THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

TEMPERED BY TIME: CERAMICS AND THE FABRIC OF TIME IN MEDIEVAL (12TH-14TH CENTURY) SOUTH INDIA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

MANNAT JOHAL

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2022

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

Summers spent at Maski are the most compelling reminders of how intensely collaborative the process of writing this dissertation has felt. I thank Andrew Bauer and Peter Johansen for having me there, and for teaching by example much of what I know about "doing" archaeology. Several of our conversations are part of this work's fabric, and the spirit that I associate with being at the Pink Hotel with the MARP team has played no small part in seeing this project to completion. I'm grateful to Jemma, Utsavi, Ariel, Snacks, Ed, Shobhna, Emily and Alannagh for all the laughter, camaraderie, and friendship. I especially thank Ramu, Venkatesh, Basha, the Parvathis, Soma, Nanda and Shobha for making fieldwork possible every year.

I'm grateful to Anne Chi'en, now retired but still the force behind Haskell Hall, for giving the reassuring sense that most problems could be solved, and for her admirable curiosity and engagement. Kathy Morrison, Alice Yao, François Richard, and Andrew Bauer have been a most generous and enabling dissertation committee. This dissertation has only grown from their readings of it, and I appreciate each of the directions in which they have pushed my work and thought. I thank Marie-Claude Boileau for giving so generously of her time to guide me through the process of analyzing ceramic thin-sections. Sajeev Krishnan at the Centre for Earth Sciences at IISc Bangalore took on the task of preparing ceramic thin-sections; I thank Kiran, Nithya, and Thamam for their patience with learning to treat an unfamiliar material. I have also been fortunate to write in the company of thoughtful and committed readers: Matthew, Sandy, Estefanía, Taylor, Do Dom and Harini. Over the course of the last few months, as this dissertation finally took shape, Pooja and Rattan's daily presence was a constant source of encouragement – and the only good thing about Zoom that I can think of.

My family at home has shown how enjoyable (and messy?) it is to maintain long engagements with objects and remember their stories: Nana, nani and mama each have their own way of underscoring a love of history, and massi a love of words. I'm grateful to them for passing these on. I thank Rattan for giving me serenity, knowing there is another pea in the pod. Away from home, Thomas has been my constant companion and promise of escape, a reminder that there was a before to this seemingly never-ending time in Chicago.

Finally, I thank my friends for their sustaining company through these years: Alé, Taylor, Mala, Talia, and Yair, whom I miss; Sarah, whose longstanding company I feel fortunate for; Krithika and Sannoy, for their unending generosity and courtside companionship; Pooja and Kaushik, across Philly, Mysore and Bangalore; ever-present Rifaiyat, Safa, Amanat, and Mannat; Sayantan, Sharvari, Harini, Eléonore, Itamar, Marc; Smriti and Subho, Ranjini, Marianne, Vani, Sumithra, and Aravind.

Abstract

Tempered by Time delineates some of the temporal scales and relations produced in everyday engagements with materials in medieval (12th-14th century AD) south India by turning to a specific set of artefacts: ceramics excavated from three distinct spaces within settlements at Maski, a multi-period archaeological site on southern India's Deccan plateau. Crafted by local potters using easily available materials and used for a range of activities including cooking and commensality, trade and transport of goods, these ubiquitous artefacts have typically stood as markers of a poorly defined medieval epoch stretching from ca. AD 600-1500. My analyses of ceramic fragments from excavated contexts dated to the 12th to 14th centuries AD disaggregate the idea of a "medieval" assemblage, positing instead that that the accumulation of vessels and their fragments are specific to place. On the one hand, each of the spaces to which I draw attention were produced by temporal practices of maintenance, clearance, and deposition. At the same time, visible accumulations of materials were themselves temporalizing, generating an "available past" to draw upon, renew and re-work, and potentially structuring future engagements with places in unanticipated ways.

Two concerns about narrativizations of time form the point of departure for this dissertation: an emphatic turn towards accounting for the strategic use of 'social memory' and genealogical ties in precolonial South India on the one hand, and the overwhelming use of ceramic vessels as indicators of chronology on the other. In dialogue with a rich anthropological literature that foregrounds the temporalities of quotidian routines, this dissertation demonstrates that an attunement to the temporalizing potentials of archaeological evidence and interpretations – methods of classifying objects and representing sequences, as well as the inherently spatial

nature of archaeological interventions – is key to accounting for temporal relations as they emerged in practice in the past.

The arguments of the dissertation unfold across three vignettes that center excavated spaces at Maski and the ceramic assemblages recovered from them: a rammed-mud house with repeatedly renewed plaster floors; a well located near this house, associated with overlapping surfaces of mud compacted by heavy footfall and littered with broken fragments of ceramic vessels; and, a pit used as a receptacle for discard during the 14th century, which cut into – and mirrored in form – another accumulation of discarded materials dated to the 13th century BC.

Excavations at these spaces push for a reconsideration of the ways in which quotidian materials and their fragments are temporalizing. On the one hand, temporalities of ceramic use and breakage, and routines of maintenance and renewal produced accumulations of materials specific to each place. At the same time, these accumulations had potential effects. At the well, frequent encounters with older materials not only made the past into a resource on which potters could draw, they also shaped the particular contours of ceramic variability in this space. The carefully maintained house floors evoke a place like a midden where household discard would have piled up, offering possibilities for re-use and re-purposing. And a midden could become an enduring and visible accumulation that – centuries later – "made waste" of a place, setting it apart as a site for the continued deposition of rubbish.

1. Historicity and the texture of time in premodern India

1.1) Centering time in precolonial India

Through the 1990s and 2000s, historians of South Asia undertook a project to establish precolonial India as irrefutably historical. Challenging longstanding tropes of Indians as a "people without history", historians and literary scholars sought to "rehabilitate" the precolonial Indian past. Drawing on a diverse corpus of texts and a rich inscriptional record, they re-inscribed the medieval epoch as a period marked by dynamic change and increasing social mobility, emergent political formations and novel cross-cultural encounters (Eaton & Wagoner 2014; Narayana Rao et al. 1992, 2001; Pollock 2006; Talbot 2001). During this eventful and transformative period, Indians were not only subjects and agents of history, but also its narrators: the centuries preceding colonial rule were characterized by the birth of a particular "historical consciousness", an attention to the temporality of events and their causal structure, and a growing preoccupation with genealogical ties (Narayana Rao et al 2001; 138; cf. Trouillot 1995).

The recognition of such wide-ranging changes in social, cultural and political practices within an increasingly connected world amounted to no less than a paradigm shift in scholarship on the precolonial Subcontinent. It is widely accepted that the emergence of a historical consciousness within a transformed socio-political landscape marks the onset of an Early Modern period in the 17th century (Richards 1997; Subrahmanyam 1998).[1] Building on the legacy of this moment, the surge of scholarship on precolonial India has turned away from the sweeping and daringly Hegelian term "historical consciousness" to settle on the analytic of "social memory", a move that the pioneering authors of *Textures of Time* themselves anticipated

[1] Critical voices include Daud Ali (2014); Dipesh Chakrabarty (2011) and Sheldon Pollock (2007).

(Narayana Rao et al. 2001: 13, 25).[2] Despite the temporal and cultural specificity of *Textures of Time* and its conceptual twin *Symbols of Substance* — both build on courtly writing practices from 17th-18th century South India — this intellectual moment was marked by a broader shift towards temporal relations (e.g. Ali 2013; Deshpande 2007; Guha 2008; Pollock 1995).

The paradigm within which scholars of precolonial India now work is defined by an attention to relations to time: in particular, relationships between past and present that were forged both materially and narratively in projects of courtly textual and epigraphical production, and monumental building (Dallapiccola 1994; Eaton & Wagoner 2014; Guha 2019; Morrison et al 2016; Sinopoli 2008). Modes of conceptualizing relations to time centre on discussions of collective memory, an interpretive vocabulary that remains undertheorized in scholarship on the Subcontinent. I unpack the genealogy of "social" or "collective" memory in this chapter, to argue that these terms risk becoming "black boxes and black holes" (*sensu* Sahlins 2004: 150), potentially obscuring our perspective on the undoubtedly diverse ways in which precolonial Indians situated themselves in time. In other words, the tendency to resolve discussions of temporality into as capacious a framework as social memory does not provide a sufficient analytical vocabulary for talking about how historical actors inhabited their own present, how they oriented themselves towards pasts and futures, and the kinds of time-scales that both framed their actions and were formed in action.

Calling into question the predominant framework for conceptualizing temporal relations in precolonial India, I propose that a critical attention to the phenomenological condition of historicity is generative for recasting our understanding of how actors in the past oriented themselves in time. "An experience or way of being whose crystallization does not depend on the

[2] The authors borrow Jan Assmann's term "mnemo-history" to discuss how certain events (the Battle of Bobbili in this instance) were remembered and reworked. For mnemo-history, see Assmann 1997.

concept of history", historicity is an analytic that attempts to capture the existentially temporal nature of the human condition (Hartog 2015: xvi). Rather than suggesting that this more phenomenological perspective is at odds with disciplinary practices in the social sciences, I argue that a renewed attention to the ontology of our historical condition affords novel pathways into rethinking the epistemology of history (cf. Munn 1992; Ricoeur 2004; Simonetti 2018).

The turn to social memory in scholarship on the Indian subcontinent has been productive for opening novel interpretive possibilities with regard to royal epigraphy, monumental architecture and courtly textual production. Yet, acts of memorialization meant to evoke politically expedient readings of the past are only a small subset of all the socially significant practices within which experiences of time may be situated. Turning our attention towards ontologically grounded historicity brings into focus the many routine acts of production and consumption that sustained social worlds, and constituted sites wherein relations to time were formulated and negotiated (cf. Munn 1992). At Maski – the multi-period archaeological site in the southern Deccan where this study is focused – the dynamics of competitive emulation and strategic appropriation associated with social memory are manifest in the epigraphical record, as I outline below (fig 1.1). The material traces of a wider settled landscape, however, allow insight into how individuals and communities formed relations to time in routine practices of consumption and use, building and maintenance.

This dissertation delineates the kinds of temporal scales and relations produced in everyday engagements with materials, and elaborates a framework for operationalizing the condition of historicity towards the telling of history. It does so by turning to a specific set of materials — ceramics excavated from three distinct contexts within medieval settlements at Maski. In Chapters 3, 4 and 5, I focus on the particularities of the ceramic assemblages from each of these

depositional contexts: the interior space of a house, an outdoor area in the immediate vicinity of a well, and an extramural space used for discard. In treating these depositional contexts separately, I attempt to draw out the ways in which ceramics are imbricated in particular activities of use or discard that are anchored in place. The accumulation of ceramics in these spaces speak to histories of making and using a set of quotidian artefacts, to the temporal rhythms of the activities conducted there, and the ways in which particular kinds of places are produced through routine and repetitive acts.

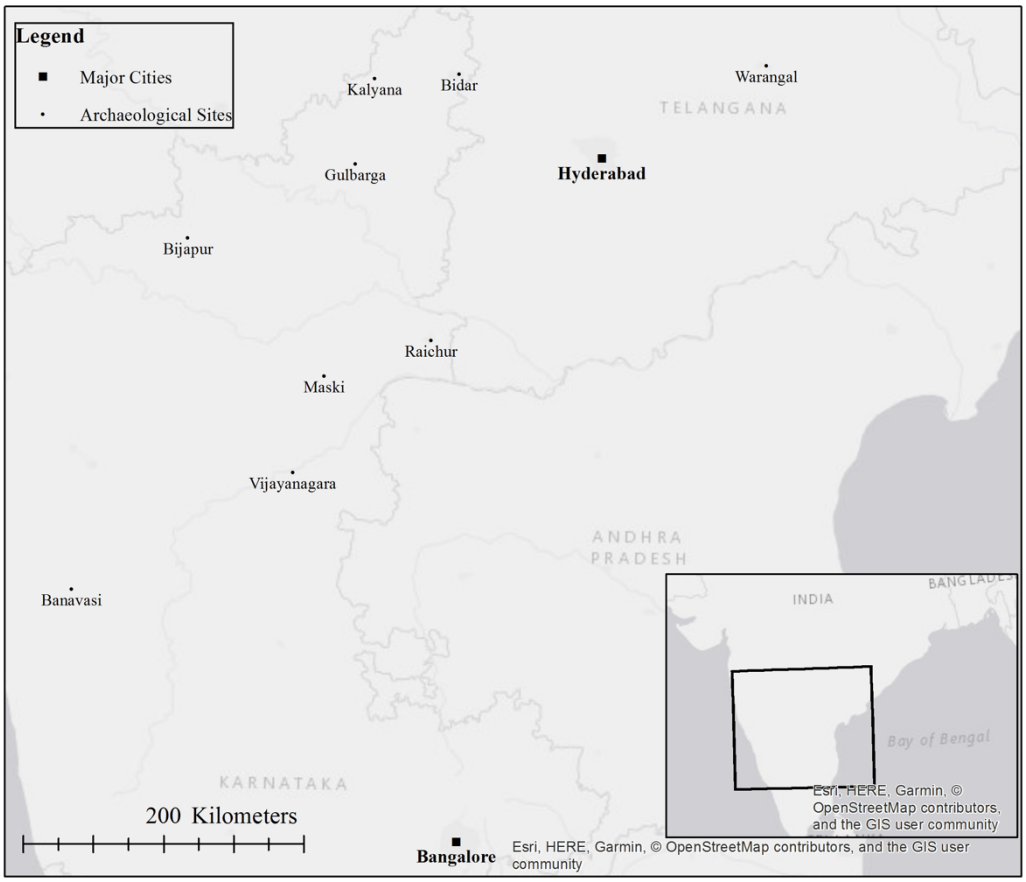


Figure 1.1 Peninsular South India, showing Maski's location in relation to other sites with a significant medieval history.

In this chapter, I lay down part of the epistemological framework for the analyses that follow. Beginning with an account of how social memory has been framed and used in the context of precolonial South India, I present a brief genealogy of this concept as it developed within debates

in European history before emerging as a global category. In particular, I question the overwhelming tendency to treat collective memory as a strategic device, a tool for foregrounding certain narratives about the past. Rather, treating relations to time — which include but are not limited to memory — as emerging in practice, through active and intersubjective engagements undertaken in a present that is always infused with pasts and futures, I outline an approach to historicity that is indebted to the work of Paul Ricoeur. Alongside a brief account of Maski's medieval history through epigraphical materials, I point towards productive conjunctures between the discourse on historicity and scholarship that re-animates the interpretive possibilities of the archaeological record by drawing attention to questions of temporality, depositional history, and the materiality of archaeological contexts (Borić 2010; Lucas 2001, 2012; Olivier 2011).

On the one hand, my preoccupation with temporal relations is grounded in scholarly debates in the history of precolonial South Asia. It is situated, on the other hand, in relation to the place ceramics occupy in archaeological practices of reckoning time. Fragments of ceramic vessels are ubiquitous elements of the material record of medieval South India. Archaeologists typically use them to establish the temporal contours of occupation at any given site, since specific 'types' of vessels are thought to 'belong' in particular chronological periods (cf. Morrison 2001, 2016). Ceramics are thus anchored in time — as 'Iron Age' or 'Medieval' ceramics, for instance — in a way that simultaneously establishes them as temporal objects while obscuring their imbrication in practices of production and use. The heuristic act of identifying types of ceramic wares with poorly defined chronological periods thus silences the multiple temporalities that coalesced in and were formed during processes of making these vessels and using them for everyday acts of preparing and serving food, storing and transporting goods.

1.2) A history of memory

Two foundational assumptions helped maintain the idea of an ahistorical Indian subcontinent: first, that following the end of a golden ancient period in about the 6th century AD, precolonial times were marked by stasis and decline and second, that Indians did not possess an awareness of history before their encounter with Europeans (cf. Ali 2014). Orientalist claims of a timeless India were patently false, but evolved into an entrenched understanding that fragmented political structures and declining social institutions defined certain times in Indian history. The period thus characterized was, of course, the Medieval — its nomenclature and valences borrowed from European historiography and its charged vocabulary variously adapted to Indian contexts (cf. Davis 2015).[3]

"Medieval India is now being rehabilitated", the historian Cynthia Talbot wrote in 2001. Far from being an uninteresting time of stagnation, "the medieval era in my opinion was a period of progressive change, characterized by the extension of agrarian settlement, a rise in the number of religious institutions, an expansion of commercial activity, and an evolution of political systems and networks" (Talbot 2001: 2). Talbot's work, based on a thorough examination of the inscriptional record from the Telugu-speaking region of the south-eastern Deccan (present-day Telangana and Andhra Pradesh), foregrounded change and transition as hallmarks of the medieval period. Her archive showcased a wide range of individuals and groups as agents of change, as participants in a donative economy that opened avenues of social advancement to lower status individuals and groups. Talbot's research is emblematic of a shift in thinking about precolonial social and political practices, a body of scholarship to which a number of scholars

[3] For instance, a debate on feudalism — whether such a system can be identified in medieval India and what its contours may be — defined a moment in the historiography of precolonial India. See the interventions of Irfan Habib (1985), Harbans Mukhia (1981); R.S. Sharma (1985) and Burton Stein (1985), all in the pages of *The Journal of Peasant Studies*.

have contributed (e.g., Cox 2010; Inden et al. 2000; Novetzke 2016; Pollock 2006 among several others).

