

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
BOOKSTRAP

edited by ELIZABETH C. ROBERTSON,
JEFFREY D. SEIBERT, DEEPIKA C. FERNANDEZ,
AND MARC U. ZENDER

2375479



A. N. U. LIBRARY

930.1
S732

SPACE AND SPATIAL ANALYSIS
IN ARCHAEOLOGY

edited by ELIZABETH C. ROBERTSON,
JEFFREY D. SEIBERT, DEEPIKA C. FERNANDEZ,
AND MARC U. ZENDER

SPACE AND SPATIAL ANALYSIS IN ARCHAEOLOGY



TABLE OF CONTENTS

© 2006 Elizabeth C. Robertson, Jeffrey D. Seibert, Deepika C. Fernandez, and Marc U. Zenker

Published by the University of Calgary Press
2500 University Drive NW, Calgary, Alberta, Canada
T2N 1N4 www.ucpress.com

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA Cataloguing in Publication

University of Calgary, Archaeological Association, Conference
(34th : 2002 : University of Calgary)

Space and spatial analysis in archaeology / edited by Elizabeth C. Robertson... [et al.]

Co-published by the University of New Mexico Press.

Papers originally presented at the Conference Space and spatial analysis in Archaeology held at the University of Calgary, Nov. 18th., 2002.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 10: 1-55238-168-4 (University of Calgary Press)

ISBN 13: 978-1-55238-168-7 (University of Calgary Press)

ISBN 10: 0-8263-4022-9 (University of New Mexico Press)

ISBN 13: 978-0-8263-4022-1 (University of New Mexico Press)

1. Social archaeology—Congresses. 2. Spatial systems—

Congresses. 3. Archaeological geology—Congresses. 4.

Landscape archaeology—Congresses. 5. Archaeoastronomy—

Congresses. I. Robertson, Elizabeth C., 1971- II. Title.

C772.A1U6 2005 930.1 C2005-902763-0

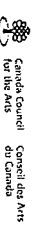
No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior written consent of the publisher or a licensee from The Canadian Copyright Licensing Agency (Access Copyright). For an Access Copyright licence, visit www.accesscopyright.ca or call toll free to 1-800-893-5777.

We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program (BPIDP), the Alberta Foundation for the Arts and the Canada Council for the Arts for our publishing program.

Printed and bound in Canada by

~ This book is printed on 55 lb. Eco book Natural.

Cover design by Miska West.



Conseil des Arts
for the Arts

Canada
1996

Preface ix
Kathryn V. Reese-Taylor
Acknowledgments xi
Elizabeth C. Robertson, Jeffrey D. Seibert, Deepika C. Fernandez, and Marc U. Zenker
1. Introduction xiii
Jeffrey Seibert

Part I: Theoretical and Conceptual Approaches

2. Beyond Geotechnology: Pragmatist Explorations of Alternative Viewscapes in the British Bronze Age and Beyond 3

Mary Ann Oweo

3. Perceptions of Landscapes in Uncertain Times: Chunchucmil, Yucatan, Mexico and the Volcan Barú, Panama 15

Karen G. Holmberg, Travis W. Stanton, and Scott R. Hutson

4. Specialization, Social Complexity and Vernacular Architecture: A Cross-Cultural Study of Space Construction 29

Elizabeth A. Borgwell

5. Maya Mortuary Spaces as Cosmological Metaphors 37

Pamela L. Collier

Part II: Intra-site Spatial Analysis
6. The Behavioural Ecology of Early Pleistocene Hominids in the Koobi Fora Region, East Turkana Basin, Northern Kenya 49

S. M. Cachel and J. W. K. Harris

7. Spatial Models of Intrasite Spatial Organization in the EIA of Southern Africa: A View from Ntoundondwane on the Central Cattle Pasture 61

Haskell Greenfield and Len O. van Schalkwyk

8. The Intrasite Spatial Structure of Early Neolithic Settlements in Temperate Southeastern Europe: A View from Blagotin, Serbia 69

Haskell Greenfield and Tina Jongsma

Part III: Architectural Complexes
9. The Inhabitation of Rio Viejo's Acropolis 83

Arthur A. Joyce

10. Who Put the "Haram" in the Mahram Biliqis? 97

William D. Glanzman

11. The Form, Style and Function of Structure 12A, Miranahá, Belize 107

Jeffrey Seibert

12. The Machine in the Ceremonial Centre 115

H. Stanley Eaton

13. Messages in Stone: Constructing Sociopolitical Inequality in Late Bronze Age Cyprus 123
Kerim D. Fisher
14. Individual, Household, and Community Space in Early Bronze Age Western Anatolia and the Nearby Islands 133
Carolyn Altan

Part IV: Urban Spaces and Cityscapes

15. Body, Boundaries, and "Lived" Urban Space: A Research Model for the Eighteenth Century City at Copan, Honduras 143
Allan L. Haas
16. The Symbolic Space of the Ancient Maya Sweatbath 157
Mark B. Child
17. Space, Place, and the Rise of "Urbansim" in the Canadian Arctic 169
Peter C. Dawson
18. Architectural Variability in the Maya Lowlands of the Late Classic Period: A Recent Perspective on Ancient Maya Cultural Diversity 177
Martin Lomby
19. Maya Readings of Settlement Space 189
Denise Fry Brown
20. Spatial Alignments in Maya Architecture 199
Aungmye Hahmann-Logvin
21. Archaeological Approaches to Ancient Maya Geopolitical Borders 205
Cylen Janouse

Part V: Landscape and Natural Environment

22. Reconstructing Ritual: Some Thoughts on the Location of Petroglyph Groups in the Nasca Valley, Peru 217
Ana Niess
23. "What You See is Where You Are": An Examination of Native North American Place Names 227
Christine Schryer
24. Burials and the Landscapes of Gournia, Crete, in the Bronze Age 233
Georgios Vavourmakis
25. The Origins of Transhumant Pastoralism in Temperate Southeastern Europe 243
Elisabeth R. Arnold and Haskel J. Greenfield
26. Clovis Progenitors: From Swan Point, Alaska to Anzick Site, Montana in Less than a Decade? 253
C. Vance Haynes, Jr.
27. Impacts of Imperialism: Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine Landscapes in the Wadi Faynan, Southern Jordan 269
Genevieve Barker, Patrick Dady, and Paul Newson

