constructed speaks to the emotional states related to safety. The rapid building of walls and other defenses may signal a sense of urgency. The kinds of materials used, the quantity, and how the materials are assembled can inform on how fast defenses needed to be erected. Certainly such construction efforts require the mobilization of adequate people to build large architecture. In contexts where such mobilization mechanisms do not exist prior to construction efforts, one might suggest that the threat of war and sense of urgency was sufficient to prompt new social relationships and new forms of cooperation. We would expect group rituals to arise in such contexts.

In addition to the construction of formal defensive architecture, preparations for war entail the making and amassing of weaponry. Details on weaponry will depend on the specific cultural and historical contexts of the case being considered. But the stockpiling of weapons and ammunitions signals a heightened degree of urgency and greater certainty that violence and war is in fact imminent. A particular atmosphere emerges during the construction of a fortified place, which includes provisioning for armed defense.

Whether there is an outbreak of war is not the point I want to make here. Rather the indirect evidence for a perception of certain danger is key when considering emotions such as fear and anxiety archaeologically. What we seek to identify are the emotions wrapped up in war or the threat of war. Urgency relates to stress, anxiety, fear, and a suite of heightened emotions that are revealed among those who experienced them in the act of making defenses. These emotional expressions were perceived and dealt with using specific strategies. An overall climate of fear and mistrust may be created that permeates all aspects of life (Ember & Ember, 1992; McCartney, 2006).

Ritualized Coping and War

The interrelationship between ritual and war is recognized ethnographically (Saunders, 2003; Weiner, 1985, p. 220; Wiessner & Tumu, 1998) and archaeologically (Dye, 2009, pp. 2–3; Ghezzi, 2006, 2007; Schaafsma, 2007, pp. 118–128), despite continuing tendencies to oppose the two (see discussion in Arkush & Stanish, 2005, p. 10). Rituals are carried out to ensure success in battle, in the midst of battle, and following battle (Redmond, 1994), and during times of peace when war or conflict is actively being suppressed (Dye, 2009). In times of crisis, which would include experiences of war or the threat of it, people carry out rituals to address fears (Turner, 1974, p. 33) or mask them (Wolf, 1999, p. 32). While the emotions of fear and anxiety may not leave direct material correlates, the materiality of rituals related to fear and anxiety means that there is indirect evidence for their expression. Because healing and curing practices are not always discussed apart

from ritual, I do not separate them here. Rather, it should become apparent that these practices are very much interrelated, and embedded in a larger social matrix of conflict and daily life.

Within the historical archaeology of well-studied areas such as the Southwestern United States there has been some attention to the archaeology of healing and curing practices (Samford, 1996, pp. 107–110; VanPool, 2009, p. 188). Evidence for shamans or healers can be found in iconography and artifacts that represent the toolkits of these individuals (Samford, 1996; VanPool, 2009). When such items or curing assemblages are encountered, archaeologists should recognize not just the ritual aspect of these practices, but also the explicit healing of illness. Disease diagnosis and healing is a form of coping with emotions such as anxiety and stress that are embodied as illness (see also Loren this volume).

There are a number of sources of stress and anxiety. During times of war people may be physically stressed because of food and water shortages. In the Southwest environmental degradation is considered by some to be a major factor in the emergence of conflict and would have contributed to stress due to drought and crop failures (LeBlanc, 1999, pp. 295–296, 2001, pp. 45–46). These shortages may play a role in the emergence of war, and certainly safe access to water sources and agricultural fields when war has already broken out is a major issue for daily life. Physical stress can be compounded by physiological stress, such that illness results from either or both. Anxiety can be just as damaging to health as hunger and malnourishment. Coping with war, thus, entails much more than just making preparations for battle. It would involve coping with illness embodied from an overall climate of fear.

Scalar Stress and War

Rituals have long been considered in functional terms: as a way to ameliorate or resolve tension (Turner, 1974). They are carried out in myriad contexts of social life, in sacred and seemingly secular contexts. Because rituals can serve to make new collective identities and shared histories (Kelly & Kaplan, 1990, p. 141), groups or communities emerge as ritual activities are enacted. Thus, as people congregate to strengthen social bonds, even as they may converge to attack other groups, ritual plays a role in group cohesion. Conflict against other groups can solidify group identity (Murphy, 1957; Turney-High, 1971, p. 141). Rituals of group building may be particularly important in contexts of war where collective tasks of executing defense are crucial. Rituals serve to integrate new collectives where there are no pre-existing structures to accommodate larger group size (Johnson, 1982, pp. 405–407). As larger groups emerge in stressful times, there is additional group-size stress that can challenge the necessary solidarity for collective defense.

In the North American Southwest, beginning circa AD 1200, there was intense warfare, arguably related to climate change-induced subsistence problems (LeBlanc, 1999, p. 302). It is during this time that people appear to embrace the Kachina cult (also Katsina, or Southwestern cult) as, some argue, a response to this crisis

(LeBlanc, 1999). In these times of war there was a need for alliances, and the need to deal with organization problems resulting from population aggregation into large defensive settlements (LeBlanc, 1999). Group rituals aimed at alliance making were also an integral part of life for many Late Woodland and Mississippian period (ca. AD 800 and beyond) people of eastern North America (Dye, 2009).

In summary, the building and provisioning of fortifications, the congregations necessary for collective defense (on the one hand), and the threat of conflict (on the other hand) converge to reveal/create social crises. In such social contexts, humans are motivated to cope. This entails an intensification of ritual aimed at dealing with, and healing, uncertainty and social suffering. With these expectations in mind, I outline evidence for coping encountered in excavations at the Fortress of Acaray.

Case Study: The Fortress of Acaray

The Fortress of Acaray is one of several fortifications in use in the Huaura Valley during the Late Intermediate Period (LIP, ca. AD 1000–1470) (Fig. 8.2). During the LIP much of the Central Andes witnessed the emergence of fragmented polities, and many areas were characterized by conflict and the construction of fortifications (Arkush, 2006, 2011; Brown Vega, 2010; Julien, 1993; Parsons & Hastings, 1988). Acaray is one of five forts located along a roughly 7 km stretch of the lower valley, along the north side of the Huaura River. Two more forts were located on the south side of the river. Thus, within an immediate 10 km radius there are seven

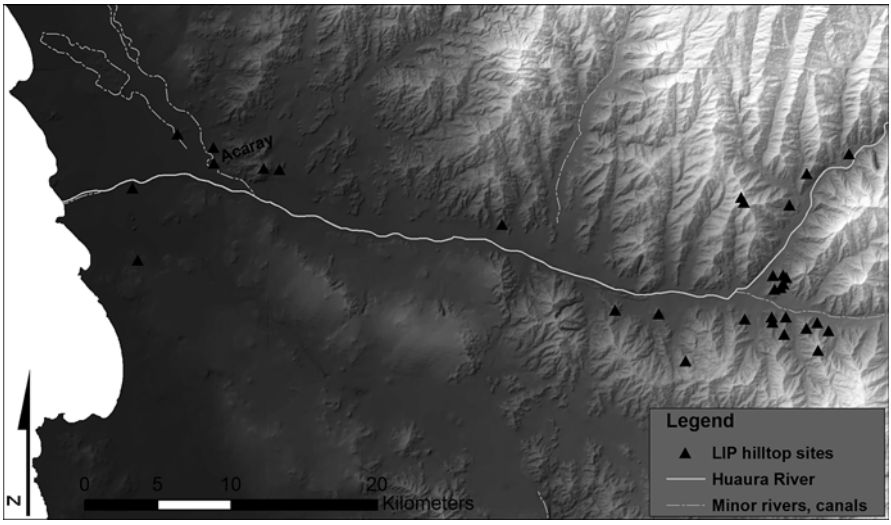

Fig. 8.2 Map of the LIP hilltop sites in the Huaura Valley. Note Acaray's location

fortifications. Further up valley there are other hilltop sites and fortifications that show signs of use in the LIP (Brown Vega, Craig, & Asencios Lindo, 2011).

Acaray was initially constructed and used more than a millennium prior, during the Early Horizon (ca. 900–200 BC) (Brown Vega, 2009). Current evidence indicates the site lay in ruins until the Chancay people living in the Huaura Valley began rebuilding the fort roughly AD 1100–1300. I have argued that Acaray was rebuilt in response to an outside threat, most likely from the Chimú Empire (Brown Vega, 2009, p. 264). The Chimú expanded their territory southward from their capital in the Moche Valley, Chan Chan, during the LIP. At around 1350 AD the Chimú had incorporated the Casma polity of the Casma Valley, establishing an administrative center at the site of Manchan (Moore & Mackey, 2008). A viewshed analysis of the probable orientation of defensive architecture at Acaray indicates that the areas to the north of the site were of likely concern for the inhabitants who used the fortress; the threat was from northern Chimú armies (Brown Vega, 2008, p. 135). Given their imperial forays south as far as the Chillón Valley, the Chimú represented the most likely threat to those who rebuilt Acaray.

There is at least one incidence of violence exacted against local groups by the Chimú in the southern frontier of their empire. Interpreted as a reprisal killing, the remains of a massacre that took place AD 1250–1300 were uncovered at the site of Punta Lobos in the Huarmey Valley (Verano, 2007, p. 113). This example, while only one, serves to illustrate the Chimú capacity for violence against those it sought to conquer and underscores that they were a threat. Within this context of regional imperial expansion many fortifications in the region were (re)built and used in the LIP (Brown Vega et al., 2011). The climate of war during this period, then, appears to have been widespread. The people who lived in this region were concerned with threats to their security, and they took measures for their own defense by building fortifications. At the regional, valley, and more local scales there is preliminary evidence to indicate that LIP populations were sufficiently threatened by conflict to mobilize and build formal defenses over a large expanse of territory.

Architecture and Preparedness for Attack

The LIP fort at Acaray was much larger than the earlier fort, which consisted of two walled hilltops (Fig. 8.3). During the LIP two partially standing walls around each of the two summits were rebuilt, and a new, massive third defensive wall was added to one summit (Sector B, 790 ± 70,[1] or ca. AD 1160–1330). Additional defensive walls were built that encompassed an entire third hilltop 480 ± 70[2] (Sector C, ca. AD 1400–1630). The defensive walls incorporated military features such as parapets, bastions, and baffled entries. These features are clear indicators of fortifications

[1] Date for sample ISGS 5974 to 2 sigma, .84 probability

[2] Date for sample ISGS 5965 to 2 sigma, 1.0 probability

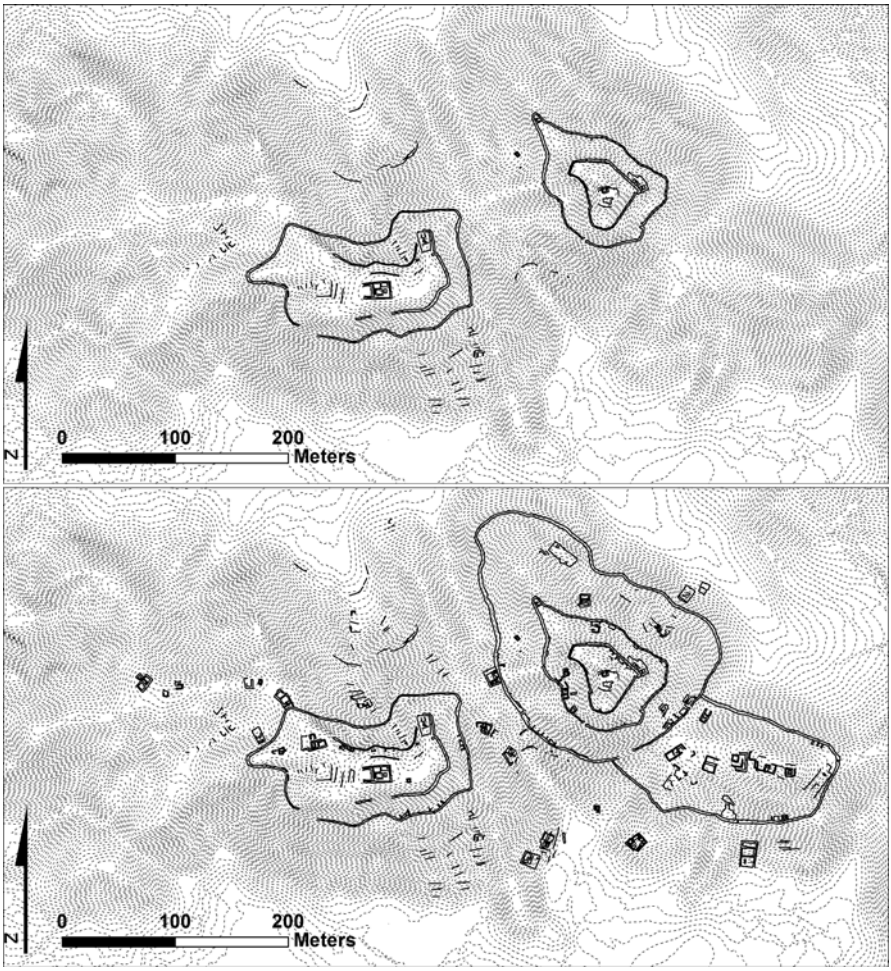

Fig. 8.3 Comparison of the Early Horizon and LIP configurations of Acaray

built with defense in mind (Arkush & Stanish, 2005; Keeley, Fontana, & Quick, 2007; Topic & Topic, 1987) and would not be merely symbolic. Four of the other nearby LIP forts were built upon the ruins of earlier fortifications.