The claim that Indians were a "people without history" was bolstered by a lack of indigenous texts in the genre of chronicles or annals. In the absence of such texts, Orientalists wondered whether Indians had a sense of cause and effect, or possessed the tools to sequence events with a view to establishing relations between past and present (cf. Inden 1990; Trautmann 2014). Writing against generations of Orientalists and a new rank of "critical traditionalists" seeking to maintain the vision of a timeless culture (Nandy 1995), three scholars of precolonial India undertook the project of showing how a range of literary texts — plays, courtly poetry and epic ballads — from 17th-century South India could be read as historical narratives. Although these genres are considered atypical for the expression of historicist knowledge, Narayana Rao, Shulman and Subrahmanyam (2001) held that their "textural" qualities — accessible to experienced readers receptive to subtle cadences — were designed to help an audience distinguish fact from embellishment and recognize historical modes of emplotment. Following the provocative and canonical intervention of *Textures of Time*, historical writing from precolonial India is a growing field of inquiry.[4]

Setting out to establish forcefully that modes of historical writing had emerged within precolonial India, *Textures of Time* marked its distance from European notions of history while implicitly reinforcing them. On the one hand, the authors argued that Western scholars had so far failed to recognize Indians as narrators of history since this knowledge circulated in unexpected forms of writing. On the other hand, the parameters of historical consciousness according to

[4] See for instance a 2013 special issue of the *Indian Economic and Social History Review* (Whitney Cox, ed.) that addresses questions of history and its narrative form in relation to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. This 12th century Kashmiri text, which reads somewhat like a chronicle, has provoked much thought about historical consciousness in precolonial India.

which these texts were judged — especially the drive to establish positive historical facts, discuss their consequences and locate their occurrence in objective time — are reminiscent of German historicism (Narayana Rao et al. 2001: 12). Despite the provocative and paradigm-shifting intervention of *Textures of Time*, and the nearly universal uptake of the sense that Indians possessed tools to narrate their past, the term "historical consciousness" did not persist as the primary analytical axis along which historians interpret how Indians in the past related to their own past.

Instead, memory emerged as the watchword for describing engagements with the past that include but extend beyond those outlined in *Textures of Time*. Memory describes relationships with the past that appear more dispersed, inchoate and widely shared than 'official' or 'written' history (see Nora 1989). If "historical consciousness" is an intellectual disposition detectable in certain ways of writing, memory is always understood as social and collective, an evocation of the past that inheres in places and monuments, is inscribed in epigraphy or occasionally located in courtly texts (Guha 2009; Wagoner 1993). Social memory raises questions not simply of what took place in the past, but describes how the past may be used to assert, re-imagine or challenge authority and build a sense of community. The widespread prevalence of social memory in studies of precolonial India is rooted in the debates outlined above; at the same time, this concept of memory and its displacement of a more circumscribed idea of history owes much to wider developments in historical studies (Hartog 2015; Koselleck et al. 2006; Ricoeur 2004).

In his account of shifting *Regimes of Historicity*, historian François Hartog (2015: 7) describes how "…memory became an all-embracing term…" by the 1990s. "It seemed that everything had the makings of memory, and in the duel between memory and history, the former quickly won the day". The injunction to memorialize testimonies of persecution in the wake of

the Second World War opened up a distinct space for representing trauma.[5] It was similarly from the horrors of 20th-century Europe and the disillusionment with its civilizational ideal that Walter Benjamin's critique of historicism had emerged (Benjamin 2004). Even though our current notion of memory emanates from an experience of loss tied to a particular historical predicament — the atrocities of the Second World War — its analytical purchase has become global. As a mode of relating to the past, memory holds the promise of interrupting the teleological and progressivist logic of historicism. It is accretional rather than sequential, inheres in the consciousness of people, and proceeds from disjointed instances of trauma and healing rather than being a continuous and triumphalist narration of events. Memory thus exceeds history and can interrupt its narratives (Benjamin 2005; Boelhower 2005; Olivier 2011; Shanks 2012).

As a new space was carved within historical studies to meet the urgency of recounting memories of trauma, a singular concept of memory became pervasive in the effort to make memory a field of inquiry within History (cf. Ricoeur 2004). Its features are apparent in Pierre Nora's (2001) landmark project, *Lieux de mémoire*, which identified sites of memory that were crucial to the making of the French nation. *Lieux de mémoire* are sites where "memory crystallizes and secretes itself" in a moment of rupture (Nora 1989: 7). These sites endure even though the original milieu within which they held significance (the *milieu de mémoire*) is lost. The endurance of these traces, imbued with meaning, makes them nodes around which future collectives can coalesce. *Lieux de mémoire* thus always hold significance for collectives rather than individuals, enabling groups to form an identity anchored in place.[6]

[5] Claude Lanzman's *Shoah* (2013) and Yerushalmi's *Zakhor* (2011) are iconic, and highly influential, instances of documenting the trauma of the Holocaust and presenting testimony as the most compelling way of representing the event.
[6] Nora's conception shares its spirit with the writings of Maurice Halbwachs (1975[1925]) and Paul Connerton (1989).

Although the intellectual inheritance is seldom explicitly acknowledged (Guha 2019 is a notable exception), this very concept of memory runs through scholarship on precolonial India. Memory is materialized in concrete sites, and it is imagined that a collective consciousness about the significance of these places recursively constituted collective identities. Complicating the idea of a stable identity — or indeed of a singular memory-narrative that remains unchanged through time — Eaton and Wagoner's (2014) recent contribution is attentive to the materiality of the built environment. Monuments are highly visible and durable as *lieux de mémoire* but are also malleable, composed of elements that can be altered. The built environment and the meanings it can hold are open to change: acts of strategic appropriation, willful destruction, mimesis or conservation can be used to assert or question dominant narratives about how collectives relate to their past. *Lieux de mémoire* are not just places into which memory has seeped, but where narratives about the past are put forward and potentially reworked.

In South Asianist scholarship, questions of power and legitimation have been the focal point of studies on collective memory.[7] The possibilities for erasure, appropriation and imitation that the built environment offers renders monuments and landscapes uniquely positioned for the imposition of politically expedient narratives. Memory thus emerges as an instrument, a tool for shaping how people relate to the past and form a sense of identity. Although projects of strategic manipulation bring new actors and spaces to the forefront — Eaton and Wagoner's (2014) study attends to provincial elites in 'second tier' sites — the "social" or "collective" audience of these commemorative acts remain out of focus. Those with the authority to promote particular narratives about the past emerge as highly agentive whereas social groups encountering these

[7] Arguably, the wave of scholarship on memory has re-inscribed an earlier trope in South Asianist scholarship: Weberian legitimation. See Kulke 1993 for an iconic instance of this scholarship, and Pollock 2006 for a critique.

sites are implicitly consumers of a narrative in relation to which they form their own identities.

Although it is apparent that as an analytical device, memory has opened up new ways of thinking about the exercise of power and the formation and negotiation of identities, an idea of memory as instrumental represents a fundamentally reductive understanding of temporal relations. In the first instance, all relations to time – including imagined and projected futures – are predicated on strategically relating the past to the present (Ricoeur 2004: 347). Furthermore, since memory signifies subscribing to a particular narrative rather than performing an act of recollection, the relationship between human experiences of time and their narrativization is understood as strategic rather than interpretive. "Acting on" the past is more than an arena for competitive control; a prevailing understanding of temporal relations as politically expedient obscures the phenomenological and hermeneutic aspects of acting on an absent yet available past, where action involves initiative in relation to projects and plans.

Drawing out how people formed relations to time — including, but not restricted to mnemonic operations — involves foregrounding human actors as "subjects of initiative, of retrospection and prospection" who "formulated expectations, predictions, desires, fears and projects" (*Ibid*. 381). The present time of action is thus infused with pasts and anticipates possible futures. Performing tasks and activities at once enables people to situate themselves in time (Ingold 1993) and is a process of 'temporalization': that is, time not only structures action, but is produced in action (Munn 1992). These insights from phenomenology rest on an axiomatic understanding of the human condition as fundamentally temporal (Heidegger 2008: 428). Following Ricoeur, and directing the discussion towards the specificities of archaeological practice, I attempt to flesh out some of the axes along which an ontological-existential condition, historicity, can inform the writing of history.

1.3) Time and the excavation unit

In Ricoeur's formulation, the ontological condition of historicity is animated by a dialectic of presence and absence: on the one hand, the past is that which has elapsed and eludes our grasp; on the other hand, the past is proximal as "having-been" and belongs to us as a transmitted inheritance. The "having-been" of the past renders it available for working on and interpreting, acts that lie at the root of historiography. Apart from the act of explicitly narrating history, other kinds of socially meaningful practices, too, include an element of drawing upon and reworking available pasts. Rather than a static or unquestioned repetition, this is a process of "realizing anew" by carrying forward aspects of the past in ways that are always reconfigured in any given present. Concepts like repetition and transmission are forward-looking and infuse the historical condition with a future-oriented element of anticipation.

Oriented both towards futures and pasts, acts of mourning and recollection, repetition or transmission occur in the present. Rather than being highly individual or particular, these relations to time are embedded in a present populated by others, rendering them intersubjective at their very foundation. In a worldly and intersubjective present, time "structures the relation of preoccupation connecting us to the things with which we busy ourselves" (Ricoeur 2004: 351). A structuring logic of measurements and sequences guides tasks and activities that sustain a social world. The same structure that orders routines and anchors them in time also makes history possible as a field of inquiry. Such a structure, however, is not an externally imposed regime of time, but is produced relationally as people "reckon with time" (*Ibid.* 384). This manner of being-in-time, always in relation to other times, other people, and engaged in the performance of activities both quotidian and symbolic, is the crux of the ontological condition of historicity.

Anthropologists have for long drawn attention to the temporality of such tasks and activities,

as well as to the critical importance of accounting for the place of time in anthropological knowledge production (Bourdieu 1990; Fabian 2014). As Munn (1992) outlines in her review of the topic, the cultural anthropology of time grew as a field that emphasized the multiplicity of human experiences of time; in other words, early anthropological interventions highlighted that time, too, is cultural (Durkheim 1995[1912]; Malinowski 1927). Qualitative time may be broken into units that are seasonal or relate to magical, religious or ritual practices (Munn 1992: 95). However, a tension remains here between individual, subjective time, and the "social" time that is suggested by the rhythms and durations of collective acts. A similar tension is palpable in Halbwachs' theory of collective memory, wherein recollection for the individual subject is necessarily anchored to a larger collective (Halbwachs 1992). Although these meditations on time (and memory) are deeply sociological, I argue with Munn and Ricoeur that they are not necessarily intersubjective.

In addition to the time of myth, ritual and magic, functionalists noted that social and qualitative ways of breaking time are tools for time-reckoning (Evans-Pritchard 1939). Tasks or activities that may be tied to "nature" (seasons or agrarian cycles) also produce a vocabulary for referencing time and drawing relationships between activities. On the one hand, experiences of time are tied to the performance of routine activities; yet, there is a relationship of externality between performing tasks and perceiving the passage of time. Thus, tasks and activities appear as time-bound, as modes of marking intervals or describing time, but are not seen as constitutive of temporal experience or as giving time its meaningful form (Munn 1992: 102).

Munn's critique echoes Ricoeur when she posits that time-reckoning, too, is a temporal activity. If Ricoeur provides a philosophical framing for historicity as a conceptual hinge between an ontological being-in-time and the interpretive process of writing history, an

anthropology of time ought to flesh out "the complex relations among actor/subject, action, time, and space…" (*Ibid.* 105-6). This is arguably made more complicated — and necessary to countenance — for archaeologists working with traces of meaningful practices from the past within a disciplinary framework explicitly attentive to time and with a methodological emphasis on space (e.g., Binford 1980, 1982; cf. Morrison 2016 specifically addresses the archaeology of South India). Although debates on the nature of the archaeological record and the ways in which archaeologists retrieve and interpret data always invoke the pastness of materials as an epistemological problem (Binford 1981, 1983; Schiffer 1987; cf. Wylie 1985), the turn towards memory provoked a more pointed attention towards temporal relations.

An interest in the landscape and built environment sparked by discussions on social memory in historical studies was influential amongst archaeologists, too, generating a conversation on "the past in the past" (Bradley 1992, 2002; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; See Van Dyke 2019 for a review). Archaeologists recognized how their disciplinary practice was already attuned to such questions, given that archaeological investigations proceed from physical traces of the past and are predicated on the observation that settled landscapes are layered places where people may have encountered and lived among signs of their predecessors. Using social memory as an analytical tool to reveal new insights about how people have related to their own pasts, early uptakes included studies about the use and re-use of monuments or spaces (Bradley & Williams 1998), investigations about the mimetic use of 'natural' features as well as the strategic incorporation or destruction of particular elements of the landscape.[8]

At the same time, "collective memory" raised questions of power both in the past, and with regard to dynamics generated by archaeological practice itself.[9] Studies of collective or social

[8] See the special issue of *World Archaeology* edited by Richard Bradley (Bradley 1992).
[9] A more recent special issue of the *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* (Mixter & Henry

memory in archaeology have preoccupations familiar from historical studies, for instance the exercise and legitimation of power, or the formation and sedimentation of collective identity. However, going beyond investigations of the materialization of memory in the past, the archaeological record itself has been likened to an "archive of memory" (Olivier 2011); in other words, Olivier proposes not an archaeology *of* memory, but archaeology *as* memory. This provocative insight brings the so-called New Archaeology's focus on site formation to a broader conclusion on the nature of archaeological entities such as landscapes and sites, deposits and artefacts (Lucas 2012). Unlike the deliberations of the 1970s and 1980s, which explored a tension between "the past" of dynamic processes that left durable traces and "the present" of interpretation and retrieval, here the attention shifts towards archaeological knowledge production as a temporalizing practice, and archaeological entities as temporal objects.

For Olivier, the archaeological record is akin to memory in two ways: as an eruption of the past into the present, and as an "imprint of the past inscribed in matter" (Olivier 2011: xv). The nature of this imprint is similar to a palimpsest, wherein each successive layer results in the partial erasure of the one that came before it. Such layering is the cumulative but not complete result of repetitive and episodic action or events, rendering it analogous to the way Freud conceptualized memory.[10] The idea that the archaeological record — archaeological landscapes, specifically — resemble a palimpsest marked by both endurance and erasure was already in circulation, especially since the widespread use of aerial photography in the discipline (See

2017) is notable for contributors' attention to power relations in the past and present. The title — "Webs of Memory, Frames of Power" — sets the tone and points to a shift in thinking about the analytical potential of collective memory.

[10] The operative concept of memory for Olivier is not one drawn from Halbwachs but from Freud (Olivier 2011: 141-2). Using an archaeological metaphor, Freud argued that memories were structured as layered imprints in the psyche, each new layer fundamentally altering previous ones. Moreover, one accesses memories not as pure imprints but as events always already reinscribed and altered by time. See Freud 1961: 227-32.

Lucas 2012: 115-20). Meant primarily to refer to layers of occupation in a region or at a site, Olivier recasts the palimpsest as a metaphor operating at multiple levels: artefacts, assemblages of artefacts, stratigraphic units, the excavation unit, site and landscape are all fundamentally structured like palimpsests (Olivier 2011: 130-1).

If the dynamism of "social memory" refers to the malleability of materials and their ability to accommodate shifting narratives, Olivier proposes *repetition* and *intermittence* as the foremost qualities of memory as it is inscribed in the Earth and in objects (*Ibid.* 139). What produces the archaeological record, he argues, is the accumulation of repeated action inscribed on matter. The traces of this repetitive movement, broken up by periods of silence, persist on matter as layers of memory that were partially erased, altered or otherwise re-inscribed in each iteration. Consequently, the archaeological record does not offer access to a slice of the past; its structure only enables a fragmentary perspective of episodic alterations and movements, accessed in the present. Unlike the scholarship on social or collective memory, which focuses on how the past is *re-constructed* in any given present, Olivier proposes that the archaeological record is in fact *contemporary* with the present as a perduring memory (cf. Lucas 2012: 208).

While I do not agree with Olivier's recasting of archaeology as a memory-practice that is fundamentally at odds with History, his scalar conception of palimpsests, and the understanding of memory-as-trace are productive for thinking about the interpretive potentials of an archaeological entity such as an excavation unit. In the first place, the idea that artefacts, assemblages, and strata are the result of analogous processes of inscription enables a consideration of both archaeological deposits and the objects they contain under the same rubric (cf. Lucas 2012). Secondly, themes of intermittence, repetition and accumulation highlight a processual mode of formation, rendering it necessary to account for the temporal aspects of the

building blocks of archaeological epistemology such as objects, assemblages and stratigraphic units. Lastly, the concept of memory Olivier proposes is not rooted in human consciousness; instead, it is an imprint whose physical quality extends into the material world.

Although Olivier proposes an evocative conception of the archaeological record as a vestigial memory, the question of what it is a memory or vestige of remains somewhat unclear. This is more concretely fleshed out in Gavin Lucas' uptake of Olivier's work and the 'theory of residues' he develops on its basis (Lucas 2012: 210). To begin with, Lucas proposes that archaeological contexts as well as objects have an event-like nature. Events, conceptualized as occurrences or happenings, have both spatial and temporal qualities: that is, they have duration and take place some*where*. Yet, they are not observable (for the archaeologist) and constitute an absent presence. Moreover, the traces of an event are only partial, since the elements involved in any event are not limited to that occurrence alone. For instance, a feast may take place in a space that is also used for other activities, involving participants who will leave after the event, consuming food that may be cooked elsewhere in vessels that may subsequently be reused or discarded. In a sense, each event is an assemblage (*sensu* DeLanda 2006), a contingent combination of human and non-human elements that are in themselves part of several other assemblages. What can be observed as a trace is therefore residual: the remnant (or memory, in Olivier's terms) of an event/assemblage that may, to varying degrees, disclose the whole of which it was a part (Lucas 2012: 204).