Part VI: In Transit: The Archaeology of Transportation

28. Comparing Landscapes of Transportation: Riverine-Oriented and Land-Oriented Systems in the Indus Civilization and the Mughal Empire 281
Heather M.-I. Miller
29. The Life and Times of a British Logging Road in Belize 293
Ofelia Ng and Paul R. Cackler
30. Moving Mountains: The Trade and Transport of Rocks and Minerals within the Greater Indus Valley Region 301
Randall Laue
31. Hidden Passage: Graeco-Roman Roads in Egypt's Eastern Desert 315
Jennifer E. Gates
32. Boats, Bitumen and Battering: The Use of a Utilitarian Good to Track Movement and Transport in Ancient Exchange Systems 323
Mark Schwartz and David Hollander

Part VII: Textual and Iconographic Approaches

33. Weaving Space: Textile Imagery and Landscape in the Mixtec Codices 333
Shariise D. McCallfery and Geoffrey G. McCallfery
34. Engendering Roman Spaces 343
Prinzlgor M. Allison
35. A Star of Nataraj: The Celestial Presence of God I. 355
Michele Alae Bernatz
36. Performing Coatepec: The Raising of the Banners Festival among the Mexico 371
Rex Koontz

Part VIII: Framework for the Future

37. Archeology in the New World Order: What We Can Offer the Planet 383
Carole L. Crumley
- Index 397

ENGENDERING ROMAN SPACES

Penelope M. Allison

Penelope M. Allison, School of Archaeology and Anthropology, Australian National University, Canberra, ACT 0200, Australia.

ABSTRACT

This paper introduces a research project which is contributing to a more gendered understanding of Roman space. Two types of sites – Roman houses and Roman military forts – provide the archaeological contexts for two different case studies. The project engages with feminist theory to provide frameworks for contextualizing gender roles within Roman spaces. The main theoretical perspective is that the material conditions (i.e. architectural and other forms of material culture) facilitate the negotiation of gender, age and status distinctions. The archaeological record provides the spatial signatures of these processes, recognized in the organization and characteristics of the material remains. This paper samples some of the results from Pompeian houses and from the military fort of Vetera I on the Lower Rhine.

This paper addresses the theoretical and methodological frameworks for a research project entitled "Engendering Roman Spaces." The objective of the project is to contribute to a gendered history of the Roman world through the analysis of its material-cultural remains. This means using archaeological approaches to Roman material culture for a more holistic understanding of the nature and functioning of Roman society in its relationship to space. It also means a closer engagement with feminist scholarship for studies of Roman space, and more critical analyses of the use of ancient written sources to provide processes for contextualizing gender roles within space.

With a tradition of scholarship founded on nineteenth-century concepts of empire and colonialism (Freeman 1997; Hingley 2000), investigations of the Roman world have conventionally been concerned with the representation of masculine power. The

biases of ancient authors and of past investigators, both predominantly male elites, have also had a major impact on the types of research into this world. The visual impact of the physical remains of Roman architectural and engineering feats, of Roman roads, armies and trading networks have fuelled the concentration of much archaeological scholarship on the "maleness" of this world. This, in turn, has led scholars in other disciplines to conceptualize a Roman world which epitomizes "manliness" and "masculine values and virtues, those of the military man and the administrator" (Lefebvre 1991:249).

Roman historians, notably Australian ones (Dixon 1988, 1992, 2001; Rawson 1986, 1991; Rawson and Weaver 1997), have been concerned with redressing the balance, and with focusing on Roman women and families towards more rounded views of Roman society. The most widely used evidence for such research is representations of women in ancient texts – texts that are predominantly written from a male viewpoint. More recently, inscriptions and works of art, particularly sculpture and papyri, have also been used as less biased resources (Fantham et al. 1994; Kleiner and Matheson 1996; Koloski-Ostrow 1997; Phang 2001). However, attempts to use a wider range of contextualized Roman material culture (e.g., architecture, pottery, household objects) for more engendered perspectives of Roman society have generally been untheorized, using material-cultural evidence as the setting for the textual, rather than as independent information.

One of the principal issues for the archaeological discipline, more broadly, is the gender-marking of activities that once took place in the material conditions, now represented by the archaeological record. The main theoretical perspective of my project is that

these material conditions facilitate the negotiation of gender, age and status distinctions. The archaeological record provides the spatial signatures of these historical processes, recognized in the organization and the characteristics of these material remains.

The combination of the written and material evidence from the Roman world provides a much richer resource than is available for most other branches of the archaeological discipline. A principal significance of this project is its demonstration that much can be learnt about past societies through more theorized and sophisticated approaches to their material culture and to the relationships between history and archaeology (see Dyson 1995; Storey 1998). While written sources can assist in the reading of material culture, they are not always the appropriate tools with which to direct that reading. Material culture is both an indicator of social behaviour and an active agent in social relations. Gender relations may be played out as spatial distinctions between activity areas, rights of access, and the orientation and distribution of people in private and communal gatherings. Written texts predominantly project the male, usually elite, voice. Females and non-elite males were also both viewers and active participants in the production and utilization of material culture and space.

To quote Bernard Knapp (1998:32), "[I]n archaeology informed by feminism...looks critically at theories of human action and uses archaeological data to challenge existing structures of knowledge." An engagement with feminist theory "can help to balance objectivism against extreme relativism, and to realize a more encompassing archaeology that acknowledges contexts, contingencies and ambiguities" (Knapp 1998:34). Much work has been carried out in other branches of archaeology to engender the past (e.g., Bacus et al. 1993; Gilchrist 1999). However, there has been criticism that few so-called feminist archaeological publications have engaged directly with feminist theory (Engelstad 1999). Shelby Brown (1997:14) noted that "classical archaeologists continue to avoid feminist theory" and Louise Zarmatti (1994:773) observed the lack of articles on classical archaeology in Bacus et al. (1993). While art-historical studies of the classical world have developed more feminist approaches, little attention has been paid to a rigorous engendering of the kinds of remains found in archaeological contexts of the Roman period (although see Scott 1999 for infant burials).