The materials used to rebuild Acaray, and the manner in which walls were built, provide greater insight into the intensity of motivations behind the reconstruction. Acaray was rebuilt in the LIP using an expedient construction method. Chancay peoples used materials conveniently located on the surface of Acaray from prior times and the remaining foundations of the Early Horizon fort. Groundstone, specifically *manos* (handstones), that had been abandoned at the site in the Early Horizon were reused not as tools, but as construction material for defensive wall façades and retaining walls. In contrast to the well-made, quarried

block masonry walls of the Early Horizon, Chancay peoples built up Acaray's late walls using layers of trash, rock, and maize stalks or other non-edible plant parts and creating facades that seem to connote expediency. The more rapid method of fort construction coupled with the expansion of the site supports an interpretation of a sense of urgency felt by those who rebuilt Acaray for protection. Part of what permitted a temporal characterization of the other LIP forts is that the construction technique is similar to that of Acaray—I argue that they were also built expediently.

In addition to building defensive walls, parapets, bastions, and baffled entries, the people who rebuilt Acaray amassed massive amounts of slingstones within the walls. The sling is argued to be the most common ranged weapon used in pre-Hispanic times in the region (Brown Vega & Craig, 2009; Ghezzi, 2007; Topic & Topic, 1987). Slingstones are common at coastal fortifications and for the most part do not occur naturally atop hills (Topic & Topic, 1987, p. 18). At Acaray, the closest source of slingstones would be the Huaura River to the south, which is about 1 km away. Given that Acaray is rebuilt expediently, it is reasonable to suggest that the piles of slingstones that remain at Acaray were also assembled in short order. Slingstone piles are located along parapets inside defensive walls. In one excavated context 104 slingstones were found piled beside a small retaining wall on the interior of the lowest major defensive wall in Sector B. Slingstones are also encountered dispersed both inside and outside of the walls. The spent projectiles at Acaray are evidence that people not only anticipated attack, but likely suffered attack. Slingstones are associated with many of the other LIP forts in the Huaura Valley.

Despite the evidence for attack at Acaray, excavations showed little indication that people lived daily within the walls of Acaray. The people who used Acaray did so periodically, probably using it as a refuge. There is little evidence for domestic activities within the fort. Excavations revealed only one formal hearth at Acaray. However, there were numerous low-intensity burnt features that I interpret as one-time burning events. These features are characteristic of informal hearths used by mobile groups or tertiary hearths associated with low-intensity activities probably unrelated to cooking (Bartram, Kroll, & Bunn, 1991, p. 97, 108). Based on the lack of evidence for formal domestic spaces, it seems likely that the people who sought refuge in Acaray lived elsewhere. They maintained residences away from the fort, but presumably within close proximity of Acaray. This suggests that people probably had enough warning to retreat to the safety of the defensive walls and that they lived in anticipation of those warnings.

Defensive architecture and measures, as well as indications of the speed with which such measures were taken, are the material constructions of a concern for safety. These are collective constructions that help make an atmosphere of concern, and collective memory, that structures the emergence of new community perceptions and identities (see Green, 1994a; Winer, 2001). At Acaray, in the Huaura Valley, and in the broader region, it is reasonable to assert that a climate of fear existed.

Ritual Activities and Artifacts of Healing

The remains of the ephemeral burning events mentioned above, and associated pit and offering features, are common within the summit structure on one hilltop in the fort (see Table **8.1**) and suggest something about the activities that took place within that space. One must ascend 50 m up steep slopes and pass through two major defensive walls to access this structure (see inset in Fig. 8.4). It is one of the well-defended parts of the entire fort. This Early Horizon structure was rebuilt, using an expedient technique similar to the defensive wall construction, 850 ± 70[3] (ca. AD 1100–1300), overlapping with the time when the third defensive wall of Sector B was built (see above). Assuming that people were gathered there for defense, it is reasonable to assert that the activities were framed by a larger concern for safety and security.

Three units were excavated in different rooms in the summit structure: Blocks 1A, 1B, and 1C (see Fig. 8.4). One burning event seemed to entail the burning of marine shell, and shell fragments were encountered associated with other burning events (Table **8.1**, Block 1C, lot 154). Burned shell can be used when chewing coca (*Erythroxylum coca*) leaves, which require a basic substance, like lime, to activate certain alkaloids in the leaves (Mortimer 1901, [2000], p. 209). There has been much ethnographic work on the chewing of coca in the Andes, a pervasive activity among indigenous peoples that probably has deep roots in the history of the region (Dillehay et al., 2010; Indriati & Buikstra, 2001; Rivera, Aufderheide, Cartmell, Torres, & Langsjoen, 2005). Allen highlights the use of coca leaves as a "balm for the pain of living," chewed to "alleviate grief and pain" (Allen, 1981, p. 158). An adjacent small pit was filled with botanical remains, including a coca plant seed and a fragment of the plant *Huperzia crassa*, also known as *cóndor* (lot 151). In a neighboring room of the structure (Block 1A), excavators encountered two other pits that contained abundant botanical remains, including coca seeds (lots 56 and 57) and *cóndor. Cóndor* is used by contemporary healers to ensure good luck, success in travel, and to cure *mal aire* (Bussmann, Glenn, & Sharon, 2010, p. 615).

Thus, there is evidence that suggests people were preparing substances for chewing with coca leaves. We have indirect evidence of coca leaves from the presence of seeds. Unless leaves were made as an offering, which is a common documented practice, we would not expect to find intact leaves. Coca leaves, when chewed, might essentially be consumed. Coca quids might be encountered, but no such remains were recovered in excavations. These remains were found with parts of the *cóndor* plant, whose only known use is in curing. This suggests that the chewing of coca leaves in this instance was related to healing rituals.

Additional botanical remains from the pits within the summit structure may have been used in healing. Some items have ethnographically documented uses for treating reproductive problems, fright, or other psychosomatic illnesses (see Table 8.2). Some of the remains have other uses as well, such as for food or industrial purposes,

[3] Sample ISGS 5964 to 2 sigma, .91 probability

Table 8.1 Features from the summit structure associated with reconstruction and their contents

Unit	Loc	Lot	L (cm)	W (cm)	D (cm)	Context	Contents
1A	26	56	44	24	30	Circular pit filled with refuse	Botanics: peanut, friar's plum, squash, horsetail, *coca*, cotton, *caña brava*, *pacae*, common bean, *carrizo*, *lúcuma*, molle, *pájaro bobo*, maize
							Others: pottery sherds, cotton strings, feathers
1A	27	57	250	40	21	Long pit along exterior base of bench filled with refuse	Botanics: peanut, friar's plum, *achira*, chili pepper, *cadillo*, *hierba santa*, horsetail, *coca*, *Euphorbia heterophylla* (wild poinsettia), cotton, *caña brava*, *cóndor*, *pacae*, gourd, jíquima, lima bean, common bean, *carrizo*, *lúcuma*, *pájaro bobo*, *tillandsia*, maize
							Others: alum, lithics, shell, bone, pottery sherds, burned plaster
1A	28	58/65	125	67	15	Long pit along interior of room wall filled with refuse	Botanics: peanut, friar's plum, *cadillo*, *hierba santa*, chili pepper, cotton, *caña brava*, *cóndor*, *pacae*, gourd, *carrizo*, jíquima, common bean, *lúcuma*, maize
							Others: pottery sherds, shell, lithics, bone, textile, feather, coprolites, wood artifact, ash
1A	35	72	5	20	15	Burning event, southeast corner of unit below bench	Botanics
							Others: carbon, ash, burned earth, hair, feather, rope fragment, lithics, pottery sherds, shell
1A	36	73	21	19	6	Burning event, along south wall of block	Botanics
							Others: ash, burned rock, shell, pottery sherds, ball of cotton thread
1A	37	74	23	15	6	Burning event, southwest corner of unit	Botanics
							Others: ash, burned earth, carbon, pottery sherds, lithics
1A	42	83	–	–	–	Bundle offerings placed in construction fill of bench	Two composite textile bundles: *ishpingo* seed necklace, *cóndor*, jíquima seed necklaces, *q'olpa*, *chuspa*

(continued)

Table 8.1 (continued)

Unit	Loc	Lot	L (cm)	W (cm)	D (cm)	Context	Contents
1B	31	63	125	55	10	Burning event, along bottom edge of bench	Botanics (maize, burned seeds, cotton)
							Others: ash, carbon, burned earth, bone (camelid, fish, some burned), animal coprolites, shell, lithics, bead, hair, feather, pottery sherds
1B	41	80	20	20	4	Refuse pit along eastern edge of block	Botanics: chili pepper, cotton, *pacae*, *lúcuma*, maize
							Others: pottery sherds, shell, bone
1C	45	109	45	35	6	Burning event, northeast corner of bench	Botanics
							Others: ash, carbon, burned earth, shell, pottery sherds
1C	52	113	60	30	11	Refuse pit, southeast corner of bench	Botanics: peanut, friar's plum, *achira*, cotton, *Caña brava*, pacae, manioc, lima bean, *carrizo*, *lúcuma*, maize
							Others: fish bone, pottery sherds, burned plaster fragments, adobe fragments
1C	52	116	60	30	6	Burning event, in pit on southeast corner of bench	Botanics: *achira*, chili pepper, cotton, *pacae*, lima bean, *carrizo*, lucuma, maize
							Others: burned earth, ash, carbon, pottery sherds
1C	52	117	110	100	21	Refuse pit, southeast corner of bench	Botanics: peanut, friar's plum, *achira*, chili pepper, *cadillo*, cotton, pacae, manioc, *lúcuma*, *guayaba*, maize
							Others: pottery sherds, adobe fragments
1C	49	135	45	25	–	Vessel offering	Botanics: lima bean, chili pepper, coca, cotton, pacae, lima bean, common bean, *lúcuma*, maize
							Others: strings, feathers, fish bone, wooden artifact, handstone
1C	46	144	40	23	3	Burning event, northwest corner of block	Burned earth, carbon, pottery sherds
1C	58	146	60	25	–	Concentration of botanical remains	Botanics: chili pepper, *cadillo*, cotton, pacae, *carrizo*, *lúcuma*, maize

(continued)

Table 8.1 (continued)

Unit	Loc	Lot	L (cm)	W (cm)	D (cm)	Context	Contents
1C	59	151	180	20	13	Refuse pit along interior of adobe alignment	Botanics: peanut, friar's plum, chili pepper, *cadillo*, coca, cotton, *cóndor*, *pacae*, gourd, *carrizo*, *lúcuma*, maize
							Others: pottery sherds, bone, lithics, shell
1C	60	154/ 157	40	30	3	Burning event, northwest corner of block	White ash, carbon, burned shell, burned earth, burned rock

Features are burning events, offerings, and deposition of refuse related to ritual and healing activities

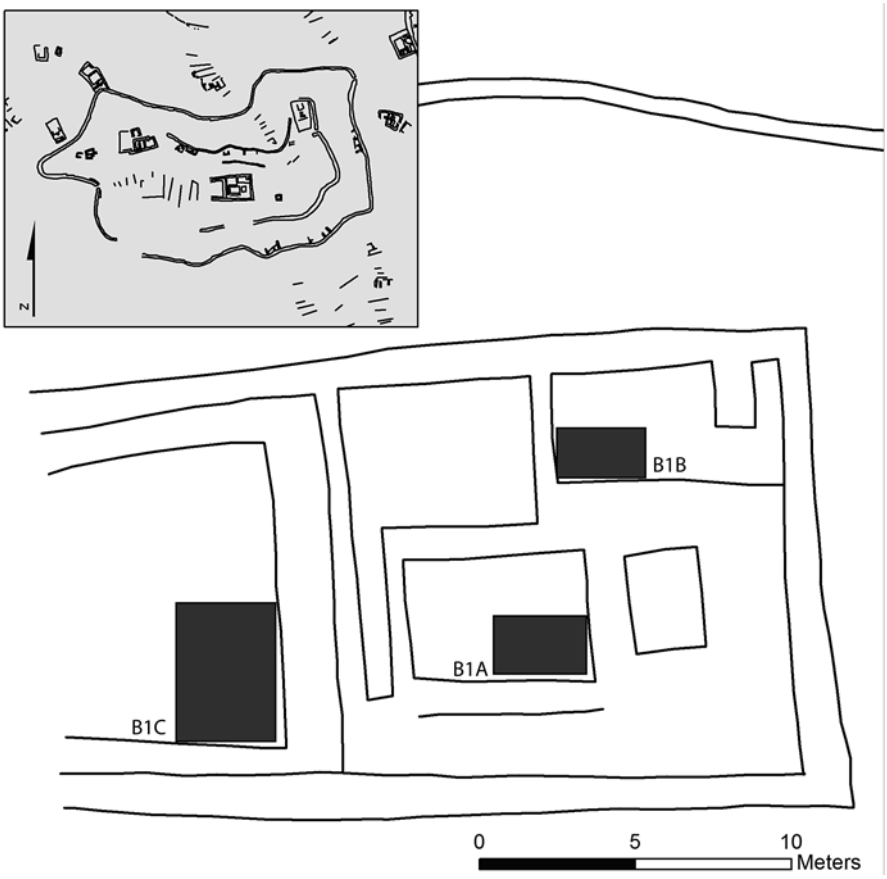

Fig. 8.4 Detail of summit structure with location of excavation units

Table 8.2 Table showing some of the plant remains recovered from Acaray, with possible uses