Stratigraphic units implicitly evoke events, such as the laying down of a floor surface or the digging of a pit (Lucas 2001: 156). While it is understood these contexts have spatial extent, a sense of their temporality conventionally remains tied either to the site's chronology, or to a moment of production or use (*Ibid:* 159). Rather, if we were to consider the duration for which a

pit may be cut or filled in — it may be dug in an hour and filled over the course of a day, or remain open for several weeks — it would appear that a stratigraphic unit may be composed of many events, or a single event may occur over several such contexts. Moreover, the tendency to designate stratigraphic units as contexts of either production or use further elides their eventful nature, obscuring the multiplicity of their temporality. For instance, a floor surface is a context of production — in the sense that a surface may be produced by clearing a space, levelling it and depositing a material such as plaster, or pounding earth to compact it. Yet, the materials that are on the floor are likely the residues of several events, including the deposition of discarded objects before laying another floor surface. Although it may be impossible to isolate each event, given the partial and vestigial nature of the palimpsest, Lucas' emphasis on the intertwining of production and use as well as the multiplicity of events — each with different durations — whose residues form strata, draws attention to the temporality of each space within a site.[11]

Consequently, spaces within a site or excavation unit that are commonly designated 'activity areas' are characterized by different temporalities by virtue of the events that occurred there. However, the understanding of events as assemblages that Lucas proposes problematizes the boundedness of an activity area. While residues of any assemblage are always partial, designating an activity area ascribes spatial fixity to events. For instance, a scatter of lithic debitage may be interpreted as a space where tools were prepared, but these tools were likely used, reworked and deposited elsewhere. The designation of an activity area thus risks treating acts of production (e.g. ceramic production) or consumption (e.g. a space for commensality) as discreet from the wider assemblages of objects and materials, spaces and people of which they

[11] I do not problematize the concept of the 'site' here, using the term to reference a bounded space that formed a locus of activity distinct from surrounding areas. The 'sites' from which data for this dissertation are drawn were identified as settlements during systematic pedestrian survey, based on the density of materials and traces of architecture visible on the surface.

are a part. While new-materialist ontologies tend to emphasize themes of emergence, dissipation and a lack of fixity, there must be a way to account for residues of assemblages that perdure through time and produce distinct kinds of spaces while recognizing that these residues are always partial and their relationship to any 'whole' is not given (cf. Fowler & Harris 2015).

DeLanda's theory offers a vocabulary for thinking through the stability of assemblages (DeLanda 2006). What makes assemblages distinct from one another, and coherent as contingent combinations, are varying degrees of temporal and spatial stability. The endurance and stability of assemblages are determined by processes of coding and territorialization (*Ibid.* 12), which refer respectively to the internal homogeneity of the constituents of an assemblage and the sharpness of boundaries that hold these together. Conversely, processes whereby the boundaries of an assemblage dissipate, and its components become more heterogeneous are referred to as deterritorializing or decoding. Using a spatial term (territorialization), DeLanda refers to the differentially bounded spaces in which particular assemblages come together — for instance, an encounter on a street or students in classrooms. The stability of an assemblage also depends on processes of coding whereby a set of rules may govern both the extension of an assemblage in time and its boundedness in space (*Ibid*: 16). For example, the structure of formal education requires students and teachers to assemble in classrooms at certain times of day; their interactions, too, are inflected by rules that may be enforced. Such a high level of coding is unlikely to characterize casual encounters between people on the street, even though implicit dynamics of social hierarchy and linguistic codes are undoubtedly at play in such interactions.

As Lucas argues, themes of territorialization and deterritorialization, coding and decoding, are pertinent to understanding the relationship between assemblages and the residues that archaeologists examine (Lucas 2012: 200). The spatial quality of territorialization whereby

certain spaces become containers for particular assemblages of human and non-human elements is applicable at a basic level to archaeological sites as bounded entities produced by assembling a set of people, resources, labour, etc. Specific kinds of spaces, however, whether located within or outside the boundaries of a site, allow for a more granular approach to territorialized assemblages. For instance, a burial chamber is a space of containment for human remains and objects; it includes the vestiges not only of a corpse but also of the act of deposition. A highly territorialized assemblage such as this one nevertheless invokes elements that dispersed after the event, such as the attendees of the funeral (*Ibid*. 211).

If processes of territorialization produce containment in space, processes of coding operate to solidify assemblages: a single burial is a territorially contained assemblage, but multiple burials in the same area (a cemetery) or those constituted in similar ways are the result of coding. Regardless of the force that ensures coding — which may range from written sets of rules governing action to loosely obeyed social codes — coding manifests through repetition. That is, the stability of an assemblage both in time and space may be maintained by the repeated assembling of components in space, or iterative processes of assembling that ensure homogeneity or coherence. In this light, the theme of repetition — brought up previously in the discussion of Olivier's concept of memory and Ricoeur's meditations on historicity — has temporal as well as spatial aspects. I use this conceptual apparatus to outline how lived spaces excavated at Maski were produced through routine, repeated and qualitatively distinct processes that anchored certain assemblages in particular places. Before turning to the specifics of these excavated spaces, the following section provides a background to Maski's medieval history from epigraphical sources with a particular attention to the dynamics of social memory and political participation that historians of the region have underscored.

1.4) Inscriptions at Maski, social memory and political history

The Raichur doab, where Maski is located, has emerged as an important locus for elaborating how social memory was sedimented in the landscape and built environment during precolonial times. Characterized as a fertile tract of land within an otherwise arid region, the doab is understood as a territory at the margins of rival medieval polities that competed for power between the 13th-17th centuries. Although a series of battles were fought to establish territorial control, the built environment has been foregrounded as the most dynamic arena for making and contesting claims to authority (Eaton 2009). The deliberate use of certain architectural styles or the appropriation and revitalization of older monuments are understood as practices of citation that hark back to and cement relations with imperial powers previously active in the region (Wagoner 2007). Conversely, deliberate destruction or the incorporation of architectural elements index attempts to superimpose, erase or otherwise display dominance over another political entity (Eaton & Wagoner 2014; Wagoner 2004). In this way, the visibility and malleability of monuments enabled a cultural vocabulary for challenging or asserting power (cf. Wagoner 1999).

This discourse on monumentality and social memory addresses several complexities of precolonial Indian political life. Re-working an entrenched trope of Hindu-Muslim encounter in the Deccan (see Sastri [1955]2009 for a paradigmatic account), scholars posit how strategic use, appropriation, mimesis and selective destruction of monuments became a shared vehicle for establishing or negotiating political power. Notwithstanding the specificity of each act of destruction or appropriation, both Hindu and Muslim political elites participated in the reshaping of the built environment to suit their strategic purposes. Providing examples of how authority was established and negotiated in a range of places across the Deccan Plateau, Eaton and

Wagoner (2014) specifically draw our attention to provincial centres as contested sites of strategic importance.

Maski, which derives its name from the large mounded medieval settlement known to us epigraphically as Mosangi (locally referred to as Sulidabba), was likely one such provincial town from the 11th-16th century AD (fig 1.2). Epigraphical activity at Maski occurred noticeably during two periods: the 11th-12th century, under the Chalukyas of Kalyana and in the early decades of the 16th century, under the Vijayanagara empire (cf. Johansen & Bauer, in press; Patil & Patil 1997). Most inscriptions found at Maski and catalogued by Patil and Patil (1997) are not located *in situ*; despite the paucity of information on their provenience, some can be traced to villages located close to Maski, and others are likely associated with the largest medieval settlement in the area, Sulidabba (designated MARP-102).[12]

[12] Inscribed slabs were installed in the grounds of the local Inspection Bungalow in the earlier part of the 20th century. Yazdani (1939: 18-19) notes that one of these was recovered from the village of Venkatapur and another from Benkanhal. Survey numbers were assigned to three other slabs. It is possible that details of their provenance can be found in Yazdani's notes (Peter Johansen, pers. comm.).

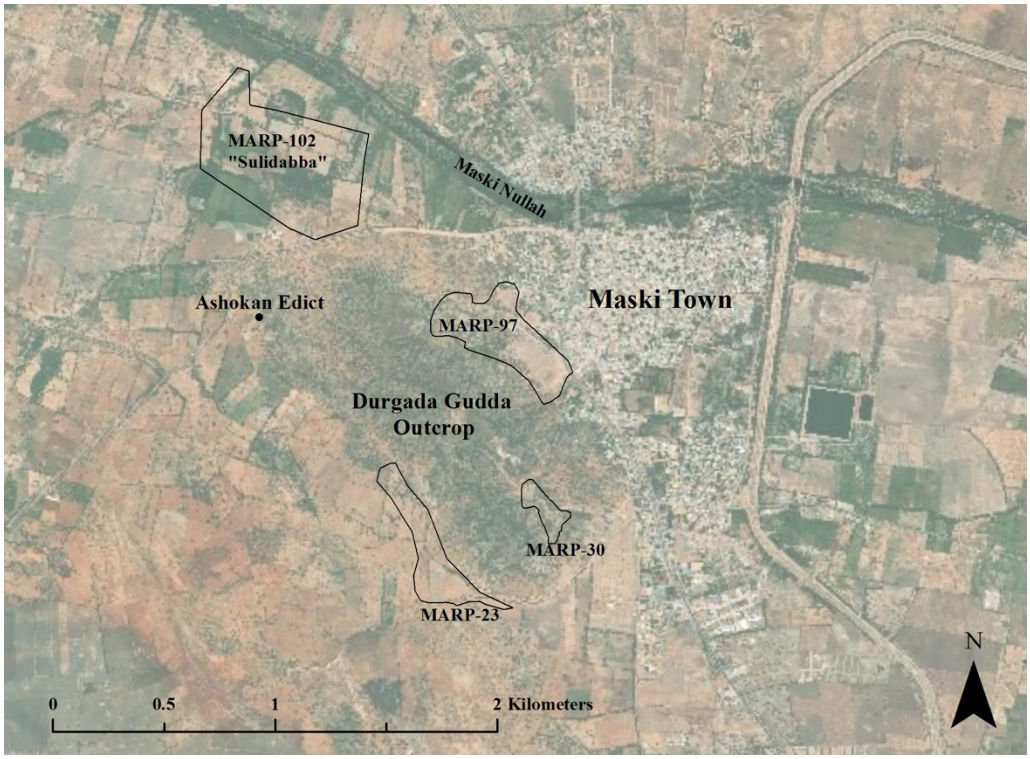


Figure 1.2 Select archaeological sites in the MARP survey area. The arguments and evidence presented in this dissertation are based on excavations at MARP-23 and MARP-30. MARP-97 is the site examined in detail by B.K. Thapar and appears to be the location of Sultan Ahmed's field.

Inscriptions from Maski and its vicinity enable a sketchy reconstruction of the political geography of this area. In 11th-century inscriptions, Maski is referred to as *rājadhāni (Piriya) Mosangi*, suggesting it was a provincial seat of power (cf. Johansen & Bauer, in press). While *rājadhāni* designates a capital, the term *piriya* means large or old and points towards the significance of the place. The inscriptions are mostly donative, and register royal gifts of land, donations by local merchants in favour of Brahmins or the establishment and maintenance of temples. An inscription from the 12th century (dated AD 1113), gestures towards a geographical context: it mentions that the donor held a title (*Mēlālkeya Pattasāhani*) at Piriya Katingal, which is identified with the present-day village of Katagal. Katingal — or Katigal, as it is subsequently written in the same inscription — is said to be located in a geographical unit called the

"Karadikal-300".[13]

Karadikal-300 has been understood as a spatial-administrative unit centred at present-day Lingasugur: Karadikal itself appears to be a settlement adjacent to Lingasugur town and may be part of an older phase of occupation there (cf. Yazdani 1939: 16-18). An inscription at Karadikal suggests this administrative unit was located in a larger spatial unit known as the Edadore-nādu (*ARIE* 1953-54, No. N 240; Patil & Patil 1998: 72). Apart from Maski, inscriptions that mention Karadikal-300/400 have also been found at Lingasugur (and Karadikal), Talēkhān, Jaladurga, Navali, Bannigol, Kamaladinni, Kansāvi, Kilāratti and Mudgal, indicating a rough spatial extent for this toponym; Karadikal 300/400 seems roughly co-extensive with today's Lingasugur, Maski and Mudgal talukas (fig 1.3). A family of chiefs known as the Kadambas of Karadikal, who operated under the Chalukyas of Kalyana, were charged with the administration of this region (Desai 1958; Gopal 1982: 70).[14] Only one inscription from Maski, dated AD 1113, mentions its location in Karadikal-300 and names the Kadambas (ARIE 1953-4, No. B 249). It may be that Maski was included in this administrative division only towards the early 12th century, when it appears to lose its designation as "rājadhāni" and "piriye". Karadkal (Lingasugur) was the likely administrative centre of Karadikal-300, yet Sulidabba would have

[13] It is unclear what difference there is, if any, between Karadikal-300 and Karadikal-400. Before the emergence of Karadikal 300/400 in the epigraphical record (ca. mid-11th century AD), a geographical unit designated "Karadikal-nādu" is mentioned in an inscription from the 10th century (*ARIE* 1960-61, No. B 552).

[14] The earliest mention of the Kadambas in the inscriptions collected by Patil & Patil is from Talēkhān, dated AD 1033 (*ARIE* 1967-8, No. B 376). They remained important well into the 13th century.

remained an important settlement in the region.

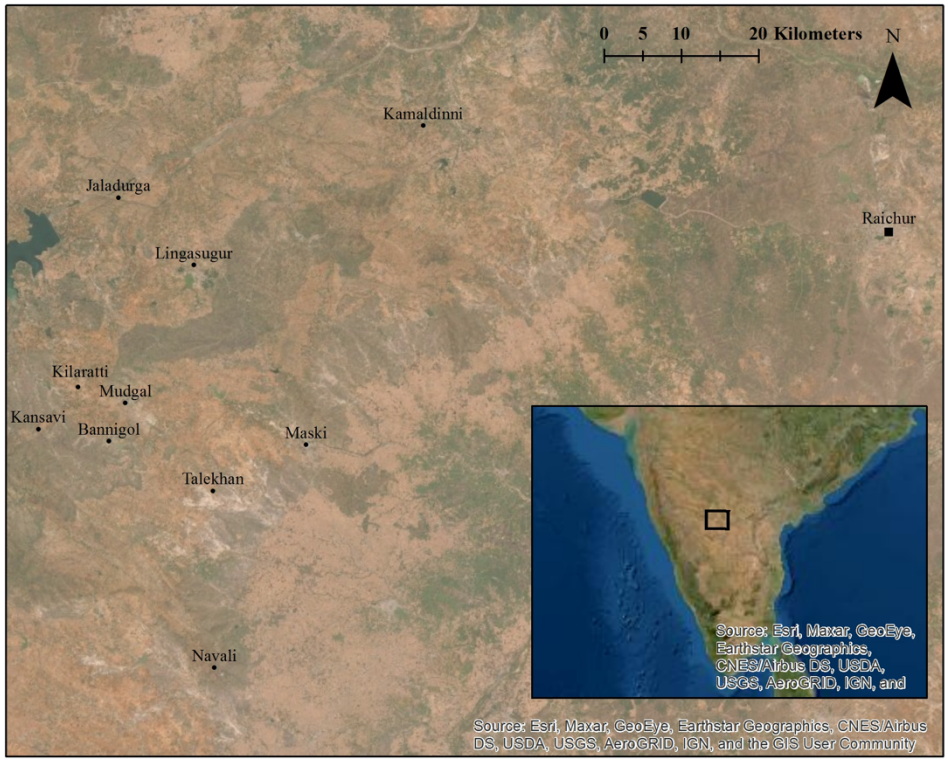


Figure 1.3: Sites included in the spatial-administrative unit Karadikal-300/400, based on the inscriptional record of the 11th-12th century.

16th-century inscriptions at Maski are ascribed to the Vijayanagara Empire and are concentrated in a decade of activity between AD 1537 and 1547, when the region was seized from the Bahmanid Sultans following the battle of Raichur in 1520 (Eaton 2009). Inscriptions suggest that Mosangi became the centre of a spatial-administrative unit — the "Mosage sīme" — which was placed under the charge of a Gujjala Immadi Medinirāya. Details about some of the villages that formed part of the Mosage-sīme provide a sense that although Mosangi was again the centre of an administrative unit, this territorial subdivision was fairly circumscribed (Desai 1962: 37-43). Nevertheless, Gujjala Immadi Medinirāya is explicit about mentioning his appointment as *amaranāyaka* of Mosage-sīme, a position granted by the king himself (*Ibid*: 37-41).

The claims manifest in these inscriptions lend credence to Eaton and Wagoner's arguments about politics at provincial centres. Likely installed at Sulidabba as well as neighbouring villages

where grants were made, these inscriptions speak to practices whereby political claims were staked and genealogical ties were posited. For instance, the Kadambas of Karadikal, a family that first appears in the epigraphical record of this region in AD 1033 (at Talēkhān) and claims control of Kardikal-300/400, maintain the name of a lineage of kings who ruled parts of coastal Karnataka during the 4th-6th century (Gopal 1982). In their first known inscription, the donor Būcharasa takes on the title of *Banavāspuravarēsvara* (Lord of Banavasi, the capital of the imperial Kadambas). It is unlikely the Kadamba family of Karadikal was related to the Kadambas of Banavasi; yet, the choice of name as well as Būcharasa's title, raises the possibility of a desired genealogical relationship (cf. Pollock 1995). Similarly, it is possible in some cases to track officials as they moved up the hierarchy of provincial governance, memorializing acts of benevolence while noting their growing position of power (cf. Johansen & Bauer, in press). [15] The silence in the inscriptional record suggests that Maski gave way to other nearby — and fortified — strongholds after the 12th century: inscriptional activity is concentrated at Mudgal and Manvi until after the Battle of Raichur in the 16th century.

The brief political and administrative history outlined above, based on epigraphical evidence at Maski and its surroundings, points to the shifting ways in which this provincial area was constituted and governed, first as "rājadhāni piriye Mosangi", then as part of Karadikal-300 and subsequently as the smaller Mosage-sīme. Several inscriptions gesture towards an economy of gift-giving involving provincial elites and merchants acting in benefit of Brahmins and temples (Hindu as well as Jain). Inscriptions also make clear that provincial elites found it meaningful to claim their allegiance to the king, simultaneously solidifying their ties with the larger imperial

[15] See for instance an inscription at Maski from AD 1113 (*ARIE* 1953-54, No. B 249), which mentions *Manneya* Būtarasa of the Kadamba family. An inscription from AD 1119 (*ARIE* 1958-59, No. B 711), found at Navali, refers to the same individual as "Mahamandalesvara", a higher title.

entity and establishing themselves as ruling families backed by an important authority. During the 16th century, Vijayanagara's interest in a site that had previously been significant under the Chalukyas of Kalyana may have been strategic and aspirational, as Eaton and Wagoner's research bears out (Eaton & Wagoner 2014; Wagoner 2007). In particular, the decision to restore Mosangi's status as the centre of a geographical-administrative unit (Mosage-sīme) is meaningful in this regard. While the extent to which the imperial elite of Vijayanagara exercised tight control over newly incorporated territories in the north is uncertain, the flurry of inscriptions within a 10-year window at Maski does suggest a significant level of investment in claiming control and incorporating local actors, such as Gujjala Immadi Medinirāya.