Principal concerns are the archaeological and historical visibility of the roles of women in these institutions, as well as the roles of other groups who are also not as evident in more traditional readings (e.g., children, slaves, non-soldiers, etc.). The project takes a critical approach to the interrelationships of textual remains and the archaeological record, concentrating on the ways in which activities are both segregated and inter-related spatially. This highlights the fluidity of gender relationships in a world that was male dominated in theory but more complex in practice. The rich textual and artistic resources from the Roman world render these approaches more complex for Roman archaeologists than for prehistoric and early historical archaeology, but at the same time more rewarding. A rigorous, engendered analysis of the evidence for the spatial and gender distribution of activities in Roman archaeology provides useful cross-cultural analogies for engendering such activities in other past societies.

The main datasets for this project are excavation reports, but also Roman authors, inscriptions and works of art with relevant topography. As the principal concern is the engendering of material culture, the project involves a critical approach to the way in which activities and gender contexts have been ascribed to Roman material culture in past scholarship. It uses an understanding of the range and nature of material culture found in archaeological contexts, together with those contexts themselves, as the basis from which to investigate relevant textual information on spatial and gender distribution of activities. By this process, these archaeological remains are investigated for the expression of the roles of women and other occupants in the patterning of material culture across the various spaces within these sites.

An essential issue in this project is a comprehension of the concepts of "public" and "private" space in the Roman world, a set of relationships which is inadequate for a more critical perspective on Roman physical remains and social behaviour (see Riggsby 1999:557). Roman houses and military forts are places where people both lived and worked. The language of a dichotomized public/private, in the modern sense, is not appropriate here. This project takes a differently structured approach, investigating ranges of accessibility and inaccessibility, and concepts of gender-marked, status-marked, and unmarked spaces.

PROCEDURES AND METHODOLOGIES

The excavated remains of two types of sites that are emblematic of Roman spaces provide the archaeological contexts for different case studies. These are domestic space and military space.

CASE STUDIES

DOMESTIC SPACE

Previous studies of domestic space, particularly, have used material culture, but often merely to illuminate the written sources (e.g., George 1997; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 1996). Rather than analyzing the relationships between the historical and archaeological records, many studies use the extant remains of Roman dwellings to house analogical, and often anecdotal, literary references. In addition, analogies with the modern world (e.g., Hingley 1993; cf. Gilchrist 1999) especially 34, 113) are often used to produce dichotomies (e.g., public/private, male/female, inside/outside) that are not necessarily appropriate for Roman houses.

For example, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (1994:11) emphasized Vitruvius' obsessive concerns with social rank and divided the Roman house along public/private and grand/humble axes. To add weight to such divisions he used analogies with houses of the nobility in eighteenth-century France. This analogy is interesting in its potential elucidation of ancient written information on domestic differentiation, but it does not employ the material remains of Roman houses in this elucidation. Rather, it uses the weight of Vitruvius' authority, and behaviour in the French *ancien régime*, to explain behaviour in Roman houses. Such analogies can best be used to explore relationships between modern and ancient behaviours rather than to explain them. Indeed, the physical remains of Pompeian houses – the arrangements of their courtyards, the distribution of wall and floor decoration, the locations for food-preparation and storage, and the distribution patterns of the contents – point to much more complex spatial integration of domestic activities (see Allison 1997a, 2004:124–158; Dunbabin 1995:390).

Since the attention paid to engendering Roman domestic space by other scholars has focused on Pompeian houses (e.g., Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997), this project has commenced with a case study of Pompeian houses. Also, the material remains from Pompeii are useful for assessing the veracity of ascribing gender categories to particular classes of material and to particular spaces, as found in other contexts. For example, mirrors and combs are generally associated with toilet activities and have been "symbolically associated with women" since Greek times (Kampen

1996:22). However, they were also used by males (see Wyke 1994, especially 135–138) and found in assemblages with razors in Pompeii (Khea Berg, personal communication 2001).

POMPEIAN HOUSES

My investigations of artifact assemblages and their spatial distribution in thirty Pompeian *atrium* houses have involved the analyses and collation of old excavation reports to produce computerized catalogues of household artifacts and room assemblages (e.g., Allison 1994, 1995, 1997a, 2004, n.d.a). Some 6,000 artifacts from over 800 rooms in thirty Pompeian *atrium* houses have been studied. These datasets were analyzed and interpreted through material-cultural approaches and their relationships to any textual evidence on the use of space in Roman houses assessed. That is, the interpretations of the use of space in Pompeian houses were not driven by the textual evidence, as is more common in Roman archaeology and history (see Allison 2001). Rather these interpretations commenced with a contextual study of the material culture and the results were then examined in relation to textual evidence, which is largely analogical as few texts survive that refer directly to Pompeian houses (although see Pinson 1997, especially 168, 179).

Important to a gendered study of Roman domestic space is an understanding of what can be considered female material and female activities. An industry that is relevant in this regard is cloth production. Gender and status separation of cloth producers and of locations for cloth production in the Roman world has traditionally been based on whether or not the cloth was for household or commercial use (see Ling 1997:180). The term *textor* (e.g., Martial, *Ep.* 12, 59; Juvenal, *Sat.* 9, 30) indicates that weaving was an activity engaged in by men as well as by women. However, there is little reason to assume that male involvement was for commercial purposes, taking place in specialist workshops, and that female participation was for domestic purposes only, taking place within the household context (see Dixon 2001:117–125). Evidence from Pompeii appears to indicate that women, whether slave or free, worked in commercial weaving workshops (see Dixon 2001:122). Thus, evidence for weaving is not, of necessity, evidence of the activities of women, but evidence for spinning and perhaps needlework can probably be more securely used as documentation of the presence

of female activities, at least within the household (e.g., Deschler-Erb 1998:136–137; Ireggiari 1996:27, cf. Allison-Jones 1995:28).