Species name	Common name	Part in sample	Food	Fuel, industrial use	Ritual	Medicine	Parts used in medicine	Possible ailments treated	Reference for medical uses
Cenchrus echinatus	Cadillo	Flower	–	–	–	Yes	Fresh whole plant	Inflammation, skin, intestine, liver disease, tumors, gallbladder and urinary disease	Bussmann et al. (2010)
Cestrum auriculatum	Hierba santa	Fruit	–	–	Yes	Yes	Fresh or dried leaves	Wounds, fever, relaxant, fright, pain of the body, high blood pressure, typhoid, cough, bronchitis, colic of stomach, diabetes, liver, cholesterol, bad air, colds, sending away bad shadows, protecting from spasms after giving birth, warming women	Bussmann et al. (2010); Bussmann and Sharon (2006)
Cucurbita maxima	Squash	Seed	Yes	–	–	Yes	Fresh or dried flowers, joints of stems, dried seeds, fresh leaves	Preventing miscarriage, inflammation, anxiety, heart disease	Bussmann and Sharon (2006)

(continued)

Table 8.2 (continued)

Species name	Common name	Part in sample	Food	Fuel, industrial use	Ritual	Medicine	Parts used in medicine	Possible ailments treated	Reference for medical uses
Equisetum giganteum	Horsetail (Cola de Caballo)	Stalk	–	–	–	Yes	Fresh whole plant	Arthritis, kidneys, hemorrhages, menstrual inflammation, internal and external inflammation, prostate, kidney stones, cleansing wounds	Bussmann and Sharon (2006)
Erythroxylon coca	Coca	Seeds	–	–	Yes	Yes	Dried leaves	Cold, cough, inflammation of throat, induce childbirth, strength for woman during childbirth, helping delivery of newborn, alertness, ritual practices	Bussmann et al. (2010); Bussmann and Sharon (2006)
Gossypium barbadense	Cotton	Stalk, fruit, seed	–	Yes	Yes	Yes	Dried seed hairs, fresh seeds	Evil eye in children; external wounds	Bussmann and Sharon (2006)
Huperzia crassa	Cóndor	Stalk	–	–	Yes	Yes	Fresh leaves and stems	Good luck and success in travels, fragrance, bad air	Bussmann and Sharon (2006)
Inga feuillei	Pacae	Stalk, fruit, flower, seed, leaf	Yes	–	–	Yes	Fresh or dried seeds; fresh flowers	Rehabilitation of drug addicts or alcoholics, laxative; hair growth	Bussmann and Sharon (2006)

Manihot esculenta	Manioc	Stalk	Yes	–	–	Yes	Fresh tuber	Vaginal infection, allergies, rashes	Bussmann et al. (2010)
Pachyrhizus tuberosus	jíquima	Seed, fruit, root	Only root	–	Yes	Yes	Seeds	To cause abortion	Berlin (1985)
Pouteria lucuma	Lúcuma	Fruit, seed, stalk, leaf	Yes	–	Yes	Yes	Fresh fruit	Promoting lactation in women after giving birth	Bussmann and Sharon (2006)
Schinus molle L.	Molle	Fruit	Yes	–	Yes	Yes	Fresh flowers, leaves, stems	Bronchitis, cough, cold, chills, inflammation of the body, cancer, tuberculosis, vaginal infection, pain relief, fright	Bussmann et al. (2010), (2009)
Tessaria integrifolia	Pájaro bobo	Leaf, stalk	–	Yes	Yes	Yes	Fresh flowers, leaves	Liver, kidneys, gallbladder, inflammation, fever	Bussmann et al. (2010)
Zea mays	Maize	Stalk, fruit, flower, seed, leaf	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Fresh flowers, dried seeds, fresh leaves	Kidneys, inflammation, chills, pain in the lungs, relaxation for angry people, bad digestion, heart burn, stomach acid	Bussmann and Sharon (2006)

Details on medical uses are provided, with the references

but their use in healing illness must be considered, particularly in light of what has emerged of the context in which people were likely living.

In additional to plant remains, some of features contained non-plant items that may be related to healing. A clear mineral, possibly *alumbre*, was found in Block 1A (lot 57). Small pieces of salt were also recovered from other contexts within Blocks 1A, 1B, and 1C. Salt and *alumbre* both have uses in healing ceremonies in the Andes, particularly in curing rituals for treating fright. Cotton threads, hair, and feathers are also items that might have been used in magical or healing ceremonies (Greenway, 1998b).

Excavations revealed offerings placed within architectural fill, which were deposited during reconstruction of the fort. Three dedicatory offerings were placed in the construction fill of benches in two rooms in the summit structure. One offering (Table **8.1**, B1C, lot 135) was a broken necked pottery vessel that was filled with food remains (*Canavalia sp*., *Capsicum sp*., *Inga feuillei*, *Phaseolus lunatus*, *Phaseolus vulgaris*, *Pouteria lucuma*, and *Zea mays*). Among the food remains were also a coca seed and a cotton seed. The food-filled vessel was placed inside a bench and topped with a handstone that showed signs of use.

The two offerings from Block 1A were excavated from within the same bench. One was a "nest" of botanical material and rope fragments. Most of the botanical materials could be considered waste from food plants. Aside from one chili pepper, the majority of the remains were all stalks, leaves, or flowers from plants with edible fruit (*Inga feuillei*, *Canna indica*, *Zea mays*, *Lippia sp*., and *Cucurbita sp*.). The second offering excavated from the bench has some singular items that I will discuss in greater detail below.

Textile Bundles

Two textile bags placed on top of each other were deposited in the construction fill during the building of a bench in Block 1A. I assert that these objects were interred during the rebuilding of the fort in preparation for its use as a refuge. Each textile bag contained a variety of items and is rather complex in structure. I call attention to the contained items and their qualities that are most relevant to the discussion here, but I describe the bundle in much greater detail elsewhere (Brown Vega, in press).

The first bundle contained seed necklaces (*Pachyrhizus tuberosus*, or *jíquima*), undyed cotton skeins, *Furcraea andina* (common name is Andean maguey, or *cabuya*) fibers, whole *lúcuma* fruits, weaving loom holders, and a small cotton bag containing a white mineral (Fig. 8.5). The cotton skeins, cabuya fibers, and loom holders appear to reference weaving and may be female-gendered items. *Lúcuma* is a fruit commonly found in ritual contexts, and in some late pre-Hispanic myths it specifically references fertility. In the Huarochirí Manuscript, a recounting of pre-Hispanic histories from the central highlands, a female sacred being is inseminated by a *lúcuma* fruit while she is weaving under a *lúcuma* tree (Salomon, Urioste, & de Avila, 1991, pp. 46–47). As indicated in Table 8.2 *lúcuma* fruits are used in medicinal ways to promote lactation in women after childbirth (Bussmann & Sharon, 2006, supplemental file).

Fig. 8.5 Textile bundle, with details of jíquima seed necklaces, and loom holder

The second bundle contained many smaller bundles (Fig. 8.6). Some of the bound items include *cabuya* and hair fibers, a dyed blue yarn ball, a decorated *chuspa* (bag used to hold coca leaves), a weaving loom holder, two seed necklaces, a bundle with white mineral in it, and a net bag that contained miniature versions of the *jíquima* necklaces and loom holders found in the first bundle, along with more white mineral. One of the seed necklaces has been identified as *Nectandra sp*., commonly known as *ishpingo* (Bertone Pietra, 2011). *Ishpingo* is used today to cure *mal aire*, *susto*, epilepsy, or enchantment (Bussmann et al., 2010, p. 614).

A small cotton bag at the core of the second bundle contained *cóndor* stems, tied together. There were seven groups of these plant stems; four were tied with a yellow-colored fiber, two with a dark-colored fiber, and one with a mixture of yellow and dark fibers (see detail in Fig. 8.6). As mentioned above, *cóndor*, found in some of the pit features, is used today for good luck, for success in travel, and to combat *mal aire* (Bussmann et al., 2010, p. 615). The manner in which *cóndor* is currently employed in healing is reminiscent of that encountered in the bundle. *Cóndor* stems are used in making *seguros*, in which bundles of three plant stems are placed in a container of perfume and other items, blessed, and either placed at home or carried around by the individual (Bussmann et al., 2010, p. 629).

Fig. 8.6 Textile bundle, with details of *chuspa* and *Huperzia crassa* tied bundles

It is also worth noting that both *ishpingo* and *cóndor* come from the jungle or the mountains above 3500 m.a.s.l., respectively—from very far away. On the north coast of Perú scholars have documented that "plant species used for 'magical/ritual' disorders come mostly from the high Andes" (Bussmann & Sharon, 2006). Perhaps more than the other possible plants used for healing, *ishpingo* and *cóndor* are explicitly used for healing purposes and must be acquired from far away.

The white mineral found in both bundles is similar to earths and minerals used for medicinal and ritual purposes (Browman & Gunderson, 1993, p. 416). Among the Aymara from Chucuito there is documented use of a mineral called *q'olpa* in diagnosing illness (Tschopik, 1951, p. 247). *Q'olpa* absorbed the illness from the individual and then would be burned to reveal the illness. In this context, the minerals were bound inside small cotton textile bags, sealed, and placed at the core of the two larger bundles.

The *jíquima* necklaces may not be related necessarily to healing, but may have served another purpose. While the *jíquima* root is edible, the seeds are not and are toxic. Toxic beans are known to be used by shamans and sometimes worn as necklaces (Schultes, 1998). Women among the Aguaruna Jívaro of Perú use *jíquima* seeds in a mixture to cause abortion (Berlin, 1985, p. 135).

Textile analysis also demonstrated that 9 of 22 total textiles employed in the bundles were made of s-spun yarn. In this context, s-spun materials are not the norm (z-spun) and are believed to be counterspun. Counterspinning has been linked to magical practices among Chancay peoples (Kula, 1991). At Acaray, it is reasonable to suggest that counterspun cloth would have been employed by shamans or healers. Bundling the varied assemblage of ritually charged items in magical cloth would have enhanced the potency of the offering.

Artifacts and remains relating to health and magic indicate that other strategies were used to cope with concerns for group safety and to alleviate group suffering (perhaps an affliction similar to *ñakary*). The bundles in particular are very similar to ethnographically documented *mesas* (see above) used to cure illness. *Mesa* ceremonies are accompanied by a variety of food and burnt offerings made to appease spirits and the chewing of *coca* leaves. Given the association of the dedicatory offerings to burning events and the deposition of remains of healing plants (including *coca* seeds), it is reasonable to assert that *mesa*-like rituals took place in the summit structure at Acaray.

Discussion

At Acaray there is evidence for defense, ritual coping, and scalar stress. These three processes are interrelated and were embodied by those who lived around and used the fort. Generally, we can summarize the evidence for congregation and conflict, which are the stage for the emotional experiences people embodied as illness:

1. Widespread fort construction in the Huaura Valley and region in response to an external threat
2. The rapid construction of Huaura Valley forts suggesting a sense of urgency
3. Preparations for battle by stockpiling of arms in Huaura Valley forts
4. Nonpermanent settlement at Acaray suggesting communities lived with an awareness of imminent threat and converged periodically in the face of attacks
5. The deposition of ritual and healing items within walls and in defensive architecture at Acaray
6. The qualities of ritual items and their contexts that are indirect evidence for confrontation of illness

The sources of "idioms of suffering" (i.e., fear, anxiety, and stress) at Acaray are the threat of war and conflict that could have made the mundane tasks of daily life difficult. There is currently no direct evidence for physical stress on people's bodies given the lack of skeletal studies. I can only suggest that it is likely that the acquisition

of the basic necessities of life, such as food and water, was made more difficult. There is indirect evidence of a heightened state of alertness, worry, and anxiety over attack indicated by the rapid reconstruction of the fort at Acaray. It is apparent that people perceived this expression in others and embodied it themselves. Efforts were made to not only build defenses, but to collect and stockpile river cobble projectiles to be used in defense.