Epigraphical evidence suggests that Maski was a significant place in the political imaginations of imperial actors — especially during the 11th-12th centuries and subsequently in the 16th century. The archaeological data, moreover, reveal how a range of activities and settlements sustained and operated alongside the provincial town of Mosangi even during periods of relative silence in the inscriptional record. The practice of inscribing genealogical ties, of memorializing donative activity and claiming control over contested territories — meaningful practices documented by scholars of social memory — are manifest in inscriptions from Sulidabba and around. Yet, the archaeological evidence of settlement in the vicinity of Sulidabba makes clear that in activities such as food production and animal-rearing, the building and maintenance of settlements, and quotidian activities of production and consumption that are both routine and symbolic, temporal relations were formed that exceed the gamut of social memory.

1.5) In Mosangi's shadows: Lived spaces and temporalizing practices

Shedding light on a wider settled landscape around Mosangi, results of systematic pedestrian survey conducted by the Maski Archaeological Research Project (hereafter, MARP) in a 64 km^2

area centred on Maski's Durgada Gudda outcrop push for an investigation of spaces and activities largely absent from the epigraphical record. Survey was designed to identify the spatial contours of past settlement and activity by noting the locations of both on- and off-site artefact scatters with the help of GPS devices. The MARP recorded 271 archaeological sites — defined as bounded spaces with a dense concentration of artefacts and/or features — ranging from the Neolithic to the Medieval, a chronological period spanning the 3rd millennium BC to the 17th century AD (Bauer 2019; Johansen & Bauer 2013, 2015, 2019). Spatial analyses of offsite artefact distributions suggest that land use expanded significantly during the medieval period (Bauer 2019), corroborated by the discovery of several medieval sites in a range of topographical contexts in the survey region. These include settlements, field stations and farmsteads, wells and reservoirs, and fortifications atop the granitic outcrops characteristic of this landscape.

Sulidabba (designated MARP-102), located by the Maski river north of the Durgada Gudda outcrop and encompassing an area of 25 hectares, is by far the largest medieval settlement in the MARP survey area. Although excavations have not been conducted here since Yazdani's initial foray (Yazdani 1938, 1939), the MARP has noted surface remains including a large mound, sections of fortification walls, traces of stone architecture and of a large facility for smelting iron (Johansen & Bauer, in press: 5). The scale of settlement at Sulidabba is in concordance with the use of terms 'piriye' and 'rājadhāni'. However, occupational history at the site is not limited to the 11th-12th centuries, when these terms were used to describe Mosangi; it is likely Sulidabba remained an important settlement well into the 16th century.

Although the history of archaeological research at Maski is long, scholars have seldom focused on its medieval past. Identified in the late 19th century by the geologist Bruce Foote, the discovery of an Ashokan edict in 1915 marked Maski as a place of historical significance

(Thapar 1957; Yazdani 1939). Explorations and excavations during the 1930s by the Nizam of Hyderabad's Archaeology Department (Yazdani 1938, 1939) and during the 1950s by independent India's Archaeological Survey (Thapar 1957) focused mostly on Prehistoric and Early Historic deposits. Although medieval materials were recorded by both Yazdani and Thapar, the absence of known assemblages against which to compare them and an abiding understanding of Maski as a place of prehistoric occupation meant these received little attention.

Yazdani documented several inscriptions from Maski and neighbouring villages, and mentioned finding gold coins there in his report from 1936-37 (Yazdani 1939: 19-20). While his findings from preliminary excavations at Sulidabba remain unpublished, it is apparent from Yazdani's description that medieval artefacts — ceramic vessels, as well as ornaments in glass, stone and shell — were recovered alongside Prehistoric and Early Historic finds from excavations at "Sultan Ahmed's field". Yazdani identified this site, located just west of contemporary settlement at Maski, as the old town of Maski (Yazdani 1938: 22). Thapar's excavations too yielded medieval artefacts in two trenches, MSK-10 and MSK-12, where he recorded grey plain, burnished and occasionally decorated (stamped or incised) ceramics along with glass polychrome bangles as well as coins (Thapar 1957: 16).[16] Of the coins found at Maski, two could be dated to the 14th century, suggesting areas at the foot of the Durgada Gudda outcrop were occupied at this time (*Ibid*: 120-1).[17]

Archaeological survey conducted by the MARP confirmed that the Durgada Gudda outcrop and areas immediately around it were significant loci of medieval settlement and activity. On the southern slopes of the outcrop, a large settlement (ca. 25 hectares) is spread over multiple

[16] MSK-10 was located in Sultan Ahmed's field, an area identified as MARP-97. MSK-12 was excavated to the southeast of the Durgada Gudda outcrop.
[17] Of the five coins found at Maski, three were recovered from MSK-12 (to the southeast of the Durgada Gudda outcrop) and two were recovered from MSK-10.

terraces, with connecting paths, walls and traces of room blocks (MARP-30). The site appears to extend down the southern slope of the outcrop (Johansen & Bauer, in press: 6), leading towards another settlement at the southwestern the foot of the outcrop recorded as MARP-23. East of this site, also at the foot of the outcrop, a dense concentration of medieval artefacts recorded as MARP-88 and currently obscured by modern buildings, is the likely location of Thapar's MSK-12 (*Idem*). In addition to the complex of terraces that comprise MARP-30 on the outcrop, a large, maintained terrace associated with a reservoir and smaller occupational terraces were also recorded (*Ibid*: 5). Towards the north of the outcrop, a set of defensive walls and outposts as well as a bastion (MARP-222) are situated on a peak, overlooking Sulidabba; a smaller settlement is located in a saddle below these fortifications (MARP-46). The location of both Yazdani's excavations (Sultan Ahmed's field) and Thapar's trenches MSK 9-11 (MARP-97) in the valley below also bear traces of medieval occupation (*Ibid.*: 5).

Maski's settled landscape during the medieval period shows evidence not only of a series of small towns or villages in the vicinity of a larger and politically significant settlement; they attest as well to a wide range of activities. Sites such as rock-shelters, reservoirs or rock-pools and associated terraces atop outcrops were likely spaces where herders brought their animals to graze. Encampments on the plains (e.g., MARP-212) may have been ephemeral spaces where itinerant groups set up camp seasonally, coming into regular contact with the occupants of villages and towns around the outcrop and on the river terrace. The prevalence of off-site artefact scatters — of materials that are diagnostically medieval — across the survey region are likely evidence of agricultural activity such as manuring (cf. Bauer 2018; Johansen & Bauer, in press). In addition, the identification of a number of wells and spaces that may have served as field-stations gesture towards the building and maintenance of infrastructure crucial to agrarian

activities and settlement.

Although it is unlikely that all the sites identified as medieval by the MARP were occupied contemporaneously, radiocarbon dates from recently conducted excavations (2018 & 2019) as well as salvage-related documentation (2015, 2018) provide a sense of chronology. Excavations at MARP-192, a small settlement or farmstead on the peneplain, revealed a shallow deposit consisting of a possible hearth and associated surfaces. While the surface assemblage was comprised of material that would normally be classified as late Iron Age, Early Historic and Medieval materials, the results of a radiocarbon assay from the excavated hearth feature date it to the late-4th to 6th century AD. At the other end of the spectrum, another small and single-component farmstead or encampment on the peneplain (MARP-266) was dated to the 16th-17th centuries. Ceramic data presented in this dissertation are drawn from excavations at MARP-23 and MARP-30, where medieval occupation has been dated to the 12th-14th centuries AD.

1.6) Excavations at Maski

In her review of the anthropology of time, Munn grounds temporal themes of repetition and growth in space, exemplified by how the Amazonian Barasana view the emergence and dispersal of generations as leaves piling up on the forest floor (Munn 1992: 101-2). With time, leaves both accumulate and disperse; they can be squashed together to achieve the desired density of inter-generational familial relations — a spatial motif that simultaneously gives time a meaningful form and represents the temporalizing potentials of action. This kind of non-linear accumulation bears a likeness to the structure of archaeological contexts as layered and accretionally produced spaces, which are the result of repetitive and routine acts.

In an effort to highlight the temporality of archaeological entities, this chapter drew upon meditations on the archaeological record that foreground its palimpsest-like nature and theorize

its residual quality (Lucas 2012; Olivier). Throughout the dissertation – in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 – I flesh out how excavated contexts at Maski provide specific instantiations of the ways in which routine acts of maintenance, production and consumption, each with their own rhythms and material entailments, produce qualitatively distinct spaces within settlements. On the one hand, the tasks and activities whose traces are evident at Maski would have structured time. Yet, the accumulation of materials in these spaces – whether due to discard and events of breakage, or the result of acts of renewal like laying down a fresh floor surface – are also temporalizing. That is, they populate the intersubjective world within which ongoing orientations to pasts and futures are formulated.

The excavation of a small $1m^2$ test-unit (TU-2) at MARP-23 – located on the southern foot of the Durgada Gudda outcrop (see fig 1.2) – revealed the corner of a room with plastered floors enclosed by rammed mud walls (Bauer & Johansen 2019). The floors, built on a platform of rammed mud above underlying bedrock, were composed of a fine silty grey plaster. This partially excavated room, which forms the subject of Chapter 3, had been resurfaced several times over the course of its occupational history: layers of plastered surfaces interspersed with a fill of sandy brown loam formed a deposit over 60 centimetres thick (fig 1.4). Radiocarbon dates suggest these surfaces were in use from the 12^{th} through the 14^{th} century.

Whereas rammed mud walls speak to the simplicity of construction employed at this domestic feature, the material also gestures towards the repeated acts of care required to keep such a structure intact. Multiple layers of plastered floor surfaces attest to a carefully maintained space: the relatively small density of ceramics recovered from this excavation unit suggest the space was frequently cleared, as may be expected from the interior of a dwelling. Over the course of nearly two centuries of use, the accumulation of plaster-and-fill constitutes a

remarkable residue of the repeated labour of upkeep and suggests how traces of routine and rhythmic acts can – over time – take a spatial form (cf. Munn 1992).

Figure 1.4 Layers of plaster interspersed with a darker fill created a deposit over sixty centimetres thick at TU-2.

Prima facie, a layered deposit such as this one offers a unique potential for developing a chronologically fine-grained understanding of materials (in particular, ceramic assemblages) in use during the 12th to 14th century. Yet, the fact that this space is defined by acts of maintenance that involve clearing and superimposition complicates the question of the kinds of assemblages that residues in this space reference. Chapter 3 explores this question, picking up themes about the sequent temporality of stratigraphic units and foregrounding the rhythms and materiality of events of renewal. These included daily acts of sweeping and clearing, and periodic events involving the preparation of plaster and its application that may have been tied to seasons, festivals, or significant occasions in residents' life-courses, taken a few days to complete, and entailed the labour of several people.

Fragments of ceramic vessels recovered from these plastered surfaces and the fill between them speak to a circumscribed range of activities, and a remarkable continuity in the kinds of vessels used at home over the course of nearly two hundred years. Fragments of shallow bowls, wide platters and burned sherds indicate the preparation and consumption of food. Lamp fragments speak to the illumination of this interior space. At the same time, ceramic vessels also

gesture towards activities and interactions that occur *outside* the confines of domestic space: they were prepared by potters and likely purchased at a market; their forms embody portability, enabling the movement of various kinds of goods into and out of the home. The fragments of a large globular jar, perhaps used to carry and store water, were found embedded in these floor surfaces and link this house with a nearby well – the focal point of Chapter 4 (fig 1.5).

Figure 1.5 A masonry-lined ring well was excavated at MARP-23, about a hundred metres from the house.

Part of the circumference of a masonry-lined ring well, with an adjoining platform and several layers of well-trodden casual surfaces, were excavated in a $2m^2$ space (TU-1) located about a hundred metres from the house at MARP-23. Radiocarbon dates suggest these surfaces were in use from the late-12th century and into the 14th century – rendering it contemporary with the house. The well was abandoned by at least the early 15th century and was filled in with discard (Bauer & Johansen 2019). A space that the residents of this settlement, and others from nearby, would have frequented to collect water, the well is an element of durable infrastructure that simultaneously speaks to the rhythms of quotidian tasks. Surfaces in its vicinity are testament to regular visitations — their compact appearance is produced by regular footfall rather than careful maintenance. To take seriously Lucas' critique (see above) against an enduring split between 'contexts of production' and 'contexts of use', the surfaces abutting the well may be understood as contexts produced through use. They are, in other words, the

accretional product of frequent use.

Building from an understanding of the temporalities that this well both materially manifests and evokes – of building and maintaining it, of its durability and stability as an entity that persisted for nearly two hundred years, and of the daily comings, goings, and lingerings that the packed cobble-and-mud surfaces in its vicinity are the result of – Chapter 4 sketches how this space was one for gathering. Wells were contested spaces in precolonial India (and remain so to this day), marked by segregation in accordance with caste rules of purity and pollution. Yet, it can be imagined that this well at MARP-23 drew residents of the village, passersby from neighbouring areas on and around the Durgada Gudda outcrop, and pastoralists who may have seasonally set up camp in the area.

Not only do ceramics found in the well's vicinity display a remarkable variability in colour and appearance, jars for collecting water account for only part of the assemblage. On the one hand, it seems that quotidian exchanges, transactions, and encounters took place in the vicinity of the well; at the same time, coming to this space equipped with vessels that looked distinct (and recognizable as one's own) perhaps mitigated the risk of contamination that accompanied inevitable encounters with others in this space. To produce such variability, potters made a resource of the past and reached for ways of crafting ceramics that have a long history in the region.

While the assemblages of ceramics I analyzed from MARP-23 are composed of discarded ceramics – fragments of broken vessels that were not cleared – Chapter 5 turns to a layered context where discard was collected from elsewhere and deposited. Excavations in a $1m^2$ unit (SU-1, fig 1.6) at the extensive hilltop settlement of MARP-30 provided a glimpse into a long history of the accumulation of discard. Located near several structures, this small unit of

extramural space contained two cobble-capped pit features. Ostensibly used to deposit rubbish, the 14th century pit identified here was dug through another context of discard – dated to the 13th century BC. The high densities of ceramic and faunal material in this older pit were similarly capped by cobbles.

Figure 1.6 The cobbles and large fragments of ceramic visible in this image (top-right) were part of a 14th century pit identified during excavations at MARP-30.

MARP-30, comprising a series of interconnected terraces on the Durgada Gudda outcrop, bears traces of settlement that distinguish it from MARP-23 downslope: stone architecture, masonry-lined retention walls used to maintain terraces, paths between spaces, and walls used to regulate movement materially instantiate a greater mobilization of labour and resources. Chapter 5 emphasizes instead the multi-temporal quality of settlement on the outcrop, where traces of Neolithic, Iron Age and Medieval settlement occur in close proximity – and at time overlap – with one another. Historically sedimented modalities of producing spaces – including terraces, cobble-and-boulder walls, and reservoirs – shaped the materiality of settlement in ways that rendered them distinct from spaces downhill. Tracking the history of the small space excavated at this site – which includes two pits and an episode of building set upon a levelling deposit – I argue that the accumulation of discard in this space is one instance of such place-making. A

deposit of ceramic and faunal material from the mid-2nd millennium BC proved to have an effect in the future, potentially structuring this space as one for rubbish. Medieval residents of the settlement both built over yet mirrored the form of this accumulation of older materials, using the 14th century pit to deposit discard and capping it with cobbles.

As my brief account of Chapters 3, 4 and 5 suggest, this dissertation centres particular spaces by way of drawing attention to the temporalities of deposition, maintenance, and movement that form archaeological contexts. These palimpsest-like accumulations – and my understanding of them – are comprised not only of ashy fills or rammed mud, compacted surfaces or carefully plastered floors, but also of the many artefacts they include. I focus specifically on ceramic fragments, positing how specific assemblages of vessels were anchored in space. Their distinct distributions allow insight into the kinds of activities that occurred in particular places, their fragmentation speaks to quotidian events of breakage, and their relative densities gesture towards acts of maintenance.

Tracking these patterns throughout the dissertation, I posit how practices of using, breaking, and encountering discarded fragments of ceramic vessels were temporalizing. These analyses are predicated in part on a consideration of the timescales that congeal in and are produced through the work of crafting vessels from clay. Chapter 2 elaborates on this question, articulating how attributes – features like colour, decoration, and morphology – that archaeologists customarily use to create typologies of ceramics may be productively understood as techniques with variable histories, assembled by potters to produce vessels that recur in the archaeological record. The labour of making these vessels not only involves the rhythms and durations of a variety of processes, their forms and appearances produce time-scales of relative classicality or novelty, and their materiality guarantees a lasting presence that renders them part of "the durable artifice

of the world" (Arendt 1998[1958]).

2. The labour of craftwork

2.1) Durable objects, enduring questions

"You say you know sixty kinds of pot", a potter in Dangwara (central India) told Daniel Miller (1985: 69-70) during the course of his ethnographic research on ceramic variability, "each has its first use, and it has a name, so with a *goli*[1], its first use is to be filled with water, after that it can be filled with anything." Taking a jab at the resident anthropologist's diligent effort to catalogue all the 'types' of vessels potters prepared, Miller's interlocutor points towards the complexity of classifying objects that are ultimately irreducible to their forms and functions. Yet, producing typologies often forms the foundations of the interpretive work that links fragments of ceramic vessels with broader conclusions about social relations. In this chapter, I articulate an approach to variability that centers practices of making ceramics, using them, and classifying them. Specifically, I explore how labour can be reconfigured as an analytical category that generatively ties together these acts.