Material evidence for cloth production in Pompeian houses occurred in the form of loom weights, combs and warp-beaters, spindles and spindle whorls, and *atrium* houses cloth production-related artifacts occurred in nearly every house (Allison 2004:146–148) and their distribution indicating that there were 46 possible locations for this activity throughout these houses (Allison 2004:Table 6.9a). The majority of the evidence was found in the front hall, or *atrium*, but cloth production artifacts also occurred in small *exedrae* rooms off it, the so-called *abditula*. The evidence in the front hall consisted mainly of that for weaving and that weaving took place in this area. For example, 56 loom weights found in the front hall of House I 10.8 no doubt indicated that a warp-weighted loom had been in use here. Sometimes, however, loom weights were also stored in this area (e.g., in a cupboard in the front hall of the Casa del Savello Iliaco). Spinning and needlework equipment tended to be found in so-called *abditulae*, the small closed rooms off front halls. This equipment was likely to have been stored in these rooms for use in better lit front halls or possibly garden areas. While cloth-production items were remarkably absent from main garden areas themselves, there was a notable pattern for the presence of weaving, spinning and needlework items in the small closed rooms off them (Allison 2004:Table 6.9a). Such material also occurred in the upper levels and in the areas of the ground floor away from the main front hall-garden axis, but less frequently. Thus, the most likely location for all types of cloth production had been the front hall or *atrium* area, with some perhaps occurring in the garden, but less on upper floors or in what are considered to have been the service areas of the house. This suggests that it had been a highly visible activity and therefore an important part of the “public” activities in the household.

What is not discernible from this study is any distinction between cloth production destined for household use or for distribution outside. Simpson noted (1997:35) that weaving is the task of every household in the Roman world and thus that loom weights give no indication of the economic basis of a site. Ling suggests (1997:180, especially no. 22) that the quantity of loom weights found in the front hall of House I 10.8

was excessive for a domestic loom but, comparable quantities occur in other Pompeian houses (e.g., in the Casa di Principe di Napoli and in House VI 16.26) and are consistent with the presence of a single loom (Wild 1970:61, plates Xa–b, Table M no. 28). There seems little reason to assume that the weights found in the front hall represent anything other than normal domestic activity, at least some of which was likely to have been carried out by women, whether slave or free. In combination with the evidence for spinning and needlework, this suggests that women were actively involved in cloth-production in this most public part of the house.

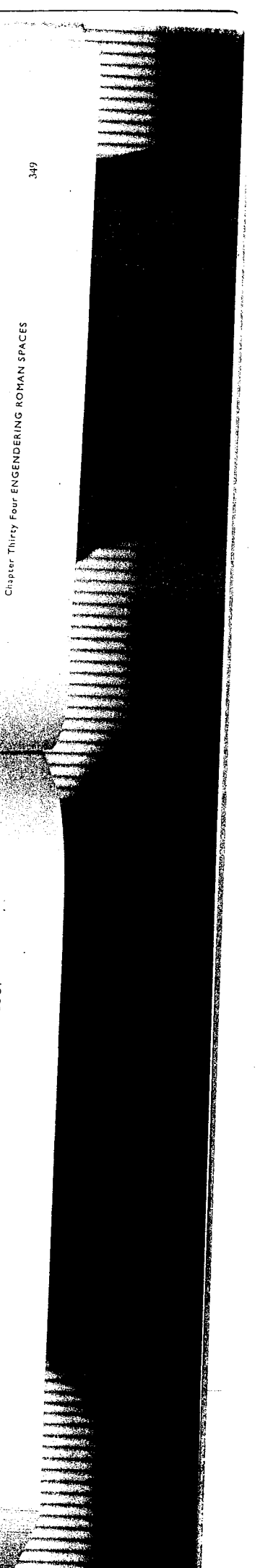
Also important to a study of gender in Pompeian houses are notions of the dichotomies public/private/male/female, which seem to pervade studies of the ancient world. Such notions can be shown to apply to Greek houses, where female household members could be separated from male guests (Neveit 1999:18–20, 174). Assumptions that Roman houses were organized along similar lines are unvalidated, however. For example, based in Vitruvius’ description of a Roman town and country houses (Book VI, 3–7), the front hall or *atrium*, of a Pompeian house is believed to be a public space, a largely empty and spacious reception area, reserved for the *paterfamilias* to receive his male clients in the mornings (see Lench 1993). Conversely, the colonnaded garden, further into the house, is assumed to be a more private, family, space and the small rooms opening off both these spaces, the so-called *abditulae*, more private still (see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, especially 17). Artifact distribution studies demonstrate that such dichotomies do not adequately explain domestic behaviour in Pompeii. Rather relationships between gender and space in Pompeian houses are more complex. For example, instead of being furnished only with display furniture to impress the visitor, as assumed by most scholars (e.g., Dwyer 1982:113–115), the front hall can be found to have been filled with a great range of household paraphernalia. In particular, most of the thirty houses in the sample had cupboards and chest filled with domestic material (although interestingly not cooking apparatus), as well as evidence for commerce, in the form of amphorae, and for household industries, notably weaving (Allison 2004:65–70). The consistency of this pattern across a number of Pompeian houses demonstrates that the front hall was not the preserve of the male owner and his male visitors, but rather that it was frequented by

all who needed to use household equipment, or were involved in activities such as weaving or supplying produce to the house. Rather than being like the foyer in an elite Georgian house, Pompeian front halls were the centre for many household activities and space where all household members could enter and congregate for these activities (see Allison 1997a:349–350). Indeed, both Virgil (*Aeneid* 7:377–389) and Lucretius (4:400–404) depicted children playing in the *atrium*. It may have been the most “public” part of the house, with direct access to the street, but Pompeian householders did not hide their other activities and utilitarian domestic materials, or their women and their children, from the public eye nor prohibit them from using this more public space.

The artifact distribution in the rear garden areas of Pompeian houses is, perhaps surprisingly, similar to that in the front halls. Again, cupboards and chests with domestic contents were found against the walls of the *ambulatories*. Unlike the assemblages in the front hall area, however, there is evidence that this area was used for eating, and also for cooking in front of the diners (Allison 2004:87–90). While these gardens might be considered to have been more private than the front halls, in that they were further inside the house, the assemblages in these garden areas indicate that they were used by the householders themselves in much the same manner as the front halls. Indeed Vitruvius stated that uninvited people could also enter the peristyles, as well as the front part of the house (Book VI.1, 5).

One aspect of both the front hall and colonnaded garden areas indicates that these public and display areas were also very much part of the more utilitarian functioning of the house. In most Pompeian houses, water could only be collected from these open areas, from well-heads that led to cisterns underneath (see Allison 2004, especially Tables S.3a, S.9). This water was used for display features, particularly in the garden, but most members of the household would have needed to collect water from well-heads in both the garden area and the front hall. This included slaves for utilitarian domestic activities and other household members for their ablutions. Again, the need for access to water by most household members would have meant that they must all have frequented these courtyard areas.