As people rebuilt Acaray and prepared it for attack, there is evidence that rituals took place at the well-defended summit structure. These rituals suggest a concern with healing in a broad sense. Perceived threats to well-being created new affective fields in which people expressed concern over their relation to their new circumstances and to new people. Increased cooperation and contact between groups would have necessitated new alliances, which would have been brokered in part through rituals of solidarity. These rituals were likely taking place not only at Acaray, but in the larger region, at the numerous other fortifications constructed at this time. Creating solidarity must have been a concern as groups of people congregated in stressful and dangerous times to work toward their collective safety. The bundles are composite artifacts that may have been assembled by representatives of different groups of people, on behalf of those groups. The bundles and associated residues are not dissimilar to the remains of ethnographically documented *mesa* ceremonies, some of which are employed for the benefit of the community. Thus the healing, I would argue, was for the newly emerging "emotional community" of people at Acaray. Whether every member of the community benefitted from such healing practices, or were fully included, is a question that arises, but one in which I do not have data in hand to address.

The indirect evidence for healers at Acaray suggests that curing ceremonies took place during reconstruction efforts. During the sealing of ancient architecture on the summit with newly built rooms and benches, food offerings were made, and the remains of food consumption and healing rites were interred in the architecture. Many of the plant remains found in these deposits have documented medicinal uses among contemporary Andean peoples. Seed necklaces, magical cloths, and healing plants carefully assembled and deposited in "singular" ways (Walker, 1995, pp. 73–74) were employed in an atmosphere of simultaneous defensive construction. In this state of heightened alert, illness had to be overcome. Because the activities of war are aimed at groups, healing would have been necessary for not just individuals, but groups of people who collectively defined emotional expressions of fear and who were needed for defensive mobilization efforts. People living in this atmosphere would have been attuned to others around them. The motivations for healing have everything to do with a complex array of emotions that reference relationships among individuals and between individuals and powerful spirits.

I interpret the items in the bundle as referencing women and reproduction. The health of any group can be linked to control over fertility and reproduction. Emotional distress arising in a time of war, and in the circumstances that appear to have existed in the Huaura Valley in the LIP, may have been related to a concern for women's and children's health. The community of the Fortress of Acaray, perhaps, was explicitly seeking to aid their survival in a very real reproductive sense, carrying out

healing rites that emphasized fertility and fertility regulation. In parts of the Andes people hold the belief that women pass on their distress to their children, causing multi-generational illness (Tapias, 2006, p. 404). Such social illness would be damaging to the group and would have repercussions beyond immediate circumstances that could lead to greater uncertainty about the future. I mention these possibilities not as alternatives to understanding the curing items as related to fear, the amelioration of group tension and suffering, or requests of the divine, but as yet other, perhaps interrelated, emotional experiences that might have been embodied by some people at Acaray.

Conclusions

The construction of defensive architecture and ritual evidence at Acaray can be reasonably described as evidence of emotional expressions of anxiety and fear motivated by multiple circumstances. There was increased need for defense and security as people living near Acaray, and in the Huaura Valley, acted upon an external threat. In this context, the congregation of people under new circumstances contributed to an already stressful situation. Communities throughout the valley and the larger region constructed many large fortifications for collective defense. The details from Acaray provide insight into the emotional dimensions that accompanied these new developments. Group tension and suffering are suggested by the remains of ritual practices aimed at negotiating such emotional and bodily states. The embodiment of these emotions likely led to physical illness and suffering that may have been treated by traditional remedies. Though there are indications that people felt anxious and fearful to the point of being sick, there are also suggestions that they confronted these stressful times through healing rituals and the strengthening of group bonds to navigate the difficulties arising from times of war. At Acaray, then, we can infer that people engaged in defense and healing. The entanglement of community formation, war, ritual, and healing was embodied by people at Acaray.

The experiences of war in the past have often been characterized in an emotionally neutral way or in uncritical, taken-for-granted fashion by archaeologists. Ethnographic descriptions of war zones and the impact of conflict on contemporary people remind archaeologists that emotion can be central to understanding the making and unmaking of war. Concepts such as “affective field,” “attunement,” “atmosphere,” and “emotional communities” are useful for making emotion an explicit part of archaeological interpretations without assuming universal emotions or assigning feelings uncritically to people of the past. In this case study, the refuge at the Fortress of Acaray was the architectonic setting that emerged through the convergence of neighboring groups, an ancient fortification, and the materiality of physical and spiritual defense. By focusing on how war is entangled with other social relations, and embodied by those who live it, we can gain a fuller understanding of war as an array of practices and emotions out of which emerges social change.

Acknowledgments I would like to thank Jeffrey Fleisher and Neil Norman for inviting me to contribute to this volume. This paper benefitted greatly from their critical feedback and comments, as well as from a thoughtful reading and review by Tim Pauketat. Fieldwork at Acaray was funded by grants from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Graduate College, Fulbright-Hays, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation. Additional survey work in the Huaura Valley was funded by a National Science Foundation Minority Postdoctoral Research Fellowship.

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Chapter 9
"Concern"ing Contributions to This Volume

Susan Kus

That my own anxieties be "carried away by the wind like corn silk" (*volonkátsaka elindrívotra*) and that I not lose my way as I wander "among the trees of this [virgin] forest" (*tanterakála*) of inquiry![1]

Introduction

In his opening remarks for the Society of American Archaeology Annual Meeting session (2009) that gave initial form to some of the contributions to this volume, Fleisher remarked about "the somewhat limited literature in emotions in archaeology." Similarly, Tarlow, in a very recent review of the subject, says: "The literature on the archaeology of emotion and affect is mostly quite recent and is not extensive…" (2012, p. 169). A little comfort might be taken in the fact that even psychological anthropologists were somewhat late in coming to understand emotions as culturally crafted, as well as subjects of *indigenous* theories of recognition, explanation, and management (e.g., Lutz, 1988; Middleton, 1989). To use Tarlow's vocabulary, they were late in coming to a "constructivist" approach[2] (i.e., abandoning universalist and/or essentialist stances). The creations of the mind, from symbols to world views, are readily understood by anthropologists as culturally crafted. The products of our senses and emotions are not so, for senses and emotions are/were originally assumed to be "hardwired," testament to our shared primate heritage (and

[1] I have borrowed this conjuring from the central highland Malagasy apotropaic practice of *faditra*: the use of gestures, words, and objects to distance the nefarious.

[2] "Constructivism: in emotion studies, the belief that emotions are culturally constructed and constituted and that even the bodily perturbations associated with emotion are experienced in culturally determined ways" (Tarlow, 2012, p. 170).

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J. Fleisher, N. Norman (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anxiety*,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-3231-3_9

a reminder of our continuing animalism). Indeed, most recently Oates pointed out that in *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (a work of 390 pages published in 1872) Darwin's "implicit assumption is the likeness of man and 'lower animals,' not their unlikeness" in that "all are subject to emotions…the 'expression' of emotions of an involuntary, visceral nature" (2013, p. 39). The psychologist Ekman, famous for his work on facial expressions and emotions, claimed in 1980 that this book by Darwin "was still the most convincing case for the universal side of the dispute" (1980, p. 4). Even fairly recently the occasional psychologist is still prone to speak of certain "primal" emotions such as fear that go back to our days of living in caves and facing wild predators, like saber-toothed tigers! This volume is a significant contribution to archaeologists' continued adventures in new arenas of inquiry and continued venturing across traditional disciplinary and subdisciplinary boundaries. Tarlow suggests that "The potential contribution of archaeology to emotion studies in the future includes bringing a sense of contextual historicity to the discussion and developing our knowledge of how material things and places are involved in shaping and expressing emotion" (2012, p. 169). I think the future is upon us, for her charge has been admirably accomplished by all the contributions to this volume.

Allow me, in the discussion that follows, to speak to my appreciation of important themes that run across the various contributions, to laud the expansive disciplinary and theoretical roaming of the authors that complements their extensive collective culturally contextualized knowledge across space and time, and to offer the occasional modest suggestion for continuing discussion and further thought.

Emotion as Explanation, as Subject, and as Agent

All the authors, either explicitly or implicitly, recognize that references to emotions and emotional states have always played a role in the *histories* we tell concerning the past; sometimes to add color to our recounting, sometimes to actually explain the past. This is a volume that takes emotions, not as embellishment to archaeological interpretation, but rather as a serious *subject* (rather than a method[3]) of study, a subject that needs sustained material gaze and theoretical focus. Additionally, many of the authors go further in attributing "agency" to the emotional experiences of anxiety and fear, and such attribution underscores the need for explicit attention to be paid to the subject of emotion in archaeological interpretations.

While it would be interesting to bring an attentive gaze to appreciate the patterning as to where and how we archaeologists have made use of emotions to bring "the pre/historic other" into proximity to our sentimental lives[4] or to force us to face

[3] The contributors to this volume demonstrate Tarlow's assertion that today "… the archaeology of emotion is a sophisticated, analytical, and disciplined academic field, which properly takes emotion to be the subject, rather than the method, of study" (2012, p. 172).

[4] Think here about "caring and sharing" Neanderthals, for instance.

radical alterities,[5] the important point that a number of authors bring to our attention is that emotions are already present in many of our explanations, though under-recognized and/or included as "after the fact" addendums. They are under-recognized because allusion, and even direct reference, to emotions most often assumes a relatively universal emotional endowment of our species, or as Brown Vega states, these allusions and references are based on "matter of fact, common sense derived notions about how people in the past felt," even in traumatic situations observed in the archaeological record. "The experiences of war in the past have often been characterized in an emotionally neutral way, or in uncritical, taken for granted fashion by archaeologists" (Brown Vega). In the case of Mesolithic burials in Europe "consideration of the emotional content has only been the subject of punctual observations and tentative additives to interpretations with a different focus" (Nilsson Stutz); perhaps this is because death might appear as a universally shared trauma since even before the Mesolithic (cf., Kus, 2013). Recognizing this situation of "under-recognition" brought about by neglect and presumption, the authors in this volume are engaged in a sustained "exercise in making emotion an explicit part of interpreting the archaeological record" (Brown Vega). Certainly, now that "embodiment" and "lived experience" are becoming commonplace in our archaeological parlance, such exercises are imperative.

Interpretation of aspects of the archaeological record was seemingly less challenging in the days when basic emotions were understood as hardwired and shared with both contemporaries and ancestors. Nonetheless, it is certainly important to continue to appreciate Ekman's valiant effort (in New Guinea and elsewhere) to test the candidates for universal human emotions.[6] While all the authors in this volume understand the critical need to approach emotions as cultural artifacts (my word choice), this does not necessarily imply that cultural relativism rules the day. Norman brings to our attention the saliency of the physical sensations of "hot" and "cool" confounded, respectively, with emotional states of "anxiety" and "calm" in his discussion of the behavior and aesthetics[7] of Huedan elite of the Dahomey Gap during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He consequently recognizes the importance of continuing to take into account the biological pieces of emotional reactions as they are used as materials for cultural construction: "[to] not eschew certain biological 'leakages' into the consciousness (e.g., raised heartbeat, increased sweating, swollen tear ducts) but … render them 'incidental' to what it is to being in an emotional state." Here, I would suggest that the term "incidental" should be reconsidered. There is an interesting question to ask about how such "uncontrolled" physical sensations might also serve as powerful experiential tropes. Lakoff and

[5] Think here about Neanderthal cannibalism and honorably buried women warriors, for instance.

[6] These emotions, believed to be legible from (spontaneous) facial expression, include such things as interest-excitement, enjoyment-joy, surprise-startle, distress-anguish, disgust-contempt, anger-rage, shame-humiliation, and *fear-terror* (1980, p. 129).

[7] "Control, stability, and composure under the West African rubric of the cool seem to constitute elements of an aesthetic attitude that extends beyond the habits of the body to elements of the house and broader public landscape."

Johnson have argued, specifically in the case of anger, that "conceptual metaphors are not mere flights of fancy, but can even have a basis in bodily experience" (1987, p. 409). Are not "blood, sweat, and tears" powerfully salient symbols? Are they, however, limited to a restricted range of interpretations cross-culturally? Or might a directed study reveal malleability in their cultural workings?[8] Such "grafting" of physical sensation onto culturally identified emotions (and social situations) might encourage us to pursue the above questions.[9]

The influence of culture has hovered around early studies of emotions both by psychologists and by psychological anthropologists. Even the study of the psychologist Ekman includes a strong hint of cultural influences on emotions. For instance, he recognized that the Fore of New Guinea actually made a distinction between "fear resulting from anger, disgust, or sadness" and "fear resulting from surprise." (Many authors in this work would certainly recognize the latter as "anxiety" and "the uncanny," but might not automatically associate fear with "disgust."[10]) Psychological anthropologists, on the other hand, did come to an earlier understanding of emotions as culturally crafted and variably expressed across "culture and personality." Ruth Benedict (1959) and Cora Du Bois (1944) offered now classic discussions of paranoid Dobuans, megalomaniacal Kwakiutl, and anxious Alorese. Yet, more recently psychological anthropologists as Lutz (1988) have brought our attention to *Unnatural Emotions*. Lutz's work with the Ifaluk in Micronesia allows us to appreciate how emotions understood in Western societies are not only differently labeled in other cultural contexts, but how they are also distinguished or combined in different fashion. But perhaps more important is her demonstration that emotions are *subjects* of *indigenous* theories of explanation, evaluation, and handling (if need be). All authors in this volume clearly understand emotions as

[8] Consider the following analogous example of universal symbols. It would appear at first glance that certain materials and events are so striking (e.g., the sun, the waxing and waning moon, blood, stone), so experientially salient that they might sustain arguments concerning universally shared symbols. Accordingly, one might imagine that stone would recommend itself as a symbol of death, permanence, destruction, and disorder. Paul Radin's (1957, p. 277) Oglala Sioux informant offered such a description in contrasting stone to the symbol of the circle, the symbol of life. Yet for the Merina of the central highlands of Madagascar, stone is the most celestial of all terrestrial items, associated with creator beings and monarchs (Kus & Raharijaona, 1998, pp. 53–61).