I begin with a brief account of what Alison Wylie (2002) has called the "the typology debates" – a polemical series of writings that underscore the conceptual problems and methodological mechanics of typology-building in archaeology. Although the terms of this debate often reference a concept of culture that no longer bears currency in the discipline (these interventions emerged in the late 1930s and continued into the 1960s), that typologies were the focal point of discussion demonstrates a recognition of classification as a pivotal theoretical and methodological problem-space in archaeology. The epistemological questions raised in these often pitched discussions were resolved as problems of method under the New Archaeology,

[1] A large globular jar painted red, used (primarily) for carrying water (Miller 1985: xii)

rendering artefact variability a matter of interpretation in functionalist, adaptationist, or political economic modes.

Orientations towards crafted artefacts that were inspired by political economy and proliferated during the 1980s encapsulate this shift. Though centering labour – insofar as most political economy-inspired studies of archaeological materials focus on "production" – this influential body of scholarship rested on classifications of crafted objects while silencing the work of classification itself. I introduce the assemblage of medieval ceramics from south India through a review of Carla Sinopoli's (1986, 1993, 2003) extensive research based at Vijayanagara, which simultaneously adopts the analytical framework of the political economy of craft production while calling into question its evolutionist tendencies. Drawing upon Sinopoli's critique of the universalizing models of craftwork, specialization, and complexity, I unpack the understanding of labour – one that is abstract and invested in labour's structural rather than embodied qualities, and in its process rather than its product – that defines this framework.

While "craft production studies" have developed ever more nuanced models to deduce the organization of labour from a variety of traces tied to production (see Costin 1991), the spatial contexts from which ceramics were recovered at Maski speak instead to practices of use and discard. To situate these assemblages within the world of quotidian tasks and activities to which they were essential, I draw on Hannah Arendt's reframing of labour and work as two distinct kinds of productive, and world-building, activities. Notably, Arendt engages the framework of Marxian political economy on which much of "craft production studies" implicitly draws, turning attention towards the products rather than the process of labouring and working. In her conception, the products of work (which include crafted objects) "guarantee the permanence and durability without which a world would not be possible at all" (Arendt 1998[1958]: 94). These

durable artefacts "give rise to the familiarity of the world, its customs and habits of intercourse between men and things as well as between men and men" (*Idem*).

On the one hand, work creates the durable artifice of the world, creating objects whose temporalities are independent of individual human lives. At the same time, this durable artifice is the setting for activities that leave few traces – laborious acts that sustain human lives and a world of thoughts, ideas and affect that are ephemeral unless reified. Traces of the tangible artifice of the world – materials transformed by human activity that perdure through time – constitute the archaeological record. Just as Arendt's theorization pivots on the varying durabilities of the products of labour and work, enduring fragments of ceramic vessels urge a broader consideration of the activities that involved and took place in association with them.

The worldliness that Arendt ascribes to work – which I argue is always tied to repetitive and ongoing, yet ephemeral, labour – hinges on the temporal qualities of these acts and their products. Drawing together a range of perspectives on form-giving activity, I ask how an attunement to the durability of things can inform practices of classification. Whereas political economy tends to treat time in the abstract (as labour-time), orientations towards the embodied performance of craftwork that draw on Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) practice theory and the related school of techniques inspired by Leroi-Gourhan's (1993) *chaîne opératoire* have emphasized the multiple and meaningfully sequenced steps through which materials are transformed and objects produced.

In breaking down each step of the production process to understand how a series of disparate acts cohere into a meaningful whole, I argue that the *chaîne opératoire* enables us to see crafting as an act of assembly. Variability in the operational sequence – and in finished products – is conceptualized as the enactment of culturally informed "technological choices" (Lemonnier

1993; Mahias 1993; van der Leeuw 1993). I propose it may be generative to turn our attention to the historically inflected possibilities for choice that arise in the process of crafting ceramics. That is to say: how might the realm of 'choice' include inheritances preserved, renewed and re-worked by potters, the practices of citation they employ, and the introduction of novel modes that differentially endure through time? How does the durability and circulation of crafted objects enable future engagements with their forms and appearances?

To flesh out how choice may be temporalizing, I return to the theme of assembling outlined in Chapter 1. Ceramic vessels may be understood as objects assembled using a series of operations with distinct histories. What archaeologists understand as attributes – features such as surface colour, paste, and morphology – may be productively recast as the traces of specific tasks and labours performed in the process of making a vessel, techniques that each have their own trajectories in the history of crafting ceramics (cf. Agbe-Davies 2015; Lucas 2005). At the same time, contingent combinations of these attributes are recognizable due to their recurrence in the archaeological record – as vessels of a particular form or with a set of identifying attributes – and can be thought of as 'types'. To consider ceramic vessels as assembled entities emphasizes the material and contingent qualities of the process of making. It recasts the fixity of typological categories and enables a conception of recurring vessel forms as assemblages stabilized through repetition. Moreover, the scalability of the assemblage concept and the nature of archaeological interventions make it apparent that ceramic vessels are part of other assemblages. As containers in use and as discarded fragments, they are the durable products of craftwork and evoke the myriad routines and labours in which they were imbricated.

2.2) The debate over categories

Most archaeologists would agree that classifying data – into types of spaces, types of materials and types of artefacts – is a necessary step for organization and interpretation. A naturalized part of any research program, methods of classification and their heuristic potentials were hotly debated from the 1930s and into the 60s and 70s, as the internal critique against normative archaeology intensified. Broader anxieties about defining the goals of archaeological research settled on the question of the epistemological status of classificatory schemes: whether the logic of splitting materials revealed meaningful cultural information, or if these categories were merely heuristic constructs or tools developed by archaeologists. They rehearsed, in many ways, a preceding tension between an empiricist and positivist approach (McKern 1939, 1942) on the one hand, and a more reflexive and contextualist approach on the other (Kluckhohn 1939; Steward 1942).

The empiricists who aimed for logics of classification that could be applicable across temporal and spatial contexts also maintained an understanding that organizing data according to principles transparent to the archaeologist would inevitably result in the discovery of cultural forms of order (McKern 1942). Nuanced critics of this empiricist drive recognized that while archaeologists' typologies were not a direct representation of cultural categories, they could not be seen as entirely abstract constructs either. That is to say, any given typology must refer to a particular theoretical problem or set of research questions. For proponents of this more contextualist approach, typologies were not provisional steps on an interpretive ladder but a problem-oriented toolkit that would necessarily be proliferated with shifting research agendas (Brew 1946).

That fundamental issues underlying classification remained unresolved in the mid-century undoubtedly produced frustration (see Brew 1946; Krieger 1944) but led as well to innovative reflection. In his study of *Prehistory in Haiti*, Irving Rouse (1939) was attentive to how he categorized materials. He proposed to use the word "type" to refer to "the attributes which artefacts of a given kind have in common", so that a pattern of artifact characteristics was taken as a "type" (*Ibid.* 11). Moreover, he noted "each attribute separately as a culture trait, equivalent to each of the types" with the intention of isolating the most salient attributes as "modes" (*Idem*). Though working within a culture historical lexicon of normative traits and their diffusion, Rouse understood "modes" as techniques learned and iteratively performed by craftspeople. He conceptualized "types" – recurring combinations of attributes – as a "result of conformity" whereby artisans produced objects that met a particular aesthetic or cultural standard (*Ibid.* 18).

The kernel of action seen in Rouse's conception – whereby attributes speak to the repeated performance of learned techniques rather than conventions and standards alone – was particular to his approach and a productive consequence of his attempt to disaggregate "types". It was lost, however, in an increasingly polemical exchange between James Ford (1954a; 1954b) and Albert Spaulding (1953) that centered the concept of "types" and a concern about whether they were "real". While Ford (1954b) espoused a broadly constructivist position towards classification and understood "types" as organizational tools – abstractions at particular scales of analysis that nevertheless capture aspects of the variability that inevitably orders cultural practices – Spaulding (1953) insisted "types" had an independent reality that could be discovered by employing the correct (statistical) methods. Despite the differences that separate them, Ford agreed with Spaulding that to be valid, typologies must have historical significance. In other

words, they must provide insight into norms and their patterning, even if only within a limited spatial and temporal setting (Ford 1954b: 43).

Fundamental questions about classification that had plagued the discipline acquired a pragmatic and methodological air in the wake of the Ford-Spaulding debate. Positions that mediated between the two – accepting that research must be problem-oriented and theory-dependent, but also eschewing Ford's radically subjectivist and conventionalist position in favour of evidentiary constraints on interpretation – fit well with the program for a New Archaeology and appeared to settle the debate. Furthermore, Binford's critique against culture-history precipitated an important semantic shift in the understanding of what it was that archaeologists investigated, and explicitly challenged the idealist conception of culture that previously underpinned most studies of material culture. Binford pushed for a renewed attention to the materiality of the archaeological record, and – by way of expanding the discipline's interpretive horizons – argued that rather than revealing mental templates and cultural norms, patterns in the forms and distributions of artefacts were indices of behaviour: the sphere of action that played a mediating role between 'mind' and 'matter' (Binford 1962; Lucas 2012: 142).

Binford proposed a new, evolutionary, theory of culture that accorded a distinct interpretive significance to the term behaviour, which already occupied a growing place in the discipline (Childe 1956). Following Leslie White's evolutionist theory, Binford (1962: 218) defined culture as "the extra-somatic means of adaptation for the human organism", composed of several interacting sub-systems through which humans adapted to their social and physical environment. As a result, "material culture" could not be explained with reference to a singular interpretive framework (the culture of culture history) since its various elements potentially formed part of distinct sub-systems that came together to perform an adaptive function (*Ibid.*: 219). The

archaeologist's job would be to isolate sub-systems and define specific variables to interpret change within each one. Changes within sub-systems, and how these sub-systems operated in relation to one another, ought to be understood as a process of adaptation to a particular physical and social environment.

Although 'behaviour' may simply have displaced 'mind' in Binford's program, as Lucas (2012: 152-3) posits, it is apparent that cultural norms, values, and ideas were no longer the ultimate referent for types of artefacts. On the one hand, the functional and adaptive role that artefacts were understood to play meant that functionalism structured archaeologists' perspective towards materials – their qualities and forms, distributions and variability. On the other hand, a growing and somewhat positivist concern with method meant that the empirical and methodological aspects of classification overshadowed the conceptual and epistemological problems critics had previously underscored. Binford's own reflections on the difference between 'function' and 'style' – in some ways a manifestation of longstanding unease about artefact form and meaning – exemplify these trends. If style was considered the excess of function – a marker of "ethnicity" (Sackett 1986) or a way of communicating socially relevant information (Wobst 1977; Wiessner 1983) – Binford (1973, 1986) argued that the symbolic aspects of artefacts also served a functional role, their function being to communicate.

2.3) The typological structure of "craft production studies"

Questions of symbolism – which the debate over style obliquely hinted at – were largely sidelined in the processualist understanding of behaviour and became the primary point of departure in the critique against it (Hodder 1982). The idea that material culture was meaningfully constituted, that quotidian artefacts mediated social relations and could disclose something about the nature of social structures, became foundational premises for the political

economy of craft production (Sinopoli 1986: 1). As a body of scholarship that refined its conceptual and methodological apparatus during the 1980s and 1990s, its conceptual investments lay in a program outlined by the post-processualist critique; yet, its methodological approach drew much from earlier meditations on artefact variability and distributional patterns.

Prior to Sinopoli's research at Vijayanagara, medieval ceramics from South India had received little attention. In the report from excavations at Maski during the 1950s, for instance, Thapar (1957: 85) used medieval ceramics as chronological indicators, lamenting that a more rigorous engagement with these artefacts was hampered by a lack of comparable assemblages from other archaeological sites. Unlike at Maski, where an interest in Neolithic and Iron Age deposits took precedence over the site's medieval history, Vijayanagara – the eponymous capital of the Vijayanagara Empire from the 1320s until AD 1565 – had long been the subject of research on architectural, literary, cultic, and epigraphical practices dating to the Middle Ages. Sinopoli's interventions centred a set of quotidian and widely-used artefacts within the political economy of this monumental settlement. Based on an analysis of ceramics excavated and surface-collected from a variety of residential spaces within the city, she proposed a series of conclusions about the scale and organization of labour and the spatial distribution of artefacts.

Premised on an understanding that material culture actively mediated social relations, Sinopoli surmised that the spatial distribution of ceramic vessels in different parts of the city would indicate how practices and preferences of ceramic use varied along lines of socio-economic, religious or caste distinction (Sinopoli 1986: 104-5). Vijayanagara society was known to be both diverse and deeply hierarchical. Furthermore, rules of ritual purity and pollution that define Hindu social norms hold particular currency in matters of food and drink; consequently, containers such as ceramic vessels, which would have been used for preparing and serving food,

as well as storing water and dry goods, were likely sites for the marking of difference (cf. Miller 1985).

Sinopoli analyzed ceramics from three distinct spaces across the city of Vijayanagara: the Noblemen's Quarter, an elite residential zone located inside the city's 'Royal Centre'; the Islamic Quarter, an area known for its many tombs as well as a structure that likely served as a mosque; and the East Valley, where the remains of varied structures – both religious and residential – were identified (Sinopoli 1986: 47-68). Excavated by the Karnataka Department of Archaeology, Museums and Heritage (KDAMH), ceramics from the Noblemen's Quarter were recovered from four compounds that may not all have been residential (*Ibid.* 58). The goal of these large-scale excavations was to expose architectural remains; consequently, excavated deposits were not screened to recover smaller artefacts and relationships between stratigraphic units were not closely observed (*Ibid*. 113). In the East Valley, an expansive area with visible differences in architectural remains across its extent, Sinopoli (*Ibid*. 115) used random stratified sampling to surface-collect ceramics. The smallest sample – a combination of excavated and surface-collected sherds – came from the city's Islamic Quarter.

As Sinopoli notes, the assemblage of ceramics from Vijayanagara is limited by a lack of stratigraphic control, which renders it impossible to draw conclusions about diachronic variability or define bounded 'activity areas', especially where ceramics were collected from the surface. Given this limitation, the ceramic classification was designed to yield data on form and function, with a view to tracking the distribution of different ware categories and morphological types across the areas of the city from which samples were drawn. For the most part, the ceramic classification rests on the analysis of 'diagnostic' pieces – rims, bases and pedestals – on which Sinopoli recorded a number of attributes. She divided vessels into two broad groups: 'restricted'

vessels (jars), which had a narrow neck and broadened at the shoulder and 'unrestricted' vessels (bowls), which do not have a point of inflection at the neck. Within these two broad classes, Sinopoli isolated the angle of the rim and the ratio between the width of the neck and that of the body as significant considerations for linking form with function.

At the level of spatial distributions, a number of meaningful differences were apparent between the Noblemen's Quarter, the Islamic Quarter and the East Valley (*Ibid.* 318). Differences within the large East Valley are notable too: this area appears split between its western, more elite end located in the Royal Centre and its eastern side, where surface remains indicate a denser occupation with non-elite residential and ritual structures. The western side of the valley had lower ceramic densities than its eastern end, owing perhaps to fewer inhabitants and the likelihood that metal vessels were in use alongside their ceramic counterparts in this relatively more elite setting (*Ibid.* 319). Although only a small sample of ceramics was recovered from the Islamic Quarter, it showed greater frequencies of red plain wares than other areas in the city, as well as a distinct ceramic paste. Greater frequencies of bowls were found in this area, potentially suggesting distinct commensal practices (*Ibid.* 326-7).

Significantly higher densities of black plain wares characterize the ceramic assemblage recovered from the Noblemen's Quarter, and the eastern part of the East Valley differed from both the Noblemen's Quarter and the western part of the valley insofar as black and brown burnished wares were far more common here (*Ibid*. 327). In morphological terms, the Noblemen's Quarter showed slightly higher frequencies of unrestricted vessels (bowls), large vessels for preparing food and smaller jars that may have been used for serving food or for transporting goods (*Ibid.* 328). Differences in ceramic assemblages between the three areas – the Islamic Quarter, the Noblemen's Quarter and the East Valley – were ascribed to variability in the

workshops that may have supplied them, and to socio-economic and religious differences between the occupants of these spaces. Given the nature of the sample, it was difficult to advance concrete conclusions about ceramic use beyond these helpful generalizations.

Instead, variability was most closely observed at the level of production: an analysis focused on rim form revealed that Vijayanagara potters produced a set of vessels with highly variable morphologies, signaling that ceramic production in the city was not standardized. Low levels of standardization implied authorities were not invested in closely monitoring the production of ceramic vessels. It also suggested that numerous and decentralized units of production were operative in the city and its surroundings. Based primarily on the degree and nature of variability in the assemblage, and drawing on ethnographic analogy, Sinopoli surmised that ceramics were produced in workshop settings organized around the household or extended family (*Ibid.* 338). Since potting is understood as a caste-based occupation in the Indian Subcontinent, it is assumed that several families and subcastes of potters operated in the area to meet Vijayanagara's undoubtedly sizeable demand for ceramic containers.

In the interpretive lexicon of the political economy of craft production, growing socio-political complexity is accompanied by higher degrees of craft specialization and the increasing standardization of crafted goods. Specialization implies that craftspeople spend more time performing their craft at the cost of other activities, usually imagined as pertaining to subsistence. Specialized producers are expected to streamline their workflow by reducing internal variability and producing highly standardized objects. Sinopoli argued against the evolutionist thinking underlying such a premise: Vijayanagara potters were specialized producers and supplied a large urban population but did not standardize their wares in order to meet rising demand. Instead, Sinopoli argues, they followed an alternate trajectory towards specialization.

The degree of variability within the assemblage indicates that rather than standardizing their wares to increase production, the number of specialized potters operating in the city grew as demand swelled. In other words, an examination of earthenware ceramics at Vijayanagara – an imperial capital in a region where socio-political complexity has a long history – posed a challenge to the standard model of craft production expected for complex societies (Morrison & Sinopoli 1992).