The small rooms off both the front hall and the main garden area, the so-called *abditulae*, were found



to contain a higher proportion of more personal items, such as washing equipment and small glass bottles, so-called *inguentaria*, thought to be perfume bottles (see Allison 2004: especially 71-76, 94-98, Table 4.3). However, there is no specific reason to assume that many of the personal items and toiletries were associated with women. For example, the *inguentaria* could have been used by men to take oils to the bath, or for the storage of substances needed for medical treatments (Jackson 1988: especially 74). It is sometimes possible to use association to ascribe them to women, however. In room 2 in the Casa del Fabbro in Pompeii, possibly in a chest, three such bottles were found with two spindles and a bone spoon, suggesting a woman's collection (Allison 2004: companion website). In this particular case there would indeed seem to be a link between a more private space and female activity but this specific association pattern is not apparent across the sample. In combination with the evidence in the more open and public courtyard areas, the material evidence suggests rather that women did not have their own spaces or areas of the house (see Allison 2004: 156-157; cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 9). There is little reason to suggest that the dichotomies public/private; male/female were operative in Pompeian houses.

Laurence has argued (1994: 122-132) that there was a temporal distribution of occupancy of Pompeian houses which was based on a binary male/female separation. He argued that the front hall would have been a male space in the early morning and left very much as a female space for the remainder of the day. Certain members of the household undoubtedly vacated it during parts of the day, particularly the *paterfamilias* in his civic and public roles and servants involved in industrial and commercial activities outside the household. The temporal engendering of these spaces needs closer scrutiny. However, such scrutiny is probably not possible through analysis of the material remains, but rather through a critical re-examination of the textual evidence. It seems more reasonable to envisage that the overlap of activities, documented by material remains found particularly in the front halls and in the colonnaded gardens, bore witness to considerable overlap between the various activities which took place there, and also to the simultaneous presence of various household members and outsiders, of diverse ages, gender and status, who performed these activities. To separate the people and the household activities, along the lines suggested by Laurence and without

good textual evidence, is to apply nineteenth-century separate spheres' (see e.g. Vickers 1993) ideologies to Roman households. Rather, the evidence suggests that Pompeian houses functioned in a much more integrated fashion than is widely assumed. Feminist readings of ancient authors and of inscriptional evidence indicate that women, both free and slave, were involved in a range of commercial activities outside the home (see Kampen 1981; Dixon 2001: 113-132). They also indicate that both men and women were involved in cooking (Poss 1994: 47-50), that both men and women dined together (see e.g., Yardley 1991: 151-152) and that children could be important members of the household (Rawson 2003).

By adopting a more critical and theorized approach to contextual and gender associations of household material culture, this project demonstrates that the first step in understanding gender relations within Pompeian houses is to investigate the material-cultural patterning. Any mismatch between interpretation of that patterning and current perspectives should not be interpreted as the unreliability of the archaeological remains. Rather it should encourage a re-examination of the origins of such perspectives which often tend to draw too heavily on modern analogy before fully interrogating the contemporary evidence, both the material and the textual.

MILITARY SPACE

Roman military studies have concentrated on the expression of forts as a male domain, a combat unit at the edge of the civilized world. Studies of the archaeology of Roman military forts have concentrated on the evidence that these forts provide for strategic military constructions and to document Roman power, especially its chronological spread and its relationships with native populations (e.g., Groenman-van Waeringe 1997; Jones 1997: 90). However, these sites were both habitation and administrative spaces, involving a whole frontier community. In recent years, therefore, more attention has been paid to the presence of non-military personnel at these sites, particularly in settlements often found outside the fortifications, the so-called *vici* or *canabae* (e.g., Bowman 1994; Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999). Certain textual and inscriptional material has been used as evidence for living conditions (e.g., gravestones and the Vindolanda tablets), and Lindsay Allison-Jones (1989: 50, 1995,

1999) has combined skeletal and inscriptional evidence with other artifacts and with spatial arrangements to provide more information on these communities. In general, studies of artifact from within military forts have largely concentrated on military equipment (e.g., Bishop and Coulson 1993; Southern and Dixon 1996: 89-156). Pat Southern and Karen Ramsay Dixon (1996: 3) noted that pottery "can illustrate the quality of mundane life" but that it is generally employed only as dating evidence. However, some recent studies have concentrated on specific classes of material from forts to document the presence of families, such as the ranges of sizes of leather shoes (van Driel-Murray 1995). What is largely lacking from all these studies is a more comprehensive contextual analysis of the archaeological record for its documentation of the complexity of army life and of the interactions of its personnel.

Again, feminist critique of current research of Roman military space and archaeological approaches to material-cultural patterning provides a basis for a rigorous investigation of the activities of all occupants of these forts. The data from Roman military sites is being used to assess for similarities and differences of material-cultural patterning within the various architectural spaces of a fort and between forts. In the first instance, the differences that can result from different site formation processes (e.g., rapid abandonment or slow decay), different dates for the excavation, or chronological or geographical differences between sites are assessed. Once such anomalies have been accounted for, relationships between the structural remains and the artifact assemblages are investigated for information on the range and distribution of the activities documented at each site. Thus, this project takes a critical approach to relationships between artifacts and their contexts within these forts, and the range of social activities and social actors with which they may have been associated.

An important issue in this study is the relationship between these material-cultural patterns and the changing laws permitting legal marriages for ordinary soldiers at the end of the second-century C.E. (see Phang 2001). Prior to that date, only officers had been permitted to be accompanied by their wives and children while on military duty (see Allison-Jones 1989: 50-60). Therefore, only the wives, families and households of officers were thought to have inhabited or frequented the inside of a military fort. All commercial or entertainment activities, in which other women

partook, are traditionally believed to have been transacted in the settlement outside the fort proper (see Allison-Jones 1989: 60, 81). It is still assumed that, even after ordinary soldiers were permitted to marry their families would have also lived in the *vici* or *canabae* (see Phang 2001: 18, 35, 122-124). Thus, an important question for this project is whether this change of law was reflected in a change in the distribution of material within military forts. That is, does the distribution of material definitively associated with women's presence and women's activities, such as certain types of *fibulae* (brooches), cloth-working artifacts, and jewellery (see Allison-Jones 1995), support van Driel-Murray's evidence for women's and children's shoes within the soldiers' barracks and children's shoes within the soldiers' barracks of first- and second-century forts? With the exception of officers' households, therefore, can women be found to have been present within the fort prior to the end of the second century C.E. and if so, where and what were they doing there?