[9] Consider further Fernandez' suggestion: "It will be enough if anthropologist pay attention in the field to the ways in which men are aided in conveying inchoate psychological experiences by appealing to a range of more easily observable and concrete events in other domains of their lives. There must surely be some universals involved. It is likely that the domain of corporeal experience is used everywhere to clarify the heart and the head of many inchoate matters or the warmth or coolness of any personality" (1984, p. 25).

[10] But then again, we are familiar with the phrase: "to be filled with fear and loathing." It is interesting to note that the online urban dictionary http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=fear%20and%20loathing offers the following definition: "To Fear and Loath—Going out for a massive night containing random adventures, multiple locations and fuelled by plenty of body and substance abuse."

culturally crafted rather than cross-cultural universals.[11] The constatation of cultural variability is certainly more than enough to invite archaeologists into the discussion of emotions as a subject of inquiry given their access to the deep past. However, what the authors in this volume additionally appreciate is that the argument to treat emotions as a subject of study becomes imperative when we recognize, as do Sørensen and Lumsden, that emotions, such as fear, are also "*material* and social manifestations" (my emphasis).

If cultural crafting and material experience and expression of emotions is not enough to invite archaeologists to push open the door and sit at the table of discussion of such matters, archaeologists in this volume offer a stronger obligation to do so by their assertion that emotions (such as anxiety) are "agentic" (Harris); "anxiety is not merely a peripheral quality of phenomenological experience, but an agent of history itself" (Harris). Brown Vega similarly remarks that "emotion [is] something that is beyond the body—…a social and constructive force in the world." There is a litany of this assertion to be found in other works in this volume when speaking specifically of "anxiety." *This is a litany, not an echolalia*, in which alternative rephrasings capture attention, and bring nuance, as well as additional force, to the assertion. Chesson and Harris speak of how ritual used to relieve anxiety may actually cause anxiety through a fear of failure in performing the ritual. Brown Vega reminds us that "Anxiety can be just as damaging to health as hunger and malnourishment," going on to recognize "emotion as something that is beyond the body…a social and constructive force in the world." Sørensen and Lumsden speak of "the emotive agencies of body, material culture and movement." But perhaps most intriguing for further reflection is Sørensen and Lumsden's suggestive trope: "agential landscape supplied the plot; the human actors contributed the narrative." It is the case that the psychologist Bruner (1986) argues, in his very influential book *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* that narrative is the most convenient form our thought and reasoning take; our realities are narratively constructed. Additionally, the anthropologist Rosaldo asserts that "stories often shape, rather than simply reflect human conduct" (1993, p. 128).

A Sustained Focus When Opening Pandora's Jar[12]

As noted above, all the contributors to the volume understand that emotions are not universal and understand that emotions are a necessary subject for archaeological study. However, not only can we individually and personally testify to a large array of emotions and emotional experiences, but cultural anthropologists have revealed just how variable the contexts for and the cultural crafting of emotional experiences are, as well as how variable indigenous labels and explanations for emotions are,

[11] For example, Loren says "This is not to say that anxiety is a universal emotion…." and Brown Vega maintains that "it is not my intention to assert that there are universal emotions….".

[12] Yes, actually it is a jar, not a box, and a quick Internet search will confirm that.

even if we limit our range to *contemporary* cultures. Consequently, I think our discipline benefits from a volume like this one that does not purport to take on a large range of emotions, but rather restricts the terrain as we are "feeling" our way among multiple cultures and as we explore our theoretical groundings.

As we can see from the contributions to this volume, there is a great variety as to what situations cause anxiety and fear, how those situations are indigenously understood, and what responses are taken/believed to alleviate those situations. Consequently, there is a lot of work to be done concerning that perennial archaeological task of "looking for patterning" in the archaeological record concerning these matters. I personally see merit in continuing to work the "contextual trenches" of specific cultural understanding of anxiety and fear in order to facilitate fertile dialogue in close quarters. Such dialogue would allow us to both (1) refine and expand vocabulary necessary to effectively speak about this emotional terrain within diverse cultural contexts and (2) explore theoretical tools to allow qualified generalizations to be made that do not betray those cultural contexts.

Below I would like to (1) speak to the cross-disciplinary and theoretical roamings of the authors; (2) appreciate the challenge of vocabulary in facing the subject of emotion when the very terms "anxiety" and "fear" are themselves culturally variable; (3) address the question of patterning concerning situations of, understandings of, and handlings of anxiety and fear across the cultural diversity presented by the authors; and (4) offer some concluding remarks.

Roaming Where Some Fearful Angels Hesitate at the Borders

We all know that "archaeologists are anthropologists" in that they are intrepid foragers across the other subdisciplines of anthropology (a casual glance at the "References Cited" of the various contributions will demonstrate this assertion). Yet, I find myself further inclined to repeat a paean that I have offered at talks in professional meetings: archaeologists are a theoretically audacious and voracious lot, mavericks as they roam across disciplinary borders, and articulate interlocutors in recounting their roaming.

Take Chesson, for example, who makes use of the work of the folklorist, Glassie. She also offers the reader new to his work an articulate introduction to this work and incitement to investigate it further, in particular the concepts of "competence and context," rephrased as "competence in context." Nilsson Stutz's contribution is informed by ritual studies as well as by the field of psychology. Sørensen and Lumsden reference the psychologist, Freud (e.g., how anxiety informed his notion of the "uncanny"; the problematic nature of his understanding of "primitive thought"), and such philosophers as Kristeva (e.g., the "uncanny") and Heidegger (also cited by Loren). Harris, who makes reference to Heidegger as well, reminds us that "Rather than a specific emotion, anxiety, Heidegger argued, was one of the key elements in how human beings related to the world and to death." Norman nods to the philosopher and historian Foucault in speaking of "emotional communities," a

concept borrowed from the historian, Rosenwein. This concept is also referenced by Brown Vega, Norman, and Harris. There is a liberal sprinkling of other philosophers and phenomenologists (e.g., Merleau-Ponty, Husserl) in the contributions. Even members of our "cousin" discipline (of sociology), Giddens and Mauss, find their way into the work of Loren. Obviously, there are a number of psychologists to be found cited in the various contributions, but what I find curious is the relatively limited number of references to *psychological anthropologists*, and what references there are, they are a bit cursory. To be fair, Chesson refers to Briggs' pioneering work with the Inuit in Canada, Harris and Norman reference Lutz's work on Ifaluk in the Caroline Islands, Csordas is included in Brown Vega's work, and mentions of a few other psychological anthropologists are scattered in the various works in this volume.

I point to the paucity of references to psychological anthropologists for a number of reasons. One reason is that classic works by psychological anthropologists such as Lutz, Briggs, Levy (who worked in Tahiti), and others are powerful entries into (and contextually grounded orientations within) cultural alterities. The works of psychological anthropologists are powerful because they are based on sustained participant-observer encounters. In a parenthetical phrase Chesson draws our attention to an article by Briggs: "…see Briggs 1991 for an excellent case study of learning to live with risk." Yet, Briggs has produced a work on child socialization (1978) and Briggs' monograph, *Never in Anger* (1970), is a more sustained discussion of emotions as labeled, as acted upon, and as understood within a large cultural whole of incredible uncertainty of both an "animate" physical landscape and an ever precarious and changing social configuration (including gender mutability and relations with other nonhuman sentient beings). The very title of Lutz's monograph, *Unnatural Emotions*, demands the attention of archaeologists interested in emotions. Minimally, her Introduction and Conclusion are useful to appreciating her early and strong claim that emotional experience is "unnatural," that is, it is culturally constructed.

Another reason archaeologists should be interested in the ethnographic monographs of psychological anthropologists is that given these ethnographers' access to language, bodily engagement, and physical and social context (of "emotional communities"), the richness of their works' "content and context" is an incitement to imagination. Harris states: "Thus in one of the classic anthropologies of emotion, Catherine Lutz (1988) discusses the importance of an emotion (*metagu*) that broadly corresponds to fear and anxiety, even as she also identifies emotions which do not have an equivalent in the Western world (e.g., *fago*)." But, if one lingers longer in Lutz's text one comes to question the qualification of "broadly corresponds to fear and anxiety" to understand *metagu. Metagu* is a sentiment of *fear and anxiety* one feels upon submission to the *justified/righteous anger of authority* (*song*).[13] This is also to say that for the people of Ifaluk at least one sense of anxiety is tied into a

[13] To be clear, the term "*song*" for Ifaluk societies is a "singular" concept whereas to translate it into English we are obliged to qualify our "singular" concept of "anger" with terms such as "righteous" and "justified".

culturally specific dyadic relationship with another emotion. A dyadic relationship can be understood to exist in the various cultural contexts examined in a number of contributions to this volume, but it is not necessarily between individuals (e.g., humans and features of the Hittite landscape), and may involve occulted forces where the term "righteous" may not be the most apposite qualifier to describe the source of fear.

Still another reason for archaeologists to pay serious attention to psychological anthropologists is that they offer a larger (comparative cultural) scope of vision regarding emotion than the somewhat myopic western-bound philosophical entries based on limited cultural encounters and/or putative cross-cultural abstractions. Consider by way of example the vocabulary that Shore (1993, p. 361) offers in urging us to "to distinguish clearly 'physiological emotions' (emotion expressions), 'psycho-logical emotions' (subjective feeling states), and 'emotion discourse,' as three parts of an emotion system." Consider further this conceptual schema overlain on that of "hyper" and "hypo" cognated emotions proposed by Levy discussed below.

The classic work on Tahitians by Levy (a psychiatrist-turned-ethnographer), among many other appreciations (including Tahitian's understanding of fear, anxiety, and the uncanny[14]), brings to our attention a very important distinction as we talk of emotions and feelings. He argues that some feelings are "hypercognated" in that they are named/labeled by a culture and are embedded in indigenous psychological theories that explain their source, effect/manifestation, and how to handle them. Other feelings are "hypocognated" in that they are "controlled by cultural invisibility or at least by difficulty of access to communication." Levy draws his inspiration from the classic article by Schachtel (1947), "On memory and childhood amnesia," that is a very early recognition of the role of culture in cognition and memory, quoting him in the following passage:

> Some of the rich and diverse understandings of childhood experience, he [Schachtel] wrote, are filtered out by a "process [which] leaves the culturally unacceptable or unusable experiences and the memory thereof to starvation by the expedient of providing no linguistic, conceptual, and memory schemata for them and by channeling later experience into the experience schemata of the culture…" (1973, p. 324).

To be clear, the works of psychological anthropologists offer us richly contextualized appreciations of alterity that include linguistic, gestural, and social interactive *details*, among other things, to prod our imagination and grab our attention concerning the specificities of the cultural contexts and experiences we investigate. They also stand to offer us additional points of consideration in our pursuit of emotion as a subject. Drawing from my preceding remarks, I would suggest several

[14] "People in Piri and Roto are timid. It is important to note here the shape of the timidity. They are not timid when it is a matter of their personal physical skill in relation to the impersonal world. They climb tall trees, they dive in the lagoons for fish…with apparent confidence. In relation to the impersonal world they are not heroic, but they are confident. They are anxious about the spirit-invested corners of the nonliving world…. What they tend to be timid about is people and social encounters…" (1973, pp. 307–308).

points for us to further reflect upon. (1) Levy's concepts of "hypocognated" and "hypercognated" emotions and feelings might allow us to think about a range of vague ("ambiguous" à la Sørensen and Lumsden) sentiments and presentiments (e.g., unease, uncanny, anxiousness) in the confrontation of new situations in some contrast to more culturally crystallized "emotions" (e.g., fear, loathing) of the "longue durée." Indeed, Levy has suggested that "hypocognated" feelings are often physically manifested, such as through illness or corporal experiences of weight or pressure. "Hypercognated" feelings, that are culturally labeled and "explained," lend themselves to linguistic/expressive elaboration which would include metaphorical allusion, and I would add material metaphorical elaboration, "metaphorical entailments" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1981). (2) While in a section above I suggested that a narrowing of focus to a small array of emotions, such as anxiety and fear, is a good strategy, I am not advocating myopia. Indeed, Lutz's suggestion of the dyadic relationship between the emotional states of *metagu* and *song* encourages us to remember the anthropological adage of "culture as a whole" wherein the pieces of culture are in some ways "overdetermined." (3) "Overdetermination" and embeddedness further suggest cultural *redundancy* that should aid us in our interpretive challenges. (4) Schachtel's work might further allow us to appreciate such redundancy through practices of socialization.