2.4) Forms of labour

Working with the analytical vocabulary of craft production studies while problematizing the model it proposes, Sinopoli's intervention raises questions about how variability within an assemblage of ceramics is interpreted in structural terms. Typically, political economy-based studies of crafting begin with a classification of artefacts to conclude where a particular society lies on a spectrum of socio-political complexity. In my understanding, conclusions about political organization and social structure hinge on the concept of specialization, which mediates between archaeological evidence of crafted objects on the one hand, and social complexity on the other. Specialization itself refers primarily to the organization of labour and builds upon artefactual variability or other traces of the production process. The organization of labour in turn speaks to the workings of power, control, and hierarchy.

With specialization playing a pivotal role, the framework of craft production studies relies on a cascading series of typologies: typologies of artefacts, the organization of labour, the degree of specialization and, finally, the level of socio-political complexity. These typological tendencies are perhaps most apparent in scholarship that sought to refine the framework of "craft production studies" during the early 2000s. Striving to develop an analytical vocabulary that would apply to a wider range of historical contexts and crafted artefacts, scholars developed further categories to

capture different scales of production, and socio-political setups that had not previously been accounted for (Costin 1991, 2007; Flad & Hruby 2007). Rather than further proliferate the categories, I interrogate the links between each element of the interpretive chain and focus especially on the imaginations of labour, time and scale that underpin this body of scholarship.

In her foundational work around defining a vocabulary to address the political economy of craft production, Cathy Costin (1991: 4) proposed that "specialization is a differentiated, regularized, permanent, and perhaps institutionalized production system in which producers depend on extra-household exchange relationships at least in part for their livelihood, and consumers depend on them for [the] acquisition of goods they do not produce themselves." In short, specialization encompasses questions of inter-dependance and the emergence of hierarchies, as well as the exercise of political power and institutional control. As this definition of specialization became canonical, archaeologists grew to recognize a number of 'types' of specialization, positing that such a metric was best delineated by degrees rather than marked by presence or absence. Since inter-dependence was crucial to the definition around which scholars of craft production coalesced, it was understood that producers became increasingly specialized when they spent more hours on their craft and were consequently more reliant on others for their subsistence needs.

In an effort to put forward a capacious and potentially universalizable approach to crafting, a number of archaeological indicators were isolated for identifying the degree of specialization for any given craft. For instance, researchers may find material traces of a locus of production that enable conclusions about the scale and context of production. An idea of the space where artefacts were produced or the nature of debris could indicate if all parts of the production process were carried out in the same place or not, what kinds of investments in infrastructure

were made, and how many people may have worked together (*Ibid*). The most used indicator to understand specialization, however, is standardization (*Ibid.* 33). Represented in the archaeological record by large numbers of highly similar crafted objects, standardization indexes the work of a limited number of skilled craftspeople who used a well-defined set of raw materials and techniques. Limited variability in the assemblage also suggests that producers were becoming more efficient, developing strategies for scaling up production.

The discourse on specialization has focused greatly on defining the concept and developing archaeological proxies for identifying its material traces. However, treating specialization as a phenomenon that can be discerned from the archaeological record and used to understand social complexity tends to obscure the assumptions about labour it rests on. Specialization is fundamentally an argument about labour-time: craftspeople are specialized when they spend more time at work, at the cost of engaging in other kinds of productive (subsistence and non-transactional) activity. Although archaeologists who use the analytical vocabulary of craft specialization are sensitive to the cultural and historical contexts of their research, and consider them distinct from capitalist wage-labour, the operative understanding of productive work and its significant temporalities frequently renders the labour of crafting into 'abstract labour' (cf. Chakrabarty 2009[2001]).

By 'abstract labour', I reference the term Marx used to designate the specific form labour takes under capitalism. Marx proposed a distinction between the particular labour of an individual engaged in productive work and abstract or general labour (Marx 1978[1897]). Abstract labour, which considers neither the specificity of the worker nor the product, can only exist in conditions wherein different kinds of labour are rendered socially inconsequential for value production (*Ibid.* 305). An imagination of human labour in the abstract is predicated on an

Enlightenment understanding of human equality (Chakrabarty 2009[2001]: 58) and is thus historically particular. Furthermore, it is only when labour is considered in the abstract that the specific utility attached to the material qualities of objects cease to matter, and use-values give way to exchange-values (Marx 1978[1897]: 305).

Exchange-values mirror abstract labour and are predicated on its prevalence. They rest neither on the particularity of an object nor on the specific labour expended on its production. Instead, exchange-values are fixed using a third category that enables a seamless translation between two otherwise incommensurable quantities – a mediation that turns on generalized or abstract labour time, the average time taken by a worker to complete a production process. That is, an abstract calculation of labour-hours makes it possible to consider a certain quantity of bricks as equivalent to, and thus exchangeable with, a particular quantity of cloth regardless of the concrete labour involved, and the materiality and utility of these commodities.

Marx's conception of abstract labour-time shares a strong resemblance with the idea of labour-hours that archaeologists studying the political economy of crafting use to determine degrees of worker specialization. This slippage is not the result of a lack of attention towards the specificities of different kinds of crafted objects in non-capitalist contexts of production and consumption. It may stem, rather, from the fact that labour – despite being crucial to political economy – remains an unexamined category in archaeological interventions. In reducing labour to abstract calculations of labour hours and degrees of specialization, and imagining it as a category that primarily serves a heuristic purpose within a larger interpretive framework, these analyses neglect to explore the fullness of what a term like labour might contain (Chakrabarty 2009[2001]: 75-77).

In an essay reflecting on histories of work in South Asia, Chakrabarty (*Ibid.* 75-6) identifies these analytical slippages as problems of translation in the social sciences, which reach for a "higher overarching language" to make particular realities legible. Labour forms one such "supervening general construction" in the language of the social sciences. The manifold practices, agencies and relations that cohere in the performance of productive work are considered superfluous to analysis when activity is rendered into the singular, universal, and consequently abstract category of labour. Chakrabarty highlights the erasure of non-human agents (especially the divine) and sensory aspects (such as the pervasiveness of music) in ostensibly industrial spaces. Beyond the specific gaps Chakrabarty underscores, however, it may be said that the universal category of labour presents a narrow understanding of the range of labour's productivity, limiting it to finished goods produced within the confines of recognizable settings and charged with a potential for exchange.

Amongst archaeologists, the kinds of elisions Chakrabarty gestures towards have been most closely documented by an extensive literature inspired by Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) theory of practice. Practice theory establishes a relationship between human action – especially the realm of quotidian tasks – and social structure, whereby the latter does not merely present an imposition on or limit to action. Rather, people inhabit and act within a *habitus* that is recursively constituted by their routine and symbolic actions (Bourdieu 1977: 78). For scholars of crafting, this insight opens avenues for re-imagining how the more gestural, bodily, and learned aspects of performing craftwork are embedded in and generative of social relations, such as networks of apprenticeship (Gosselain 2008; Lave 2011; Roddick 2009). They highlight how performing routine activities forms community, potentially producing hierarchical relations and evolving regimes of value (see Roddick & Stahl 2016).

Circumventing the lexicon of labour (and the typologies) central to political economy, practice-oriented studies of ceramic production draw attention to the habitual gestures and repetitive movements whereby potters transform clay into finished vessels (Dietler & Herbich 1989; Gosselain 1992). Methodologically, these studies draw upon the *chaîne opératoire* approach, examining how each process is broken into a myriad of operations sequenced in culturally specific ways (Lemonnier 1993). If the political economy of craft production raised questions about the structural aspects of labour, building arguments about standardization, specialization and complexity from assessments of artefact variability and loci of production, practice-based studies approach crafting primarily as an embodied technical process shaped by culturally specific choices and situated learning. Crafting emerges as one amongst many socially meaningful practices in this analysis – meaningful insofar as it is embedded in a community and recursively reproduces the everyday social and material relations within which it is situated.

Practice-oriented scholarship carries an implicit critique (more through avoidance than engagement) of political economy, yet shares with it an overwhelming focus on the production process. Although most archaeological analyses begin with crafted objects as they are encountered in the archaeological record, the interpretive links between crafting-as-process and its implications for broader conclusions about learning and dissemination or social complexity and emergent hierarchies tend to rely little on the materiality of these objects and the contexts from which they are retrieved. This tension mirrors the structure of artefact classifications and the interpretive horizons imagined for them: classifications are predicated on the materiality of objects but build towards conceptions of the social that are abstracted from these very objects.

***

It is precisely this tendency – of placing analytical weight on the process (and organization) of labour rather than its products – that Hannah Arendt draws attention to in her critique of Marxian political economy (Arendt 1998[1958]). In my understanding, Arendt's contribution opens up two sides of productive activity: first, centering the products of work – durable objects that form the "artifice of the world" – she underscores the futurity that artefacts potentially hold; second, the act of making these durable products is always imbricated in a world of thoughts, ideas, and memories that "constitute the fabric of human relationships" (*Ibid.* 95).

To Arendt (*Ibid*. 80), the recent history of productive activity assumes that 'work' and 'labour' are synonymous despite the lexical distinction a number of languages maintain. This distinction is crucial to her argument: she notes that while 'labour' occurs predominantly as a verb without a nominal form referring to its product, 'work' can encompass both activity and artefact (*Ibid.* 80-1). Labour, in essence, is that which produces nothing but life (*Ibid.* 88); it is the quotidian drudgery that is always ongoing, whose outputs are immediately consumed, and which occurs in the private realm. In contrast, the productivity of work is defined by its material output: "The work itself then always requires some material upon which it will be performed and which through fabrication…will be transformed into a worldly object" (*Ibid.* 91).

The line Arendt draws between labour and work follows a longstanding tendency to classify different kinds of activity – art and craft, skilled and unskilled work, manual and intellectual labour, to name a few. What is meaningful, Arendt argues, is the "life expectancy" of the product – the labour of cooking results in a meal that will soon be consumed, whereas the work of fabricating a chair puts something durable in the world, an object that may well outlast its maker (*Ibid.* 94). If the former is necessary for survival but doesn't have a lasting output, the latter

produces those things that "guarantee the permanence and durability without which a world would not be possible at all" (*Idem*).

Arendt's critique of Marxian political economy enables a recalibration of the relationship between the process of making and the products of crafting. Her emphasis on durability shifts the temporal axis that is assumed to matter in discourse on crafting from "labour time" to the lasting object. I argue that the durability of objects – and their fragments – enable future engagements, offering a repertoire of aesthetic or material examples for mimetic production, abduction (Murphy 2015; see discussion below) and re-use. That is, durable objects fuel practices of making. Arendt's attention to labour further makes apparent that the products of work – distinct insofar as they are durable – are imbricated in other kinds of world-building activities whose traces are more difficult to discern. For the archaeologist, these include the learning of embodied and routinized gestures involved in making durable objects, the networks within which these objects circulated, and the multiple conversations and acts in which they played a part. The spaces that crafted objects are recovered from remain the partial yet most potent heuristic tools for evoking the world of activities in relation to which these durable artefacts were meaningful.

2.5) Attributes in context

My understanding of ceramic assemblages at Maski emerges primarily from the contexts from which they were recovered, as I delineate in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. My attunement to coding these materials is, however, predicated on noting attributes that index techniques of production. Trained to recognize the appearance of ceramics in the region – the range of colours, decorations, surface finish, and morphology – it is apparent that these features recur in the archaeological record, as do particular ways of combining them. For instance, even though shallow carinated bowls recovered from excavated spaces at Maski show minor distinctions in

the precise morphology of their rims, they are notably recorded in only two colours – black and buff. The repeated occurrence of similar vessels – and the distinct patters discernable in distributions across different kinds of spaces – push for an interpretive vocabulary that makes sense of the boundaries of variability and the specific quality of repetition.

This is hardly an atypical task for archaeologists dealing with artefacts that must be sorted. Similarities between objects are the basis for preparing typologies and remain the primary axis along which they are classified. I posit that it is generative to disaggregate the 'type' – an abstraction under which artefacts may be grouped – in order to track the contours of ceramic variability at Maski. Disaggregating the 'type' involves the recognition that such an abstraction is composed of multiple variables – most crucially, attributes (Rouse 1939, see §2.2). Making an observation that foreshadowed the school of techniques and its emphasis on the learned and repetitive qualities of craftwork, Rouse understood attributes to be the result of acquired and iteratively performed gestures. Thinking within a culture historical framework, he ultimately ascribed these modes of doing to culturally determined norms and conventions.

The *chaîne opératoire*'s attention towards techniques offers a different point of entry into disaggregating the process of production: by attending to the minutiae of how a series of operations come to cohere into a meaningful whole. Not only does this account for the multiple acts – for instance, collecting and processing clay, making a paste, shaping, firing, and decorating vessels – that constitute the operational chain, the ways in which these acts are ordered entails culturally specific choices made by craftspeople (Lemonnier 1993). Van der Leeuw (1993) especially draws attention to how the process of transforming materials and giving them form may be conceptualized, so that production is anchored in the realm of learned modes of action rather than economic rationalizations of efficiency.

While conducting pedestrian survey around Maski, it became apparent that spaces where concentrations of conventionally medieval materials were identified – ceramics in grey or black, that are occasionally decorated with incised bands or stamped patterns – also included sherds demonstrating attributes commonly associated with the period's Iron Age and Early Historic assemblages. These older assemblages are characterized by highly polished vessels slipped red or black, as well as highly polished vessels slipped *both* red and black (on the same side, or inside and outside). Without elaborating a critique here of our practices of labelling ceramics in this manner, these observations in the field prompted a need to think about attributes that have a temporal and historical quality.

If the *chaîne opératoire* enables an idea of production as a process of assembly, the concept of assemblages delineated in Chapter 1 provides tools to explore some of its temporalities. Assemblages are constituted of elements that each have their own histories and durations (DeLanda 2006), which precede contingent associations and outlast them. In other words, if ceramic vessels are assembled objects constituted in part by their attributes, these attributes have particular durations and histories in the regional tradition of crafting vessels. As assemblages, ceramic vessels are characterized not only by the temporalities of the iterative acts and technical operations through which they are made, but the plural durations of their attributes.

Disaggregating ceramic 'types' at Maski by recording individual attributes (see Appendix A) suggests that potters used a range of techniques to shape, colour, and finish their pieces. The variability Sinopoli noted in rim forms is apparent at Maski, too – minute differences in the dimensions of the rim diameter and its thickness, as well as the exact execution of features such as a flange or ledge produce a sense that vessels echo one another's without being precisely the same. Potters used a variety of methods to shape these vessels, including throwing them on the

wheel (and off the hump), using moulds to shape the base, and paddles and anvils to thin vessel walls. The traces of these different techniques were at times possible to discern on the fragments I analyzed.

More noticeably, potters created an assemblage with several hues – vessels could be red, black, buff, brown, or grey. In many instances, they were burnished or polished over a slip. While such treatment was rare in the case of sherds that were grey or buff, red, black, and brown vessels were often shined. The degree of their sheen varied, however: while some of these were highly polished and difficult to distinguish from vessels noted in Iron Age contexts, others were polished to a lesser degree or simply burnished lightly. On the one hand, these degrees of polishing have temporal entailments at the level of their production, since creating a glossier surface undoubtedly takes more time. To think of an attribute like surface treatment historically, however, raises the question of how potters adopted and adapted a technique that had long been used in this region and remained associated with particular colours (red and black).

Combinations of attributes that recur in the archaeological record constitute 'types' of vessels – recognizable for the particular ways in which their forms and appearances cohere and repeat, and often pegged to chronological periods. To destabilize their fixity, I argue that vessel types are *contingent* combinations of attributes and can be thought of as assemblages. Just as their components have variable histories and trajectories, types-as-assemblages are marked by temporalities of emergence and dissolution as well. To propose that types of vessels are historically contingent destabilizes the longstanding association between ossified types and chronology. It turns our attention to the multiple temporalities that cohere in each type of vessel, and to the material processes whereby any particular combination of attributes is stabilized through repetition (cf. Fowler 2017; Lucas 2012, 2017).

I have articulated above how attributes have variable histories, and how types of vessels may be conceptualized as recurring assemblages that emerge historically in the process of crafting. At Maski, the concentrations of particular attributes as well as the identification of different types of vessels was closely linked to the contexts from which ceramics were recovered. The specific contours of variability sketched across Chapters 3, 4 and 5 underscore how ceramic vessels were themselves part of other assemblages: of activities quotidian and symbolic that unfolded in particular places. Although the attributes and their combinations that I record speak to the work of potters' hands, the contexts where their fragments were found were animated by other kinds of life-sustaining labours. To conclude, I return to Arendt's emphasis on durability with a view to articulating how the products of work affect its process.

2.6) Form and meaning in the assemblage

The recent turn towards materials in anthropological scholarship has brought a generative engagement with the activity of form-giving. In his work on *Making*, Tim Ingold (2013) challenges the idealist investments that have determined how forms come into being, and consequently, how we ascribe meaning to them. Ingold seeks to destabilize the prevalence of hylomorphism in the study of objects: if hylomorphic thinking promotes the idea that "practitioners impose forms internal to the mind upon a material world 'out there'", Ingold argues that making is instead "a process of *growth*" (Ingold 2013: 21). While making an object, the human body "joins forces" with materials and acts in "correspondence" with them; far from dictating the form of the finished object or approaching the task of making with a predetermined mental template, the final form of the object emerges in the engagement between the maker's embodied skill, and the specific qualities of the material at hand.

Ingold's emphasis on form as emergent draws heavily on Leroi-Gourhan's meditations on the enduring form of the Acheulian biface, which he ultimately attributed to the shape of the hands that made it (*Ibid.* 43). At the same time, Ingold writes against the *chaîne opératoire* – first conceptualized by Leroi-Gourhan – and its tendency to break up the sequence of technical operations into stages, undermining the flowing dialogical relationship between gesture and matter. Problematizing the notion that ideas precede materials, Ingold privileges the embodied and contingent aspects of making. In forcefully positing that form is an emergent quality, the act of making appears highly individualized both with regard to the "practitioner" and the artefact. Ingold's provocative claims raise questions about how the forms and appearances of objects come to resemble one another and repeat. If forms are always emergent, what might be the relationship between the forms of durable objects and the equally world-building realm of ideas, values, and memory that exceed the individual?