This case study has commenced with well-excavated and rapidly abandoned military forts in the western provinces, particularly on the Rhine and Danube frontiers. For example, the recent publication of the artifacts excavated from the double legionary fort of Vetera I in the Lower Rhine region (Hanel 1995) has provided useful material for spatially mapping artifact distribution at this site (Allison n.d.b; Allison et al. n.d.).

VETERA I

Vetera I was probably founded ca. 10 B.C.E., substantially rebuilt in stone ca. 43 C.E., and then destroyed and abandoned during revolutionary upheavals in 68/69 C.E. Only the central part of the fort has been excavated so little of the ordinary soldiers' barracks are known but the central administrative buildings, two legates' palaces and possibly six other officers' buildings have been excavated, as well as many other buildings whose identification is less clear, along the principal cross street, the *via principalis*. Being a first-century fort one would expect to find evidence for the presence of women predominantly within the officer's residences. This could also apply to the quarters of the petty officers, the centurions (Phang 2001: 130-132), which were often found at the ends of barrack blocks. Unfortunately, no such centurions' quarters have been identified at Vetera I.

It was possible to assign gender categories to some 700 of the 11,000 artifacts recorded from Vetera I. These are predominantly items related to dress and various crafts and other activities. In some cases it is possible to assign a specific gender category to certain artifacts. For example, hair pins, spinning items and some fibulae and jewellery, have been classified as definitively "female" while other fibulae and activities such as combat or stone-working are classified as definitively "male". In other cases, such as certain types of fibulae, bone pines and beads, the classification is less certain so a number of possible categories are included. These are: "male?", "female?", "male/female?" and "female/child?". For the reasons given above, most toilet items were classified as "male/female?". Food-preparation items may also, potentially, be classified as possibly female. As van Driel-Murray has noted (1997:55), the technological difference between handmade cooking vessels and other artifacts (e.g. weaponry) found within military forts should make us question whether cooking was being carried out by soldiers themselves, as is traditionally believed, or by local women within the camp. However, this is a complex issue and so is not included in this current study.

On the bases of the above gender classifications, GIS mapping capabilities were used to plot the spatial distribution of these gender categories across the excavated area of Vetera I and then these plots were analyzed. They showed that the central administrative buildings contained a wealth of items related to male activities, especially combat activities, but also to administrative activities such as writing. In contrast, personal activities, such as dress (excluding combat dress), toilet activities, and leisure activities (e.g. gaming), whether male, female or unassigned, were comparatively less well represented in these buildings than they were in buildings identified as the officers' residences and in buildings along the *via principalis*. Similarly, items which could be identified as women's, or possibly women's and children's, were almost non-existent in the administrative buildings but relatively predominant in the officers' residences. In addition to this expected pattern, though, there was also a relative concentration of women's and children's material in the central open area of the fort, believed to have been the market area (Hanel 1995:311-312; Psuado-Hyginus 12), as well as in the east gateway of the *via principalis*, and in the smaller buildings lining this street. The high proportion of possibly female and children's

items in these parts of the fort may point to the equal or even greater, numbers of women and children passing along and frequenting these public and relatively commercial areas as the officers' private residences. This includes a noted concentration of dress-related items in the buildings lining the main street, believed to have been shops (Lehner 1930:39). The numbers are extremely small but, if the quantity women's and children's items in the officers' residences documents their habitation there, then the quantity and nature of the artefacts in these so-called shops might also document female habitation. Thus the evidence from Vetera I hints that women and children may have been as prevalent in the commercial parts of the forts as in the officers' residences. Interestingly, a concentration of food-preparation items and tableware was also found in these areas (Allison n.d.b). It is therefore, tempting to suggest that this distribution pattern indicates that women were involved in feeding the troops from these more public spaces and supplied them with required merchandise.

This evidence supports that identified on inscribed wooden tablets found in the rubbish dump of the first century C.E. fort of Vindonissa, in Switzerland. Some of these wooden tablets have house numbers, which have been identified as belonging to buildings within the fort, and these same tablets refer to women who worked in these establishments as barmaids and innkeepers (Speidel 1996:55, 186-187). Thus, these observations, likewise, suggest that women were involved in providing services to soldiers, including food and drink. However, it has been assumed that such women would only have worked within the fort during the day and resided in the settlement outside. It is difficult to imagine how a female innkeeper would have operated, had she not also inhabited her place of work.

Thus, analysis of the distribution of gender-marked artifacts at Vetera I adds further weight to the growing perception that Roman military forts in the first and second centuries C.E. were far from exclusively male zones. Rather, a range of women and families were likely to have been involved in activities within fort and may also have been domiciled there. As well as the officers' households, these included women involved in supplying various needs of the soldiers, within the fort and as well as in the settlement outside. It is not possible, from the Vetera or the Vindonissa evidence, to establish the relationships of such women to ordinary soldiers but the presence of children's items

could support an argument for some co-habiting arrangement. Given such evidence, it is not, as Carol van Driel-Murray has stated (1997:61), a question of whether the women were within the forts, but how we use the archaeological record to provide more information on their presence and their activities.

REMARKS

This project involves a more self-reflective approach to the construction of archaeological knowledge about the Roman world and more critical perspectives in our understanding of the nature and the complexity of gender relations in Roman society. In this, it contributes to understandings of the intrinsic nature of theorized gender in the discipline of archaeology more generally. In addition, it contributes to a gendered history of the western world and to more informed perspectives on issues relating to the continuity of social structures from ancient to modern worlds.