While archaeologists can learn from the work of psychological anthropologists, I think archaeologists would advocate that psychological anthropologists can also learn from archaeologists. Indeed, Tarlow argues:

> Emotion studies in archaeology must take account of two things in particular, and it is in the development of strong approaches to these two things that our discipline can make the most useful contribution to interdisciplinary work on emotion. The first is a sense of historical variability and change, and the second is *attention to the way that emotion works through material things and places* (my emphasis 2012, p. 179).

It is the material and the sensuous (cf., Sørensen and Lumsden) that is the forté of archaeologists' study of culture that is underappreciated by many cultural/social anthropologists. However, I would point out that psychological anthropologists have already taken a "material turn" (cf., Kus, 2010). Lutz's work (1988) on Ifaluk recognizes the role of ecology and subsistence (as well as cultural discourse and social engagement) as critical to the cultural crafting of indigenous theories of emotions. The contributors to the classic work on *Learning Non-aggression* all speak in descriptive detail of local environment, ecological constraints and opportunities, and material engagement, during socialization as well as in daily and ritual practice, that contribute to the creation of particular sentiments and reactions on the part of individuals in societies traditionally labeled as "peaceful" and/or gentle.[15] I would

[15] "In addressing the question of "learning non-aggression" among the Mbuti, Turnbull (1978) describes thickly and sensuously the material environment critical to this "learning": sweet-smelling, clean, and light-colored bark cloth to wrap infants; shared beds of leaves; baths in sweet water from vines; encouraged explorations by toddlers of camp and forest edge, adolescent play of climbing trees and swinging from branches and vines, adolescent learning of ritual fire lighting and of songs to keep the forest awake, etc." (Kus, 2010, p. 167).

encourage archaeologists interested in emotion to actively engage in dialogue[16] with psychological anthropologists, not only to appreciate *their* material gaze, but also to direct and enlarge that gaze of our professional colleagues so as not to have to do all our own ethno-archaeology.

Dialogue between ourselves and across subdisciplines and other disciplines is further necessary to continued honing of both our theoretical and our parochial expressive vocabulary concerning what we have been calling "emotion" and "feeling."

Describing the Ineffable

If one looks at the etymology of the terms "anxiety"[17] and "fear,"[18] the "indigeneity" (i.e., from Latin, from Old English) of our default vocabulary is obvious. The historian, Rosenwein, cited by many of the contributors to this volume, further brings to our attention the fact that even within the provincialism of European languages, there is variability in conceptual vocabulary.

> Many European languages have more than one word for the phenomena that Anglophones call 'emotions,' and often these terms are not interchangeable. In France, love is not an *émotion*; it is a sentiment. Anger, however, is an emotion, for an emotion is short term and violent, while a sentiment is more subtle and of longer duration. German has *Gefühle*, a broad term that is used when feelings are strong and irrational, rather like *les émotions* in French, while *Empfindungen* are more contemplative and inward, rather closer to *les sentiments*. Italians speak of *emozioni* and *sentimenti*; the two words sometimes have the same implications as their counterparts in French, while at other times they are virtually equivalent, much as the English word 'feelings' tracks approximately the same lexical field as 'emotions' (2006, pp. 3–4).

The linguistic and detailed ethnographic work of a psychological anthropologist such as Lutz allows us to begin to appreciate not only the cultural specificity of our language categories, but also sometimes radically alternative manners of combining and distinguishing emotive fields of experience. In ethnohistorical and ethnographic cases it is important to defer to indigenous terms; in the absence of linguistic evidence it is important to stay alert to the constraints of imposed vocabulary. A number of contributors to the volume recognize this challenge. Nilsson Stutz brings our attention to the fact that psychologists are not in agreement as to what "anxiety" is, some argue it is indistinguishable from fear, and others suggest that fear is a cognitive response to a threat while anxiety is an emotional response to a threat. She also points out that neurobiology suggests that fear and anxiety are separate constructs as well: "…fear is characterized by avoidance behaviors, and anxiety is distinguished

[16] Perhaps this might include joint sessions at professional meetings.

[17] Latin *anxietas*, from *anxius*. First known use: circa 1525 (Merriam-Webster On-line Dictionary and Thesaurus http://www.merriam-webster.com).

[18] Middle English *feren*, from Old English *fæřan*, from *fæř*. First known use: before twelfth century (Merriam-Webster On-line Dictionary and Thesaurus http://www.merriam-webster.com/).

by sustained hypervigilance and prolonged hyperarousal." Chesson takes the tactic of considering the term "anxiety" as a gloss rather than a category. Sørensen and Lumsden take another tactic, that of clarifying *their* understanding of the difference between fear and anxiety:

> Fear and anxiety may of course be defined in various ways, but as we demonstrate below, we hold that fear might better be understood as a feeling of the presence of something ominous or the potential for something threatening to take place. Hence, we point to ambivalent feelings in the landscape, when something in the immediate surroundings is experienced as threatening; terrifying precisely because of the inability to pinpoint its exact character, position or nature.

This attentiveness to labels should complement the challenge to appreciate alterity all the while maintaining alertness to questions of possible "universality" (cf. Tarlow, 2012). In facing these challenges, I appreciate the willingness of the contributors of this volume to experiment with both borrowed and coined terms and expressions; some resonate across contributions, others are unique to authors and cultural contexts.

One classic term (employed by Freud and Heidegger) that Sørensen and Lumsden are understandably drawn to using is "uncanny"[19] (*unheimlich*). It would be very interesting to examine this term across cultural contexts for the term itself "arrests" our attention and asks us to look more closely on how it maps onto "fear" and "anxiety," terms that, in contrast to "uncanny," tempt us with their universal appeal. Sørensen and Lumsden further play with the term "atmosphere" to grapple with a concatenation of landscape and its material experiencing mediated by conceptual regimes. It is interesting that both Harris and Chesson use the materially sensuous term of "texture." "[E]motions…as an embodied/social/material practice … textures the material conditions people lived through" (Harris). Chesson urges us to appreciate the life of the other as a "richly textured emotional and material life." She further remarks on such life as involving "competency in context" (rephrasing Glassie). Such individual experimentation with expression encourages reflection on the part of readers and is an important alternative to acquiescence to the (dull) lull of conventional categories and terms. However, we should be additionally attentive when a number of individual researchers are drawn to similar phrasings to capture ideas and arguments. Brown Vega's asserts that "Concepts such as 'affective field', 'attunement', and 'emotional communities' are useful for making emotion an explicit part of archaeological interpretations without assuming universal emotions, or assigning feelings uncritically to people of the past." "Emotional communities"[20]

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[19] If one searches for synonyms for this term, many of the choices are equally intriguing: (1) eerie, unnatural, unearthly, preternatural, supernatural, otherworldly, ghostly, mysterious, strange, unsettling, abnormal, weird, bizarre, surreal, eldritch; informal creepy, spooky, freakish, freaky and (2) striking, remarkable, extraordinary, exceptional, incredible, noteworthy, notable, arresting (https://www.google.com/search?q=synonym+for+uncanny&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&aq=t&rls=org.mozilla:en-US:official&client=firefox-a).

[20] "I postulate the existence of 'emotional communities': groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value—or devalue—the same or related emotions. More than one emotional community may exist—indeed normally does exist—contemporaneously, and

borrowed from Rosenwein (2006, p. 2) is used by Brown Vega, Norman, Chesson, and Harris. "Affective field" is used by Brown Vega and Harris and echoed in "affective space" employed by Sørensen and Lumsden and in "arenas of anxiety and fear" as used by Loren. Consider Harris's appreciation of "affective fields" as a way to usefully qualify specific emotion terms. He speaks of anxiety as a quality of an affective field that may be found in all societies because of our shared human *history* (notice, he is not saying primate heritage), while acknowledging that some other "emotions" may indeed be specific to culture, place, and time. Maybe we can have some "universalism without uniformity" (Shweder, 1999, p. 68): fear may be a quality of "affective fields" across cultures but what you are afraid of (e.g., saber-toothed tigers, spiders, an encounter with a new terrain or a new "other," a black cat or a flight of birds[21] crossing your path, or the final exam in your Introduction to Anthropology course) is culturally specific because we are symbol users (cf. Langer, 1971).

I laud the contributors' efforts to experiment with vocabulary and phrasing, and I would encourage continued "play" so we are not tempted to default too soon to higher level abstractions that give the illusion of containment and control while betraying the "on-the-ground" reality of experience, representation, and "meaning" within specific cultural contexts. Before moving on to the next section, let me discuss one further recurrent "theme" across the contributions, the notion of "metaphor," that I think deserves more serious attention.

Norman cites Tilley (2004) and Tarlow (1999) in arguing that "emotions occur in specific contexts, which are historically variable…and are often created and understood through metaphor." Chesson admits that her contribution to the current volume "is particularly indebted to [Tarlow's, 2000] claim that emotional meanings can be conveyed in metaphors verbally or materially." I agree that metaphor should be a critical piece of discussion of emotion (not least because responses to emotional situations often involve ritual). However, I would urge us to speak of "tropes" (Kus, 2010)—rather than use "metaphor" as a generic category—as this term is more expansive and nuanced. Here, for instance, I am thinking minimally of Peirce's distinction of icon, index, and symbol, and even the distinctions of metonym from metaphor from synecdoche from simile, and even syllogistic reasoning (à la Fernandez discussed below). I urge this for several reasons. This might give us incentive to be sensitive to material and behavioral parallels to the range of linguistic tropes. Perhaps more important is the fact that many of the cultures/societies we investigate as archaeologists and ethno-archaeologists are societies of primary orality. Ong (1982) and Goody (1989) were among the first to allow us to see orality/oralities as (an) alternative way(s) of being in the world rather than as disadvantaged by illiteracy. Today that original appreciation of an oral-literate divide has been

these communities may change over time. Some come to the fore to dominate our sources, then recede in importance. Others are almost entirely hidden from us, though we may imagine they exist and may even see some of their effects on more visible groups" (Rosenwein, 2006, p. 2).

[21] Auspicious comes from the Latin word *auspicium* means "divination by observing the flight of birds."

critiqued; nevertheless, I think it is a useful beginning heuristic to understand what Fernandez invites us to understand about "The mission of metaphor in expressive culture" (1986, pp. 28–70). These are societies of bricoleurs, "scientists of the concrete" (Levi-Strauss, 1966), and masters and mistresses of tropes that may indeed challenge our interpretive skills. Yet, their employ of trope is most often experientially and materially grounded; it stays close to the lived world; and further it involves copious poetic/symbolic redundancy. To quote myself: "In these societies, tropes are not limited to 'figures of speech', they gain their shape and force by continued accretion in material and sensuous engagement with and in the world, and *consequently speech, gesture and material object are often melded in dialogic encounters*" (emphasis here, Kus, 2010, p. 171). These traits might play to our advantage as archaeologists (for further discussion of these points see Kus, 2012). Let me offer one additional point for consideration. In his work, *Persuasions and Performances: The Play of Tropes in Culture* (from which I have clearly borrowed the term "trope"), Fernandez argues that "metaphor" can be appreciated as "predication upon the inchoate," the use of the more concretely and experientially understood to come to comprehend (and I would add, in some cases, cajole or control) the less understood (the inchoate, the ineffable). His arguments on "an-trope-ology" (Fernandez, 1986, p. xv) should be considered by archaeologists in our efforts[22] to employ the terms of "metaphor" and "trope."

Seeing Both Forest and Trees

As we teach our undergraduate students, archaeologists (and anthropologists) study individual cultures (trees) in elaborate *detail* all the while looking for (forestrial) *patterning* of behavior, meaning and symbol, social organization, institutions, etc. that reveal linkages among similar cultural traits, linkages with different cultural traits and cultural contexts and, in some cases, stronger suggestions of causality. It is a daunting challenge to speak of "anxiety" and "fear" (here, to be clear I am using these terms as "glosses" à la Chesson, "affective fields" à la Brown Vega), in terms of (1) what induces such sentiments in individuals and communities, (2) how such "emotions" are expressed behaviorally, materially, and symbolically, and (3) what cultural solutions are proposed to alleviate such emotional states of distress. Cause, effect, and solution are difficult enough to appreciate within a specific cultural context, let alone advance generalizations across such a range of space, time, and cultural contexts. I, myself, cannot see the forest, but let me discuss a few trail blazes offered by the works collected in this volume.