It is precisely to these questions – how a multiplicity of human and nonhuman actors and forces produce a recognizable field called "Swedish design", constituted by repeating physical motifs of colour, shape, and style – that Keith Murphy (2015) turns. Murphy attends to the characteristic forms of Swedish design objects and their relationship with political ideologies of social welfare and democracy as a "way of life". Design is often accompanied by an ethical imperative: to create "good" design is to produce objects that bring together aesthetics and functionality and make the world better. In the Swedish context, a political history of social welfare intersects at various planes with a ubiquitous attention to, demand for, and preponderance of designed objects. Murphy's ethnographic object turns attention towards the complex ways in which values come to settle on the forms of particular objects.

Resisting a simple correlation between design and political ideology, Murphy interrogates how designers are produced in the institutional framework of Swedish design schools, the ways in which they juggle ideas about forms in shared studios, and the kinds of spaces – the home, the workplace, print media and art exhibitions – where both designers and their products circulate. It is not designers alone who give forms to objects, nor is the meaningfulness of a form decided solely in the studio. Rather, a number of actors, spaces and institutions are involved in delineating the shapes objects take and the cultural meanings attributed to these forms (*Ibid.* 48). Murphy tracks the conversations and gestures through which a relationship between the form of an object and the meanings it may hold are elaborated and become naturalized. The "cultural achievement" of meaning-making is not an incidental emergence (*Ibid.* 47). It is instead continually worked out by intersecting "lines of enunciation" – linguistic or non-linguistic articulations that "set the parameters within which rational thought and action take place" (*Ibid.* 39) – and "lines of visibility": that which can be seen and thus constitutes the real and the sensible (*Ibid.* 43).

Drawing on Bakhtin and Peirce, Murphy uses an explicitly semiotic approach to understand the tension between the apparent stability of forms (whether these be words or things), and their ability to accommodate multiple credible attributions of meaning at the same time (i.e., to be heteroglossic). It does not follow that a given form can tolerate an infinite range of meanings. The semiotic associations of forms are circumscribed by "forces exerted within particular contexts that are regulated by particular social relations" (*Ibid.* 93). These forces not only frame the polysemy of forms as they circulate in the world; rather, the polysemy of forms and meanings are debated in the studio space as well. At one level, designers discuss, evaluate and exchange ideas to arrive at a contingent consensus of certain forms and the promise they hold for

creativity, comfort, functionality, and aesthetic quality (*Ibid.* 149). At the same time, ideas take form in contact with objects extant in the world through a process of "abduction".

Murphy's ethnographic account generatively fleshes out intersections between what Arendt delineates as the world-building realm of thoughts and ideas on the one hand, and that of durable objects on the other. The former is not simply reified or materialized in the latter; their relationship is instead a continual labour of giving form to concerns. In the context of ceramic vessels from medieval south India, Murphy's articulation helps re-think how questions of cleanliness and ritual purity – almost always looming in the background in discussions of ceramic artefacts – may settle on the forms of these objects (see Chapter 4).

Yet, it is not only values, ideas and concerns that take shape in objects. To echo Arendt, the durability of these products renders them into a resource on which to draw. Indeed, if form-giving can be thought of as a process of worlding – of putting objects in the world that transform our relationship with it (Arendt 1998[1958]; Murphy 2015: 32) – it follows that existing artefacts will be generative for those that are yet in the making (Murphy 2015: 164). At Maski, the continued use and adaptation of particular attributes may be thought of an instance of "abductive" thinking made possible by encounters with durable objects from the past. Encounters with these objects were facilitated by temporal practices of maintenance and deposition that produced accumulations of materials – that is, by the assemblages of which these objects were a part. The circulation of these forms, however, and their ability to become yet another force in the process of form-giving (cf. Knappett 2012) owes much to the durability that Arendt ascribes to products of work.

3. Living between layers: Domesticity beyond the house at MARP-23

3.1) Domestic build-up

In an article reflecting on what kind of space the home is — one whose rhythms and "regularities" are both "inexorable and absurd" — Mary Douglas refers to "the tyranny of the home" (Douglas 1991: 287). If the idiosyncratic rules and practices through which a fragile solidarity is forged between those who inhabit a home represents a form of tyranny to Douglas, the concept of the home appeared somewhat restrictive to me as I tried to situate findings from a small ($1m^2$) test unit that revealed part of a domestic space at MARP-23 within the vast archaeological literature on houses and households. In approaching questions about domesticity and dwelling from an excavation unit that is more a peephole than an extensive exposure, it became apparent that the structure of the house itself — its organization, fixity in space, and durability across time — are foundational to archaeological interventions.

Gillespie's words — houses "anchor people in space and link them in time" — underscore the importance of the spatial boundedness of the house alongside its longevity (Gillespie 2000: 3). As structures that occupy space, houses can be identified in the archaeological record and provide the moorings for social archaeologies of kinship and family, gender and domesticity. The people anchored in this space — who constitute the "household" — are often taken as the smallest unit of production and consumption for political economy. Within the house, the delineation of different kinds of spaces has generally enabled arguments about what sorts of activities took place — whether these include domestic tasks like cooking and commensality, or the production of crafted goods (Allison 1991). These activities, where they were conducted and by whom, in turn generate insights about gendered divisions of labour (and space), and the place of the household in a wider political economy.

If investigations into questions of gender and family, production and consumption, tend to draw upon spatial analyses and artefact distributions across the house, another important strand of scholarship focuses on the endurance of domestic spaces in time. I refer specifically to the extensive literature on the "durable" or "continuous" house (Beck 2007; Tringham 2000). Excavating Neolithic settlements in Europe and the Near East, archaeologists turned their attention to the material and symbolic importance of the home at a historical juncture for the rise of permanent dwellings (Hodder 1990, 1998). In several instances, it appears that a deliberate effort was made to situate a house in the same place where another, older, house once stood.

The choice to, quite literally, build on an extant dwelling while potentially altering the internal structure of the house brings up themes of long-term continuity and permanence; it draws attention to the potentially layered and diachronically changing use of domestic space. Beyond the architecture and location of houses, themes of social memory and the crystallization of inter-generational relationships arise as well from findings of burials, deposited objects and heirlooms in walls and floors (Hodder & Cessford 2004; Joyce 2000). In a sense, the effort to understand the symbolic potentials of the house — the meanings that such a space may gather and evoke — is generatively predicated on an attention towards the house as an archaeological deposit (Hodder & Pels 2010; McAnany & Hodder 2009).

Themes of long-term continuity and inter-generational memory have been crucial to understanding landscapes and settlement at Maski and other sites in the southern Deccan.[1] Maski's Durgada Gudda outcrop and its immediate vicinity, where MARP-23 is located, evince a long history of occupation and use. Yet, the excavation of a small portion of a house here did not reveal traces of previous occupation or activity. A platform of compacted mud was the

[1] See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the scholarship.

foundation for the most defining feature of this space: a series of overlapping plastered floor surfaces enclosed within rammed earth walls. While the first inhabitants of this house, or its builders, chose to dwell in a spot that was not ostensibly marked by the past, radiocarbon dates from the floor surfaces suggest this structure was in use for nearly two centuries — from the end of the 12th century until the mid-late 14th century.

The "continuous" and "durable" house necessarily evoke the use and re-use of space over the course of several centuries, the material manifestation of a desire to connect with and build upon a genealogy of dwelling. In this chapter, focusing on the routines of maintenance that shaped the deposit at MARP-23, I ask if similar temporalities of succession, duration and continuity can be sketched for this relatively more short-lived space. If several "phases" of occupation and shifting architectural alignments are the archaeological datum for sketching patterns of disjointed and *longue durée* continuity, this chapter focuses instead on the temporalizing potentials of stratigraphy (Harris 1975; Lucas 2005).

The inhabitants of this space repeatedly re-plastered the floor of the house, producing an accumulation of overlapping surfaces. First, I elaborate on the making and remaking of these floor surfaces by detailing the process of excavating them. Then, opening up the question of how to translate the stratigraphy of the excavation unit into a narrative about events, activities, and practices, I draw on critical approaches to the constitution of archaeological deposits (Lucas 2001, 2012) to articulate the material entailments of multiplicity (Matthews et al. 1996), and the possibility that succession and accumulation encompass a range of temporal rhythms (Boivin 2000). On the one hand, my effort to temporalize strata emphasizes the acts of maintenance and renewal that produced them. At the same time, I build on another element of the longstanding critique of archaeological habits of stratigraphic thinking: that there exists a disconnect between

interpretations of site stratigraphy, and the artefacts recovered from strata (Carver 1989; Roskams 2001).

I describe the ceramic assemblage excavated from the house at MARP-23, detailing the kinds of vessels found and their distribution across strata. In paying attention both to the recurrence of diagnostic rim forms and attributes such as surface colour and treatment, I draw out temporalities of duration and continuity to complement the sense of superposition and succession that characterize the layers of plaster floors. The enduring formal qualities of ceramics used and discarded in this house over the course of nearly two centuries speak to lasting practices of using particular kinds of vessels in the home. They also necessarily evoke events and activities that transcend the architectural boundedness of domestic space — the potter's craft, networks and spaces of circulation, and the portability that ceramic vessels afford as containers for carrying goods into and out of the home.

The chapter concludes by bringing together the above discussion with a reflection on Schiffer's highly influential "formation theory" (Schiffer 1987, 1995) and the studies of household artefact assemblages that emerged in its wake (LaMotta & Schiffer 1999). Schiffer's critique of the New Archaeology focused on questions of epistemology, especially the dynamic forces through which archaeological deposits are formed — less as direct signs of the past, and more as constantly altered assemblages of materials. Routines of maintenance manifest in the house floors at MARP-23 shaped not only its layered appearance, but also resulted in a distinctive artefact assemblage. It is the lexicon of Schiffer's formation theory that draws attention to the high rates of fragmentation of ceramic sherds recovered from this excavation unit, suggesting that larger pieces of broken vessels were removed and discarded elsewhere. Fewer sherds (6.71 grams/litre) were recovered from this space in comparison with other

excavated contexts at Maski, a further indication that the interior of the room was frequently swept and cleared.

If one aspect of formation theory's analytical moves brings into focus the always partial quality of the archaeological record, open to alteration even in the moment of excavation, the 'actualistic' studies it has spawned tend to pin down the relationship between activities and their material signatures. Fragments of ceramic vessels recovered from the floor surfaces of the house do not provide direct evidence of the activities carried out there, since routines of maintenance also involved the *clearance* of materials. The process of renewing the floor may have involved depositing discard and levelling it before laying a fresh layer of plaster, resulting in a palimpsest that is both a "context of production" and a "context of use". It isn't only because of routines of maintenance that ceramics recovered from the house cannot sketch an exhaustive image of 'household activities'; rather, drawing together the accumulation of plaster, loam, and discarded artefacts that constitute this archaeological deposit warrants a notion of household activities that necessarily exceeds the boundedness of the house.

3.2) The house at MARP-23

MARP-23 lies at the southwestern foot of Maski's Durgada Gudda outcrop, and was identified as a medieval settlement — with potential traces of older occupation — during pedestrian survey (fig 3.1). While traces of standing architecture on the surface are scanty, a dense scatter of artefacts is continuous over nearly ten hectares, rendering it among the largest settlements identified in Maski's vicinity. The lack of visible architectural alignments may owe partly to the setting of this village in an area where colluvium from the outcrop accumulates. Furthermore, farmers cultivate sorghum (*jowar*) and lentils across the peneplain, frequently turning the soil between sowings. At the same time, if we may extrapolate from the rammed

earth walls of the house excavated here, constructions in materials other than stone — in rammed earth or wattle and daub, for instance — may have been common across the settlement.

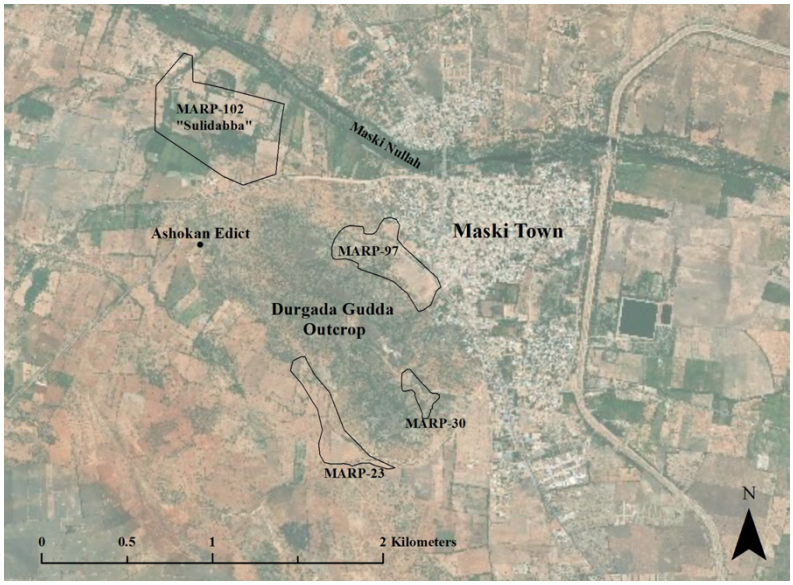


Figure 3.1 MARP-23 is located at the southwestern foot of Maski's Durgada Gudda outcrop.

These distinguish MARP-23 from the neighbouring and contemporaneously occupied MARP-30, which comprises a series of connected terraces on the southern slopes of the Durgada Gudda outcrop. At MARP-30, linear arrangements of cobbles suggest room blocks and mark paths. Walls comprising large cobbles and small boulders demarcate spaces and provide fortifications (see Chapter 5). I refer to MARP-23 as a large village, taking into account its considerable spread, the ostensible absence of features that may be identified as monumental, and its location in the vicinity of arable land. No identifiable boundary divides this settlement from MARP-30 or the surrounding plain, suggesting the village was likely unfortified even during a period of significant conflict in the region.

As recounted previously, two test units were excavated at MARP-23 during Summer 2018 (fig 3.2). This chapter focuses on Test Unit-2 (hereafter, TU-2), where excavation exposed a small portion of the interior space of a house located about a hundred metres north-east of a well (TU-1), which forms the subject of the next chapter. Comprising an area of 1 m^2, TU-2 offers a

fairly restricted window into a dwelling. The unit was excavated to a depth of approximately 1.5 metres below the present ground surface, hitting a layer of weathering regolith with few traces of previous occupation.

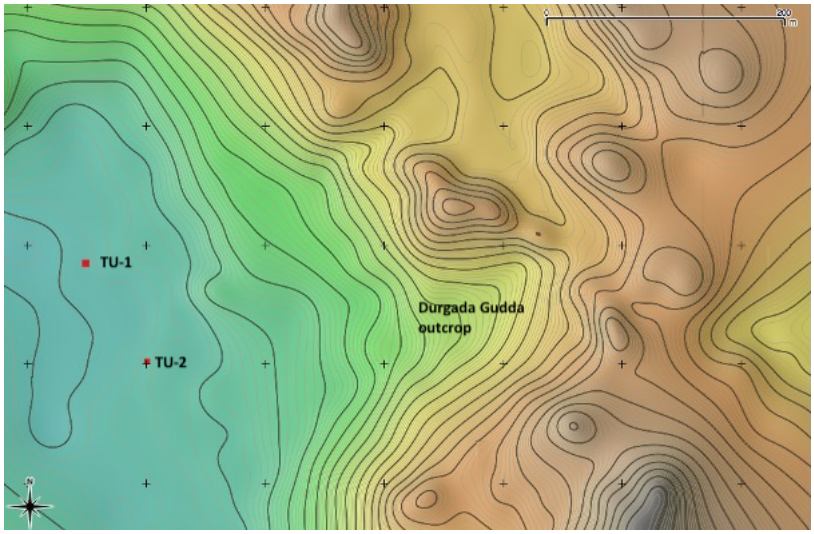


Figure 3.2 TU-2 is situated about a hundred metres southeast of the well (TU-1).

Signs of the most recent phase of occupation were visible just below a layer of topsoil. These included cobbles, fragments of daub, and several concentrations of charcoal. Forming a loosely packed and ashy fill with frequent inclusions of faunal material, this may have been a deposit of post-abandonment discard. At the base of this ashy fill, the tops of two rammed earth walls became visible along the north of the excavation unit as well as in its south-western corner; the rest of this space was lined with plaster. Further excavation revealed the two articulating rammed-earth walls enclosed a semi-circular space, filled with fine sand-silt loam with high concentrations of charcoal.

Another layer of plaster at the base of this deposit of charcoal-rich fill suggested this enclosed space was likely the interior of a room. The plaster was uneven, however, clearest in the south-eastern corner of the excavation unit. Closer to both the rammed-earth walls, an ashy and charcoal rich fill continued. In summary, the first two layers of plaster excavated in this

space comprised patchy, thin surfaces. Their inconsistency across the enclosed space may be due to taphonomic reasons — these upper surfaces would have been most exposed once the house was abandoned. Their uneven appearance could also be a result of the way in which plaster was applied, potentially in thin layers that lost definition more easily over time (fig 3.3).

Figure 3.3 The most recent surfaces comprised thin layers of plaster (d=52 cm).

Figure 3.4 Plaster blocks abutting the rammed-earth walls, and a well-preserved plaster floor characterized some of the older surfaces at the house (d=66 cm).

A third layer of plaster — visibly better preserved than the ones above — was exposed below a layer of ashy fill. At this level, plaster extended up to the rammed-earth wall, lining the base of the wall in the north of the excavation unit. The surface had a pronounced slope, highest in the areas abutting the wall and sloping down towards the south-eastern corner of the excavation unit. The gradient rendered it difficult to isolate each overlapping plaster surface from the one below it. These well-maintained surfaces, the silty and pale white material of which broke into platy fragments on excavation, likely comprised several layers of plaster with an accumulation of about ten centimetres.