Issues concerning the social use of space in the Roman world have wider ramifications for humanities and social science research, as well as architectural and engineering research of the built environment, which often draw on the Roman world for explanations of social behaviour (e.g., LeFebvre 1991). A project which takes a more critical perspective on the relationships between gender and space in the Roman world can provide an important resource for social theorists and philosophers who explore the ancient world for concepts of continuity in attitudes to sexuality and gender relations (see McNay 1992: especially 49-50, 62; Spence-Wood 1999).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper was first presented at the Australasian Association of Classical Studies 2001 Conference, Adelaide, February 2001. Discussions with Hajjo Westra at that conference led to my participation in the 2001 Chacmool Conference. I would like to thank Hajjo for his collegiality and for masterminding my trip to Canada. I am also grateful to the organizers of 2001 Chacmool Conference for contributing to my travel costs. In addition, I am indebted to John Barratt, University of Sheffield, for his support and encouragement in the inception of this project, and I am grate-

ful to the Australian Research Council for the QE II Fellowship and research grant to it carry out. The presented paper has been substantially altered for this published version.

REFERENCES CITED

- Allison-Jones, L.
 (1989) *Women in Roman Britain*. British Museum Publications, London.
 (1995) "Sexing" Small Finds. In *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: Second Conference Proceedings*, edited by P. Rush, pp. 22-32. *Worldwide Archaeology Series* No. 14. Avebury, Aldershot.
 (1999) Women and the Roman Army in Britain. In *The Roman Army as a Community*, edited by A. Goldsworthy and I. Haynes, pp. 41-51. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* No. 34. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.
 Allison, P. M.
 (1994) *The Distribution of Pompeian House Contents and its Significance*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sydney, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
 (1995) Pompeian House Contents: Data Collection and Interpretive Procedures for a Reappraisal of Roman Domestic Life and Site Formation Processes. *Journal of European Archaeology* 3(1):145-176.
 (1997a) Artefact Distribution and Spatial Function in Pompeian Houses. In *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment and Space*, edited by B. Rawson, and P. Weaver, pp. 321-354. Humanities Research Centre, Canberra and Clarendon Press, Oxford.
 (1997b) Why Do Excavation Reports Have Finds' Catalogues? In *Not So Much a Pot, More a Way of Life*, edited by C. G. Cumberpatch, and P. W. Binkhorn, pp. 77-84. Oxbow, Oxford.
 (2001) Using the Material and the Written Sources: 'I'm at the Millennium Approaches to Roman Domestic Space. *American Journal of Archaeology* 105:181-208.
 (2004) *Pompeii Households: Analysis of the Material Culture*. *Casson Institute of Archaeology at UCLA Monograph* 42. *Casson Institute of Archaeology*, University of California, Los Angeles. Comparison website - www.stoa.org/pompeianhouseholds.
 In: *The Inside of the Menander in Pompeii*, Vol. 3: *The Finds in Context*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, in press.
 In: *Mapping Artefacts and Activities within Roman Military Forts. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies (Pisa 2003)*, in press.
 Allison, P. M., A. S. Fairbairn, S. J. R. Ellis, and C. W. Blackall
 In: *Excavating the Social Relevance of Artefact Distribution in Roman Military Forts. Internet Archaeology*, in press.