[22] A perusal of his chapter titles (e.g., "…Metaphors of Everyman", "the Mission of Metaphor in Expressive Culture," "Syllogisms of Association….") should entice some of us to look further into his arguments.

Situations Provoking Anxiety and Fear

One cannot help but remark on the incredible range of situations that invoke "anxiety" as discussed in the contributions to this volume, beginning with just "daily life" as Chesson points out. Indeed, I am reminded of DuBois' study of the Alorese, where children are left in situations of erratic feeding, uncertain caretaking, and inconsistent discipline as mothers spend their days in agricultural fields leaving their children behind in the village. Such childhood experience led DuBois to the conclusion that "suffering from anxiety" was one characteristic of Alorese "Basic Personality Structure." Childbirth and death are "universal," yet in some cases shortly after birth the ritual of baptism involving the conferring of a saint's name (a protective ritual) takes place, and in other cases a name (as a social identity) is not conferred until much later when it is clear the child has a chance of surviving. In the case of death not all cultures bury the dead at incredible distances from the villages of the living as did the members of Bronze Age society on the shores of the Dead Sea in Jordan (Chesson). Others buried and rebury their dead within the foundations of the houses of the living or bury them in "houses of the dead" that are positioned centrally within villages where children are allowed to play on the tombs of their ancestors, and humor can be found at the edges of funeral "festivities" (e.g., Kus & Raharijaona, 2001, pp. 125–126; Raharijaona & Kus, 2001, p. 62). (Nilsson Stutz' suggestion of an "archaeothanatology" should not go unheeded.) Daily life for the elite in the "Dahomey Gap region involved the need to constantly grow one's house, increase the family name, and serve as the arbiter for family debates and discussions" (Norman). But beyond the "affective field" of "just staying alive" within a society (whether the challenges are shared or differ according to "status" and "category") there is an incredible range of "anxiety"-provoking situations, many mentioned in the contributions to this volume, and others we can add from our own cultural encounters and readings (and personal experiences).

There are *situations of social encounter among diverse groups of people*. Loren draws our attention to the encounters of indigenous populations with new immigrants in Colonial New England. Brown Vega describes the congregation for protection by diverse populations at Acaray, a prehispanic fortress in Peru (AD 1000–1400). The Early Neolithic (3670 BC) causewayed enclosure at Hambledon Hill, Dorset, Harris points out, was a "gathering of multiple communities" engaged in "tournaments of value" for the "Neolithic was a much more interdependent world than its Mesolithic predecessor…."

There are *situations of new relations with the natural world*. Harris presents a case of risks involved in adopting a new subsistence strategy, the adoption of agriculture by relatively mobile herders of cattle, sheep, and pigs. Chesson discusses the challenges of becoming sedentary as part of a commitment to agricultural. Certainly cultivation of crops and sedentism demand "practical" technological and social adjustments, but these are also situations that possibly include an introduction to a

new pantheon of supernatural entities in a world where one is less "a part" of nature and more "apart" from nature.[23]

There are *situations of encounters with unfamiliar landscapes and landscapes of myth*: bewildering new geography, new flora, new fauna, new (anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic) forces and phenomena. In Colonial New England (Loren), "strangers" were also "strangers in a strange land," a land where a belief in an ordained order was confronted by a new natural landscape, so alien, so anarchic, as to produce disease and starvation. The Hittites of Anatolia (Sørensen and Lumsden), as revealed by textual sources, had their fear and anxiety "stirred or framed by features of the natural landscape," such as "mountains, caves, rock outcrops, fissures, rivers, springs, and trees." Sørensen and Lumsden use the term "numinous" to arrest our attention concerning such encounters, and further bring to our attention that "mythical realities and the sensuous qualities of the landscape would have given rise to narratives that incorporate the transitional properties of…landscape."

There are *situations of socially created violence and social competition*, including warfare and/or slavery. The threat of attack led to the creation of the prehispanic fortress of Acaray, in Peru (Brown Vega) as well as the creation of the hill fort of Hambledon Hill, Dorset (Harris) by congregations of *diverse* populations. "Slaving raids and wholesale warfare" also served as a backdrop to the communities that supported Huedan elite in Dahomey (Norman).

There are *situations where the very efforts to allay anxiety create (additional) anxiety*. Chesson, Harris, and Nilsson Stutz remind us that ritual can also cause anxiety through the ever-present risk of failure.

The Expression of Anxiety and Fear

Obviously, who expresses emotion and how emotions are expressed is cross-culturally variable. Many of the contributors, as noted above, are drawn to the use of the term "emotional communities" (Rosenwein, 2006, p. 2). Within "social" communities, of course, there are differences of class, gender, age, specialization,[24] etc. Lutz's work among the Ifaluk points out that some emotions are not shared across a social community. It is the case that not everyone can claim to experience *song*, or "righteous anger" (with moralistic overtones and no disposition to revenge); only an individual who is recognized as holding a position of legitimate authority or power can make such a claim. Abu-Lughod's (1986) work, *Veiled Sentiments:*

[23] By way of illustration, if I am allowed to continue the "gross" dichotomy of nature and culture, it is understandable why an animal as formidable as a polar bear might be a powerful shamanic ally spirit. A domesticated sheep or goat, on the other hand, lends itself as appropriate sacrifice to (an) omniscient being(s).

[24] For example, there are occupations and tasks (e.g., climbing tall trees, facing dangerous animals) that are more dangerous than others in most societies. Consider also traditional iron workers in sub-Saharan Africa who experienced anxiety in a situation of uncertain control of a complex technological process (e.g., Schmidt, 1997).

Honor and Poetry in Bedouin Society, illustrates how poetry is used to express "sentiments" that violate the Bedouin moral code, and in some cases, this expression is restricted to the private domain. These works bring to our attention the fact that the question of "how" emotions are given expression is further qualified by the "who" and even the "where" of expression.

Norman recognizes such matters in his discussion of the anxiety of the Elite Huedan in Dahomey of the seventeenth to nineteenth century as the following quote demonstrates:

> Although much research remains to theorize how material items worked to evoke and mitigate emotional states among non-elite Huedans, children, wards, enslaved individuals living within the confines of the kingdom, etc. we are broadening our understanding of those Huedans who heretofore have been presented as stoic political actors and ruthless merchants.

Illness (epidemic and/or infectious such as smallpox, malaria, and dysentery and psychosomatic provoked by anxiety)[25] along with cleanliness/pollution seem to be recurrent themes of how anxiety is experienced and expressed across cultures. Loren points out an interesting parallel in how both the Wampanoag and the English understood illness.

> …Wampanoag healers … conceptualizations of the body and illness were in line with Puritan understandings. As was the case with the English, supernatural forces were the cause of many illnesses and for both communities, when one operated on the body, one operated on the spirit

Brown Vega argues that "illness can be an expression of how people embody warfare" and sees in "fright sickness or soul loss" similarities to contemporary "traumatic stress syndrome." In speaking about the expression of anxiety such as illness, we should also direct our attention to "biological 'leakages'" as Norman suggests in his discussion of "hotness" and "calm."

Cultural Solutions to Handling Anxiety and Fear

Magic, ritual, religion, and fetish will certainly come to the mind of any anthropologist posing the question of how to handle anxiety and fear, and a quick reading of the contributions to this volume will reinforce this initial response. There are witch bottles, touch pieces, and tobacco to be found in Colonial New England, medicine bundles in pre-colonial Argentina, Hittite sculptures hewn from andesite volcanic stone whose color and texture recommend it for ritual use, "highly structured burial practices" from Bab adh-Dhra', and vodun statues from the Dahomey Gap region. Nilsson-Stutz suggests that the link between ritual and anxiety was first pointed out by Freud and she additionally adds that "Malinowski's theory of magic understands

[25] The theme of "real" versus "imagined" illnesses (again, relying on a vocabulary glosses) might be an interesting theme to pursue to "complicate" the question of "biological leakages".

rituals as responses to anxiety-creating threatening situations often associated with high risk endeavors." Permit me in the discussion to follow concerning "magic and ritual" to (1) continue to direct our attention to vocabulary, (2) reference again the themes of "metaphor" and "predication upon the inchoate," (3) qualify "ritual" through a discussion of "replication" versus "riffing," and (4) signal a small possible piece of patterning among responses to anxiety.

Words as "magic," "ritual," "fetish," and "religion" are certainly terms laden with suppositions of content and explanation. I would therefore encourage us to seriously address the anthropological literature in an attempt to understand the "aesthetico-logic" of *how* magic, ritual, etc. is understood to "work" and to "mean." I encourage this "sympathetic" stance toward magic not only to effect "an understanding of people in the past…recognizing that they were complex, feeling, thinking humans and not automata responding to situations" (Norman), but also to allow us to be more poetically and aesthetically (cf., Norman) effective interpreters of those other lives.

As we seek to understand how "enchantment" works, the theme of "metaphor" (understanding this term as a gloss à la Chesson) couples well with a concept of aesthetico-logic and is further complemented by the suggestion that "metaphor" is "predication upon the inchoate" (Fernandez, 1986, pp. x, 45, 52). A classic example to illustrate my assertion comes from Levi-Strauss. His essay "The effectiveness of symbols" (1963) is an extended analysis of a Cuna Indian (Panama) shamanic song whose intent is to facilitate difficult childbirth (by handling the anxiety of the mother). The song of the shaman describes a spiritual journey of a "struggle of helpful and malevolent spirits" (1963, p. 187) that maps onto a physical journey up the vagina and uterus of the women (1963, p. 183). This is a journey with culturally salient figures of myth, the malevolent spirit of Muu, and wild and monstrous animals, and with powerful and powerfully significant items from entangled gold and silver nets, magical hats, armadillo bones to silver beads, and with metaphorical equivalencies between internal anatomy and external landscape of paths and whirlpools. The rite is often successful because as Levi-Strauss asserts:

> The shaman provides the sick woman with a *language*, by means of which unexpressed, and otherwise inexpressible psychic states can be immediately expressed….at the same time making it possible to undergo in an ordered and intelligible form a real experience that would otherwise be chaotic and inexpressible….

I would further draw our attention to an additional comment of Levi-Strauss in this essay: "Thus we note the significance of Rimbaud's intuition that metaphor can change the world" (1963, p. 197). But, my addendum to Levi-Strauss's comment is this; such change is not accomplished by a *singular* metaphor. We need to appreciate not only Lakoff and Johnson's argument of "metaphoric entailment" (1981), but we also need to appreciate that in cases of "ritual intervention" we are further dealing with a *concatenation* of tropes.

Let me elaborate on this last point about "concatenation of tropes" by returning to my earlier assertion: if we attempt to study the aesthetico-logic of the "how" of magic, we might become more effective interpreters of other lives. My original

supplication that opens this contribution begins with two "random" objects, corn silk and a forest. Levi-Strauss (1963) offers us images from whirlpools to armadillo bones. Brown Vega draws our attention to "curing assemblages" that contain items such as coca seeds, hair, seed necklaces, plant materials acquired from distant jungles, and counterspun yarn, among other things. Grave goods from Bab adh-Dhra' include "vessels and anthropomorphic figurines, stone vessels, stone maceheads, wood objects (including staffs and bowls), beads, and bone objects" (Chesson). Norman mentions rituals of "economic or social contract [wherein the participants] drank an offering, usually involving a concoction of blood, sanctified earth[26] [e.g., soil from crossroads, soil from the market place or a threshold] and other cosmologically potent materials." When "magical" gestures and objects are enumerated as a hodgepodge of charms and ritual, it is difficult to understand the aesthetico-logic of practices. I have had the good fortune to do ethnoarchaeological and ethnographic work with ritual specialists in Madagascar. These specialists (*mpanandro*) are responsible for orienting houses and tombs in space and time to both foster life and well-being and to constrain death to its proper domain. This work has allowed me to understand that their practice involves a strategy of copious reverberation of tropes, not the magical concoction of "stew-like" assemblages. Let me elaborate by returning to the arena of "corn silk and forests." For the Malagasy, one's destiny depends on the time, day, and month of one's birth. Their lunar months bear the testimony of Arabic influence. Let us consider the destiny of a child born during the fourth month of Asorotany and the recommended *faditra* (apotropaic elements to purify and to distance the nefarious). This will help illustrate the point that there may indeed be an orienting central "trope" or symbol to the ritual of collecting and destroying a series of *faditra* which at first glance appears aleatory. The word "Asorotany" is derived by loose homophony from the Arabic word, *As-saratanu*, which designates Cancer (Heseltine, 1971, p. 64). The Malagasy linguistic appetite for humorous and serious wordplay allows them to translate this word as "*asoroka*" conjoined with "*tany*." One translation of *asoroka* is "with what one rakes, levels, removes, cleans." *Tany* translates as "land, soil, dirt.[27]" Consequently, it should not be surprising that in order to distance the nefarious aspects of such a child's destiny, ritual specialists recommend that such a child be "offered" at birth a bequest of land, this is to say, offered a piece of land the child stands to inherit. This is in order to avoid the early death of the child's parents, that is to say, the early inheritance of land by the child. But if one looks as the following chart (created from information from Callet, 1981, p. 43) of what are recommended additional *faditra*, one can appreciate the need for poetic exegesis of significance.[28]

[26] See Kus and Raharijaona (2015) for an extended discussion of the powerful trope of "dirt" that went unrecognized by not only European visitors to Madagascar, but also by some Malagasy elite detached from life in the countryside.