- Bacis, E. A., W. Barker, J. D. Bonevich, S. L. Dunne, J. B. Fitzhugh, D. L. Gold, N. S. Goldman-Frit, W. Griffin, and K. M. Murrar (editors)
11993 *A Gendered Past: A Critical Bibliography of Gender in Archaeology*. University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, Ann Arbor.
- Bishop, M. C., and J. C. N. Coulson
11993 *Roman Military Equipment: From the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome*. Batford, London.
- Bowman, A. K.
11994 *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and Its People*. British Museum Publications, London.
- Brown, S.
11991 "Ways of Seeing": Women in Antiquity. In *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology*, edited by A. O. Koloski-Ostrow, and C. L. Lyons, pp. 12-42. Routledge, London.
- Dessbiler-Erv, S.
11998 *Römische Beinartefakte aus Augusta Raurica: Kohortentempel, Tempelare, Topologie und Chronologie*. Forschungen in August Band 27/1. August, Rämstadt, August.
- Dixon, S.
11988 *The Roman Mother*. Crown Helm, London.
11992 *The Roman Family*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
12001 *Reading Roman Women*. Duckworth, London.
- Dunbabin, K. M. D.
11995 *Houses and Households of Pompeii*. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8:387-390.
- Dwyer, E.
11982 *Pompeian Domestic Sculpture: A Study of Five Pompeian Houses and their Contents*. Georgio Bretschneider, Rome.
- Dyson, S. L.
11995 Is There a Text in this Site? In *Methods in the Multiterrain: Historical and Archaeological Views on Texts and Archaeology*, edited by D. B. Small, pp. 25-44. E. J. Brill, Leiden.
- Engels, E.
11991 *The Archaeology of Gender and Feminist Theory*. Paper presented at 5th Women in Archaeology Conference, University of New South Wales, Sydney.
- Fantam, E., H. P. Foley, N. B. Kampen, S. B. Pomero, and H. A. Shapiro
11994 *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Foss, P.
11994 *Kitchens and Dining Rooms at Pompeii: The Spatial and Social Relationship of Cooking to Eating in the Roman Household*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- Freeman, P. W. M.
11991 *Moments Through to Haverfield*. In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*, edited by D. Martingly, pp. 27-50. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series No. 23. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.
- George, M.
11991 *Repopulating the Roman House*. In *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space*, edited by B. Rawson, and P. Weaver, pp. 299-319. Humanities Research Centre, Canberra and Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Gilchrist, R.
11991 *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past*. Routledge, London.
- Goldschmidt, A., and I. Haines (editors)
11991 *The Roman Army as a Community*. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series No. 34. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.
- Groeman-van Waateringe, W. (editor)
11997 *Roman Frontier Studies 1995: Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*. Oxford, Oxford.
- Hanel, N.
11995 *Vera I: Die Funde aus den römischen Lagern auf dem Fürstenberg bei Xanten*. Rheinische Ausgrabungen 35. Rheinland-Verlag, Cologne.
- Hingley, R.
11993 *Attitudes to Roman Imperialism*. In *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: First Conference Proceedings*, edited by E. Scott, pp. 23-27. Worldwide Archaeology Series 4. Avebury, Aldershot.
12000 *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: The Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology*. Routledge, London.
- Jackson, R.
11988 *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire*. British Museum Publications, London.
- Jones, G. D. B.
11997 *From Britannia to Wounded Knee*. In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*, edited by D. Martingly, pp. 185-200. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series No. 23. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.
- Juvencal
11970 *Satiras*, edited by J. D. Duff. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kampen, N. B.
11981 *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia*. Mainz, Beilin.
- Kampen, N. B. (editor)
11996 *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kleiner, D. E. E., and S. B. Matheson (editors)
11996 *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, distributed by the University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Knapp, A. B.
11998 *Boys will be Boys: Masculist Approaches to a Gendered Archaeology*. In *Redefining Archaeology: Feminist Perspectives*, edited by M. Casey, D. Douth, J. Hope, and S. Wellace, pp. 32-56. Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Koloski-Ostrow, A. O.
11991 *Violent Stages in Two Pompeian Houses*. In *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology*, edited by A. O. Koloski-Ostrow, and C. L. Lyons, pp. 243-266. Routledge, London.
- Latour, R.
11994 *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*. Routledge, London.
- Lawrence, R., and A. F. Wallace-Hadrill (editors)
11997 *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series No. 22. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.
- Loeb, E. W.
11993 *The Entrance Room in the House of Iulius Polybius and the Nature of the Roman Vestibulum*. In *Functional and Spatial Aspects of Wall Painting: Proceedings of the 5th International Congress of Ancient Wall-Painting, Amsterdam 1992*, edited by E. Moormann, pp. 23-33. Bulletin Antieke Beschaving Annual Papers in Classical Archaeology Supplement 3. Stelling, BABESCH, Leiden.
- LeFebvre, H.
11911 *The Production of Space*. Translated by D. Nicholson-Smith. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Lehrer, H.
11998 *Veras: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Bonner Provinzialmuseums bis 1929*. Römisch-Germanische Forschungen 4. Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, Frankfurt.
- Ling, R.
11997 *The Insula of the Mosaicist in Pompeii, Vol. 1: The Structures*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Lucretius
11986 *De rerum natura*, vol. 4, translated by J. Godwin. Aris and Phillips, Warminster.
- Martial
11997 *Epigrammata*, translated by W. C. A. Ker. William Heinemann, London and Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- McNay, L.
11992 *Female and Feminine: Power, Gender and the Self*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Newitt, L.
11991 *House and Society in the Ancient Greek World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Pang, S.
12001 *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 BC-AD 235): Love and Family in the Imperial Army*. Brill, Leiden.
- Pisani, F.
11991 *Renied Accommodation at Pompeii: The Insula Atriana Polliana*. In *Domestic Space in the Roman World*, edited by R. Lawrence, and A. Wallace-Hadrill, pp. 165-181. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series No. 22. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.
- Pseudo-Hyginus
11994 *De munitionibus castrorum*. In *Polybius and Pseudo-Hyginus: The Fortification of the Roman Camp*, edited and translated by M. C. J. Miller and J. C. De Voto, pp. 59-102. Aris Publisher, Chicago.
- Rawson, B. (editor)
11986 *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*. Crown Helm, London.
11991 *Harrings, Discourse and Children in Ancient Rome*. Humanities Research Centre, Canberra, Clarendon Press, Oxford and Oxford University Press, New York.
12003 *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.
- Rawson, B., and P. Weaver (editors)
11997 *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space*. Humanities Research Centre, Canberra and Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Riggsby, A. M.
11999 *Integrating Public and Private*. *Journal of Roman Studies* 12:555-558.
- Roberts, C.
11993 *A Critical Approach to Gender as a Category of Analysis in Archaeology*. In *Women in Archaeology: A Feminist Critique*, edited by L. di Cio and L. Smith, pp. 16-24. Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Scott, E.
11999 *The Archaeology of Infancy and Infant Death*. Archaeopress, Oxford.
- Simpson, C. J.
11997 *The Excavations of San Giovanni di Ruoti, Volume II: The Small Finds*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Southorn, P., and K. R. Dixon
11996 *The Late Roman Army*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Spiegel, M. A.
11996 *Die römischen Schreitelfer von Vindonissa*. Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa Band XII. Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa, Brugg.
- Spencer-Wood, S.
11999 *The World Their Household*. In *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, edited by P. M. Allison, pp. 162-189. Routledge, London.
- Storey, G.
11998 *Archaeology and Roman Society*. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 7(3):203-248.
- Treggiari, S.
11976 *Jobs for Women*. *American Journal of Ancient History* 1:76-104.
- van Driel-Murray, C.
11995 *Gender in Question*. In *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: Second Conference Proceedings*, edited by P. Rush, pp. 3-21. Worldwide Archaeology Series No. 14. Avebury, Aldershot.
- 11997 *Women in Foci? Jahresbericht der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa* 55-61.
- Vieky, A.
11993 *Historiographical Review: Golden Age of Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History*. *The Historical Journal* 36:2:383-414.
- Vigil
11971 *Ad. Aeneid*, books 7-8, edited by J. D. Christie. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Vitruvius

119851 *De Architectura*, translated by F. Granger. William Heineman, London and Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. F.

119941 *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

119961 Engendering the Roman House. In *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, edited by D. Kleiner, and S. Matheson, pp. 104–115. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, distributed by the University of Texas Press, Austin.

Whitley, D. (editor)

119981 *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-Processual and Cognitive Approaches*. Routledge, London.

Wild, J. P.

119701 *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Wyke, M.

119941 Woman in the Mirror. In *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night*, edited by L. J. Archer, S. Fischler, and M. Wyke, pp. 134–151. Macmillan Press, London.

Yardley, J. C.

119911 The Symposium in Roman Elegy. In *Dining in a Classical Context*, edited by W. J. Slater, pp. 149–155. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Zarmatti, L.

119941 Review of *A Gendered Past: A Critical Bibliography of Gender in Archaeology*, edited by E. A. Bacus, A. W. Barker, J. D. Bonevich, S. L. Dunavan, J. B. Fitzhugh, D. L. Gold, N. S. Goldman-Finn, W. Griffin, and K. M. Mudar. *American Journal of Archaeology* 98:773–774.

NOTES

- 1 See Whitley (1998:7, and especially 301) on the question of the existence of an objective reconstruction of the past.