[27] For fuller discussion of the symbol of "dirt" see Kus and Raharijaona (2015).

[28] *I want to thank my colleague, Victor Raharijaona, for his poetic decrypting skills.*

Faditra	Translation
tetezampolaka	Soil taken from a bridge [across the ditch of a fortified site that has crumbled], the term “p/folaka” means both “fallen down” and “bent/tamed”
vahitsitafitahady	*Triticum repens,* a type of couch grass or climbing vine, whose name means “cannot reach across a defensive ditch”
ampangamaty	A type of fern whose name translates as “fern of the dead” and whose leaves are used to stuff/repair holes in tombs
vodifahitramaty	Dirt that is found in the evacuation drain for liquids from an abandoned cattle park/corral
vodihadimaty	Compost taken from an abandoned (“dead”) ditch
hazonavoinvoindrano	A piece of wood carried off in a stream of water
vodifantsakana	The deposit of mud from the runoff of a well
ilaozanela	Soil from a dirt enclosure that has been abandoned for a long time

Apotropaic practices are certainly not exclusive to Madagascar, but in this case the poetry is very much Malagasy. (In general the *faditra* are particular to months, but they are open to elaboration given individual situations.) In the case of the month of Asorotany it is obvious that earth, dirt, or *tany* resonates in the majority of items to be included in the ritual. The possible “grab for land” by the child resulting in early death for parents and siblings is avoided by the employ of dirt echoing a central idea of sterility, blockage, abandonment, and death. Some objects, however are less obvious to outsiders to the system; consider the piece of wood carried off by the stream. The image is one of loss of control and loss of direction. The point is not that we archaeologists are going to be able to actually find and identify “dirt” from a range of such contexts. Indeed, in the case of the objects of *faditra*, they are accompanied by the gestures of being thrown to the wind, drowned in a pool, or burnt. But copiousness and resonation among tropes might help in interpretation. Additionally, the point is not that we will always (or even ever) be able to do fine poetic interpretations of what we do find; it is rather to be careful not to trivialize our material finds by assigning to them to generic categories such as magic, gris-gris, and fetish. We need to be sensitive to such elaboration and resonances of tropes minimally as testament perhaps to degrees of preoccupation with and “magico-poetic” labor put into frightful and anxiety-provoking situations.

Let me continue with the mpanandro’s practice to speak to “replication” and “riffing” in ritual activity. Many of us, habituated to religions of the state where hierarchies of authority exist and where orthodoxy and heresy are ploys of power of such authority, come to accept the fact that ritual implies compulsory routinization (“invariance, rule governance, and formalism,” Nilsson Stutz) and that novelty is problematic, “tweaking” is discouraged. However, based on my appreciation of the mpanandro’s craft I would argue that in some societies we need to understand ritual (as well as tradition) as *re-creation, not replication*. Of the many ritual acts and elements of the effective construction of a house (to protect life, foster well-being, encourage growth) that a mpanandro is called upon to execute and consult on, is the

designation of where the inaugural six digs of the house foundation are placed. The house foundation is laid out as a rectangle with respect to the cardinal directions, each wall representing one direction. It is the case that, for the Malagasy of the central highlands, the direction of north is associated with nobility and the direction of the east is associated with the sacred. Consequently, as one might surmise, the northeast direction is the most powerful direction. It was very easy for my Malagasy colleague and me to assume, early in our work with mpanandro, that the first inaugural dig would take place at the northeast corner of the house foundation. This assumption is more than adequately reinforced by Malagasy beliefs about the importance of inaugural events, gestures, etc. In a later field season upon questioning *seven different* mpanandro we had worked with, we were faced with *seven different* responses as to where to begin a house foundation (middle of the north face, middle of the south face, northwest corner, northeast corner, on the west face just to the north of the door, middle of the east face, it depends on the destinies of the owners of the house; Kus & Raharijaona, 2011a, pp. 76–80). Idiosyncratic practice and/or loss of tradition were thoughts that initially came to mind. Yet, upon further questioning, each mpanandro offered a "rationale" for the choice that was concordant with understandings of cardinal directions, houses, and Malagasy worldview. For example, one begins at the northwest so that one's final dig is at the northeast, bringing powerful protection/closure to the foundation. Or, one begins and ends at both sides of the door to effectively protect it. (For fuller development see Kus & Raharijaona, 2011a; Raharijaona & Kus, 2000). As we examined other practices of the mpanandro, the choice of plants to be planted on the vulnerable east side of the house that has no opening (door or window), the materials (e.g., beads, coins) to be buried at the threshold to protect the door, the "northern point" of orientation for the central house beam, we observed "variation" between specialists. This is because these ritual specialists continued to "refine" their practice, not in apprenticeship to one another, nor in adherence to a formal codification of practice, but rather in continuous reflection upon their practice. *Exegetical bricolage* is a term that comes to mind (Kus & Raharijaona, 2011a, p. 80). Here we have an example of what I referred to above as "riffing" rather than (imperfect) replication.[29]

Given the examples from the practices of the mpanandro, one can also speak of attention to the "spirit of the law" rather than the "letter of the law." One final question I would like to ask in this section is, might there be a pattern to where to expect the "spirit" and where to expect the "letter of the law" in ritual practice? Let me venture a hypothesis. There are societies and situations where "magic" is employed: the use of concrete material and gestural "predication," to bring vague sentiments and ambiguous sacred forces into alignment in an *audacious stance* to force the

[29] "Materiality as trope might be a very exciting entry point into our discussion of emotion in oral societies known only from their archaeological remains. It is also the case that poetic redundancy across the quotidian and the ritual is also a feature of these societies. However, we might not want to think in term of repetitive, replicated and recitative "statements" as we attempt to break a symbolic code, but rather to think of interpreting a poetry of copious iconic and indexical cross-references (e.g., Raharijaona & Kus, 2000)" (Kus, 2010, p. 171).

hand of the powers that be to accommodate themselves to specific human needs and desires. If some materials and practices are found efficacious they may encourage replication, but the degree of independence of the ritual specialist (if employed) and the differing situation of individuals would encourage "riffing" and experimentation in medicine bundles, grave good assemblages, *faditra*, etc. Nilsson Stutz contribution should also push us to consider situations of "repeated actions… [and the] structured and structuring role of rituals" and compare them with "practices that appear to break away from the formalism and invariance indicating a unique or problematic situation."

Other societies and situations (of "normative anxiety"?) might rather encourage a supplicatory stance ("petitioning by prayer") through "religious" specialists. Sørensen and Lumsden mention that "the Hittite term for prayer means 'pleading' or 'defense'." Such situations might demand careful attention to the details of ritual. Here I would argue that the distinction of the stances of "magic" and "religion" (using these terms as shorthand for "audacity" versus "entreaty") might not simply follow a distinction between small-scale egalitarian societies and hierarchicized "states." One could venture that the distinction between of "magic" and "religion" might map more effectively onto the distinction of "spontaneous anxiety"[30] and "normative anxiety" and perhaps also relate to scale of ritual from private and small group rituals to small-scale public rituals to large-scale public rituals.

Takeaway Points

We need to take up the challenge of looking for dimensions of patterning concerning the sources of, expression of, and manners used to address "anxiety" and "fear" across cultures in space and time. However, we should not necessarily expect that this patterning is going to map onto our traditional categories of subsistence strategy, social forms, economic forms, political organization, etc. Nevertheless, we should continue to be tempted by universals, though wary of their quick imposition onto the patterning we observe. Perhaps we can think about this as the negotiation of "centers" and "edges." There might be "centers" of vital overlap of experiences and symbols. Here I am reminded of Gary Snyder's appreciation of poetry across cultures as "drawing out, re-creating, subtly altering for each time and place … fundamental images" (1977, p. 85). Nevertheless, it is the edges of incommensurability that we do not want to betray. (Might we approach the centers as poets and the edges as anthropologists?) To meet these challenges we need to continue to

[30] In his classic work on "Baseball Magic" Gmelch argues that: "Baseball, America's national pastime, is an arena in which players behave remarkably like Malinowski's Trobriand fishermen. To professional ballplayers, baseball is more than a game, it is an occupation. Because their livelihoods depend on how well they perform, many use magic [ritual and fetishes] in an attempt to control the chance that is built into baseball. There are three essential activities of the game: pitching, hitting, and fielding. In the first two, chance can play a surprisingly important role" (2008, p. 127).

individually labor in the fields of mid-range contexts of specific cultural situations. We also need to continue to listen to and learn from each other's "tales from the field" in such forums as sessions at annual meetings and edited volumes such as this.

Challenges Yet to Flow from Pandora's Jar: A Question of "Shifting Sensorium" and Style

Not only have we come to recognize emotions as culturally crafted, but it is also the case that "sensoriums shift" (Ong, 1991) across cultures and across time (Classen, 1993; Howes, 1991). This is to say that we need to be up to the further challenge of understanding how the senses (not necessarily the five we are accustomed to) are implicated in the "subject" of emotion; in particular, we need to be up to the challenge of understanding how "biological leakage" may already be culturally contaminated/flavored (e.g., Howes, 1991; Stoller, 1990, 1997). Additionally, since ritual appears to be a recurrent solution to situations of anxiety and fear, we need to familiarize ourselves with current studies in "the anthropology of ritual… [that address the] aesthetic, performative, and perceptual dimensions [of such practices]…" (Porcello, Meintjes, Ochoa, & Samuels, 2010, p. 52).

I would argue further that we need to approach our writing style by intrepid experimentation (with vocabulary and narrative) that such a subject as emotions (and senses/sensuousness) invites (cf. Kus, 2000, p. 735). Tarlow has appropriately warned us against "naïve methodological empathy" (2000, p. 724).

Personal anecdotes and self-referencing is not the end, but such gambits can grab the attention of a reader. Chesson's engaging preface discussing her experience in New Orleans after Katrina is appropriately coupled with a quote from Glassie[31] cautioning us against oversimplification of the past. Perhaps the following quote from Merleau-Ponty will help explain my concern for writing style:

> This process of joining objective analysis to lived experience is perhaps the most proper task of anthropology, the one which distinguishes it from other social sciences…. The variables of anthropology… must be met with sooner or later on the level at which phenomena have an immediately human significance (1964, p. 119).

I think that our experiments with vernacular language, in particular, to explore the sensuous, the emotional, and the aesthetic are important steps to resist the constraints and directives of (high) theoretical terminology and to not rest content with

[31] "We have to strain to see the reality of the alternative through curtains of rhetoric, some dropped by the nostalgic, more by the apologists for capitalism. The old life was simple, we are told. Absurd. Life was anything but simple when people in small groups, interrupted by storms and epidemics and marching armies, managed to raise their own food, make their own clothing, and build their own shelter, while creating their own music, literature, art, science and philosophy" Glassie (2000, p. 48).

quasi-abstract sensibilities (e.g., embodied experience, aesthetico-logic[32]; cf., Hamilakis, 2002, p. 103[33]). Given this challenge, I would argue that *style* (rather than just theoretical fashion)[34] does indeed matter when addressing emotion across the archaeological record.

Epilogue

With all this discussion of fear and anxiety, it is good that Chesson reminds us that in our lives there is, and in the lives of others there "would presumably have been plenty of room … for joy, happiness, and even boredom." Minimally, in this volume we have escaped boredom!

I opened this contribution with a respectful nod to the apotropaic Malagasy practice of *faditra*: the use of gestures, words, and objects to distance the nefarious. I will now close with a respectful nod to their practice of *sorona*, offerings to augment the good and encourage life and growth. May your protective bundle contain (1) *taninlanonana* (soil from where the people were unified for a joyous occasion), (2) *volatsirovitra* (a complete, undamaged silver coin),[35] (3) *vatonaloamboay* (a stone vomited up by a crocodile),[36] and (4)[37] the bead, *felatanantsifoana* (the palms of the hand that are never empty).

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[32] *Mea culpa*.

[33] "How can we, however, address embodiment focusing on experience and corporeality without producing conventional representations….. I have no answer to these questions but I feel nevertheless that these questions should be posed and tackled, if we are to undermine logocentricity."

[34] "The difference between style and fashion is quality." Giorgio Armani

[35] Fiat money of silver was used in trade in Madagascar over the centuries. It was the case that many of the coins were melted down for jewelry or cut into smaller pieces to be used in local exchanges. For fuller discussion see Kus & Raharijaona (2011b).

[36] The image is of something so durable that could be swallowed by a crocodile yet not be harmed or destroyed.

[37] Four is a sacred and powerful number in Madagascar, so I have chosen to offer four items of *sorona*.

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J. Fleisher, N. Norman (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anxiety*,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-3231-3