Below these sloping surfaces, a further and distinctive layer of plastered surface was exposed — distinctive because of a series of plaster blocks abutting the rammed-earth walls (fig 3.4). A final layer of plastered surface, just about two centimetres thick, overlay a thin deposit of loose

mud. A platform of compact rammed-earth underlay the series of plastered surfaces and the walls that enclosed them. This rammed-earth foundation, which was set over an ancient ground surface directly above weathering regolith. Even though traces of lithic debitage and highly eroded, possibly prehistoric, ceramics were recovered from here, signs of previous occupation — whether medieval or older — are not apparent underneath this house.

The description I provide above suggests floor surfaces were renewed in three slightly different modalities during the time this house was inhabited: the oldest surfaces included a row of blocks made of plaster abutting the two rammed mud walls. The series of surfaces above this suggested plaster was consistently applied across the enclosed space and lined the northern wall. Finally, the uppermost surfaces had a pronounced gradient and were somewhat patchy — especially difficult to detect in the immediate vicinity of the rammed-earth walls. In general, plastered surfaces were composed of a silty and well-levigated pale grey material. Layers of these surfaces were interspersed with a brown sandy loam that was often only two-three centimetres thick. The most recent surfaces, in comparison, were interspersed with more substantial deposits of loose ashy fill. The rammed mud platform that served as the foundation of this house was composed of a compacted sandy loam and contained no artefacts. The two rammed mud walls comprised a compact, clay-rich loam devoid of inclusions.

3.3) Time on the surface

Although the quality of this archaeological deposit speaks to distinct events through which it was formed — for instance, the clearing of the floor, the collection and deposition of intervening fill, and the laying of a fresh surface — parsing the details of these events to provide a specific sense of the temporality of this excavation unit is tricky. The analytical slipperiness owes both to the ambiguities that characterize a palimpsest — unclear edges, erasure, and partial preservation

— and the lexical and conceptual tools archaeologists have historically used to describe stratigraphic units, a system of recording and representation that often elides ambiguity.

In this section, I discuss the complexities of the process whereby excavated contexts are translated into visual and verbal representations, with specific reference to the house at MARP-23. Tracking in detail some of the concerns that guided a shift in how to identify and record stratigraphy in the 1970s, I focus especially on the entailments of Edward Harris' frequently adapted and highly influential system of drawing up temporal relations between strata (Harris 1975, 1979). Critics have foregrounded the problematic assumption that each stratum can be associated with a single event that produced it (Schiffer 1987: 266; cf. Lucas 2001). Dwelling on the problematic correspondence between event and stratum, I raise the possibility of recognizing a range of temporalities *within* each stratum in addition to the temporal relations *between* strata.

Harris' work on stratigraphy is attuned to establishing the boundaries of strata and drawing relations between them, and developing protocols for recording this information in the field and representing it in site reports and drawings. It derives from concerns about the archaeological record that are overwhelmingly epistemological and representational. This is evident in the language Harris employed when he first began to develop "laws of archaeological stratigraphy" that would be proper to the discipline, rather than borrowed from geology (Harris 1979). Geological principles of stratification assumed a natural datum, Harris argued, and implicitly bore an acceptance of universal relevance as well as of natural selection. As historically specific accumulations, archaeological strata could not possibly be universal — archaeology needed its own modes of conceptualizing stratigraphic relations and their significance.

For a culture historical archaeology that largely assumed geological principles of stratification, artefacts — effectively the archaeological analogues of fossils — were the most

significant elements of each stratum. Though they were not necessarily considered the markers of a process of natural selection, it was artefacts that signaled the movement of culture in time across strata. Shifts in artefact assemblages made strata meaningful: by putting artefacts in sequential relation to one another, strata could be sequenced too. These sequential relations were undergird by the geological concept of superposition. Harris subverted this logic, positing not only that "archaeological stratification may exist without artefacts", but also that "it should be studied and recorded in the first instance without regard for the remains which may or may not be found in its deposits." (*Ibid*. 112).

What mattered to Harris, instead, were superpositional relationships "as they define the interfacial relationships between the features and deposits of a site" (*Idem*). In effect, Harris argued that archaeologists must pay attention to the *interfaces* between strata, rather than the *content* of the stratum — whether this be the composition of soil, or the kinds of artefacts found there. Temporal relationships between strata, therefore, would depend not on the typological principle applied to artefacts but a series of "laws" that would facilitate the identification of interfaces and the interpretation of a variety of situations archaeologists may encounter in the field: for instance, sloping deposits, thinning edges, or strata formed by the removal of material rather than its deposition (*Ibid*).

Harris proposed four such laws in his programmatic writing, which became the basis of the highly influential Harris Matrix. The first three, adapted from geology and familiar to archaeologists, were the laws of superposition, original horizontality, and original continuity. These laws explain the process of stratification — for instance, that a layer below is older than the one deposited over it (superposition), or that the traces of a thinning edge indicate the "original continuity" of a deposit whose full extent may no longer be identifiable. However, a

fourth law was required to "relate such strata to their respective positions in the stratigraphic sequence of the site" — a "law of stratigraphic succession" (*Ibid.* 114-5).

Designed specifically for archaeologists, this law took into account that most sites have "multilinear stratigraphic sequences" — that is, strata in one part of a site scarcely extend to another, and upstanding strata (e.g. walls or ditches) interrupt the horizontal accumulation of stratigraphic layers. Without a law of stratigraphic succession, archaeologists were dependent on artefact assemblages to establish relationships between strata recorded in excavation units across a site or landscape. A law of stratigraphic succession would transform this, making it possible to determine site-wide sequences of strata (fig 3.5), and use this sequence to compare artefact assemblages.

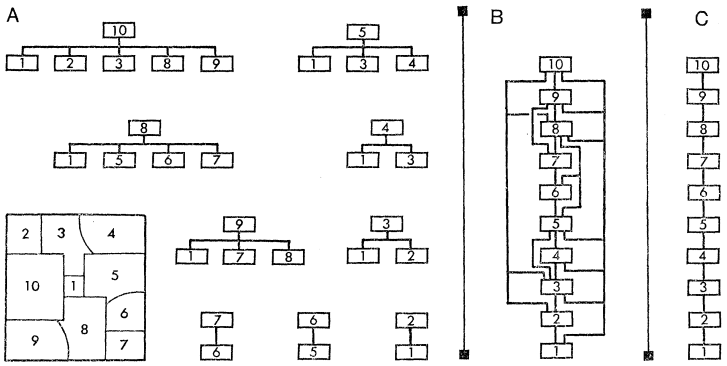


Figure 3.5 Harris (1979: 115) illustrates how superpositional relationships in plan (A & B) can be used to generate the stratigraphic sequence of a hypothetical site (C).

Even if his goal was to put forward a guide to stratigraphic sequencing that would ultimately result in a "balance…between the two complementary studies, that of the strata and that of the artefact" (*Ibid.* 117), in many ways Harris' interventions produced a greater distance between archaeological deposits and their contents — both the composition of sediment that interests geoarchaeologists, and artefacts (cf. Lucas 2001). Furthermore, recognizing that a principle of stratification was essential not only for the practice of excavation but especially for the task of

chronology-building, Harris developed an understanding of time's movement that relied not on the seriation of artefacts but the sequencing of strata.

Harris' theorization was not original (he refers to the work of several archaeologists), but it does succinctly present an otherwise implicit relationship between the accumulation of strata on the one hand, and the temporality of human activity on the other. The relative chronology of a site is deduced from its stratification. This process of deduction, which is predicated on observing the relationships between strata and rearranging them across the scale of the site "may be ordered and controlled by the corollary of 'superposition', but in practice it is also guided by the excavator's sense of time and his comprehension of how a people constructs its buildings and organizes its topographical situation" (Harris 1975: 110).

Harris refers here to the guiding notion of excavation as the operation of removing material in the reverse order in which it was deposited — performing a task that is construction-in-reverse (see Lucas 2001). He further adds that the "principles involved in this task are not stratigraphic, but derived from a study of human activities" (*Idem*). As such, deducing the relationship between strata must include the dimension of "Time which has an 'event' as its smallest element" (*Idem*). Working across plans and sections, excavators are meant to "combine the entire stratigraphic data of a site into a single, coherent diagram" — the Harris Matrix — that essentially conveys temporal relations of precedence, succession, or contemporaneity between layers (*Ibid.* 113). In this highly schematic visual representation — composed of a grid of evenly sized rectangles — "all layers are reduced to the same value as each represents *an event in time*." (*Idem*; emphasis added).

Given the emphasis Harris (*Ibid.* 119) places on temporal relationships — "the lines connecting each three-dimensional block in the diagram can be considered as threads of relative

time" — it may be fruitful to draw out what kind of temporalization the Harris Matrix participates in. The system Harris proposed has been highly influential, its basic understanding of stratigraphic succession an indispensable tool for making sense of the relationship between different elements of an excavated deposit. At Maski, too, where excavators don't otherwise render plans and section drawings into a Harris Matrix for the entire site, the tenet of stratigraphic succession remains an important element of decision-making (what to excavate first), excavation paperwork (recording forms), and field notes.

It is possible, therefore, to describe the house at MARP-23 in terms of its stratigraphic sequence (fig 3.6). The oldest stratum, which predates the walls and plastered floor surfaces, is a platform of compact rammed mud — a foundation, in other words (Stratum 12). The rammed mud walls (Stratum 5) seem to predate all the floor surfaces; however, a section of this wall was either renewed by patching it with rammed earth, or plugging a niche or alcove that may previously have been there (fig 3.7). As for the plastered floor surfaces, each successive surface postdates the one below it. Breaking down the house in these words provides an informative though abbreviated understanding of the sequence in which its elements were deposited — first a foundation, then walls, a floor renewed from time to time, a wall repaired or modified, further floor surfaces, and eventual abandonment.

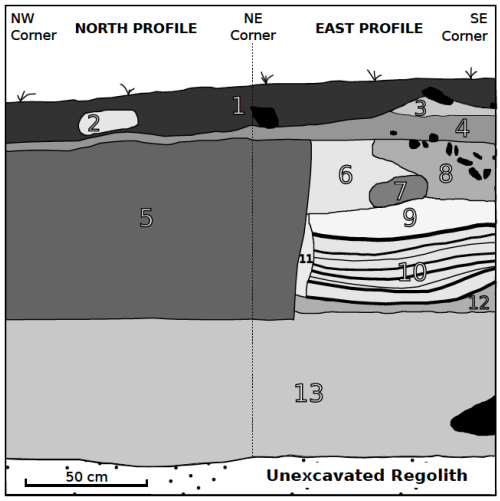


Figure 3.6 Drawing of the northern and eastern profiles of TU-2.

<u>Select Strata:</u>

Stratum 1: Topsoil.
Stratum 5: Rammed-earth wall.
Stratum 9: Plaster surfaces composed of a platy, clay-rich loam.
Stratum 10: Alternating surfaces; darker bands represent a fill of fine sand loam.
Stratum 11: Plaster surfacing on wall.
Stratum 12: Rammed mud platform of sandy loam.

An overwhelming image of sequent action/deposition provides a telescopic sense of nearly two hundred years of life in this space. As Harris has articulated, each 'layer' is viewed abstractly regardless of its composition or spatial extent. With an emphasis on sequential time, the rhythm and duration of these stratum-making events are lost. That is, questions about the frequency with which floor surfaces were renewed are effaced; both the drawing shown above and my description of the deposit suggest each discernible layer of plaster constituted a single surface rather than several frequent re-applications of plaster. If the temporal rhythm of renewing the floor surface — which itself is likely to be uneven across the period of occupation — remains ambiguous, so does a sense of the duration of this activity. As such, "the threads of relative time" that delineate temporal relations *between* strata risk obscuring the complexity of temporalities *within* a stratum.

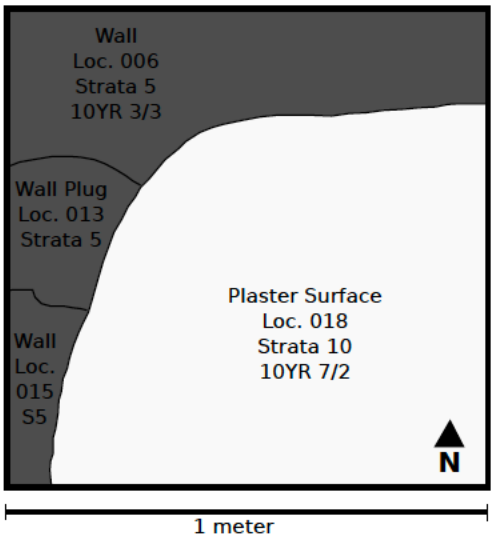


Figure 3.7 Plan view of TU-2, showing the oldest plaster surface and arched rammed-mud walls (d=90 cm).

Approaches to stratification that bring a geoarchaeological sensitivity to the composition of deposits have been key to fleshing out the multiplicity that potentially characterizes strata such as floor surfaces. Techniques for delineating a 'microstratigraphy' necessarily explore possibilities for making distinctions — between and within deposits — that go beyond what is macroscopically visible during excavations (cf. Lucas 2001: 155). At Çatalhöyük, for instance, micromorphological analyses helped shed light on the variable composition of plasters used to produce different floor surfaces, and to line walls (Matthews et al. 1997: 304); they also show how spaces lined with plaster were renewed with variable frequencies, applying layers of plaster of different thickness even in the same space (*Ibid.* 312). Some of these surfaces were extremely thin — less than a millimetre thick — and nearly impossible to identify and follow during excavation.

Even as the analysis of the composition of plasters shows that spaces used for different activities or purposes may have had different floors, they also gesture towards the temporality of preparing these materials — including selecting for a variety of 'ingredients' and making the paste. The variability in composition may have its own entailments for the work of applying plaster, just as the nature of the floor surface in conjunction with how it was used likely affected how frequently it was renewed. Moreover — as confirmed by the distinction between plaster surfaces on the floors and on the walls within houses at Çatalhöyük — activities conducted on

floors not only cause cracks, compaction, and the re-working of deposits due to trampling, they may also result in ambiguous boundaries between layers of plaster (*Ibid.* 306).

Drawing on the micromorphological work done at Çatalhöyük and its promise for discussing "life rhythms", Nicole Boivin's ethnographic research in a village in northwest India (Balathal, Rajasthan) brings considerations about the temporalities of maintaining floor surfaces to a (contemporary) South Asian context (Boivin 2000). She draws attention to the necessary step of preparing a surface for plastering, the embodied practice of applying a liquid plaster with the hands, and decorating the freshly renewed floor (*Ibid.* 367-8). House floors are renewed several times a year in Balathal; the frequency of plastering episodes varies across the year depending on the season and the occurrence of festivals, which signal auspicious occasions (*Ibid.* 371-2).

Apart from the annual cycle — centred on the seasons, a variety of Hindu festivals, and the agrarian calendar — the renewal of floor surfaces is tied to key moments in the life cycles of those who inhabit the house : birth, death, and marriage. Boivin describes a complex constellation involving different types of plaster, the space of the house (covered and uncovered areas), and the various significant moments delineated above. In summary, Boivin's informants and observations suggest three kinds of plaster are used in the house. Depending on the time of year, either the entire house or part of it may be re-plastered using the material deemed suitable for the occasion. Different parts of the house are thus renewed with varying frequency. Lastly, each plastering event may involve applying a thicker or thinner layer of plaster depending on what kind of space it is and when it was previously renewed (*Ibid.* 371-3).

These insights from micromorphology at Çatalhöyük and Boivin's work in Balathal open up possibilities for imagining a more punctuated and variable history for each of the layers of floor surfaces excavated at MARP-23. It is likely that viewing these at higher resolution would

produce a more fine-grained understanding of how frequently residents renewed their floors, and the potential unevenness of each episode of renewal. Visible cracks in the floor surfaces excavated at TU-2 also speak to the effects of trampling Matthews et al. describe as characteristic of floors. The experience of excavating these platy layers of plaster — at times difficult to follow with the trowel — resonate with the observation that floor surfaces may often be very thin and have ambiguous edges.

Taken together, these findings enable a consideration of the house floors at Maski that exceeds the vocabulary of 'phasing' standard to stratigraphic interpretation. Phasing suggests discrete and sequent deposits. Instead, distinctions between floor surfaces visible to the excavator may be understood in terms of the material used (which may have varied across the period that this space was occupied), variability in the ways in which plaster was applied (the relative thickness of layers, and whether plastering events resulted in an even layer across the room and abutting the walls), and how the materiality of these surfaces intersected with residents moving across the space and inhabiting it.

Pending a finer-grained analysis of the surfaces at Maski, it does appear that the most recent surfaces were thinly applied layers of plaster (see fig 3.3). They were especially difficult to follow, and the gradient of the floor — higher by the walls and sloping downwards towards the centre of the room — suggests these thinner floors were affected by frequent footfall. This gradient was no longer visible in older surfaces, where layers of plaster seemed more thickly applied. Plaster extended all the way to the walls, lining the base of the northern wall (Stratum 11, fig 3.6). The oldest surfaces appeared distinct, too, well preserved and characterized by two different modes of applying plaster. Blocks of plaster were prepared in advance and placed

alongside the walls on the one hand, and thick layers of plaster were applied in the remaining area (see fig 3.4).

***

In raising questions about the multiple temporalities *within* and *across* strata, I draw upon Gavin Lucas' claim that strata are often treated like objects despite the fact that "the event" is "the basic assumption of what the stratigraphic entity refers to" (Lucas 2001: 156). Lucas posits that single-context recording is predicated on an understanding that a unit represents a single action or event. While this assumption has been questioned — as part of Schiffer's attention to formation processes, which I discuss later in this chapter — the larger issue for Lucas pertains to the shorthand ways in which archaeologists refer to stratigraphic units, labelling them as 'floors', 'pits', and the like. The processual quality of an event — which has duration and potentially a spatial extension that goes well beyond the boundaries of the stratum, excavation unit, and site — is thus reduced to the object-like quality of a spatially bounded unit (*Ibid.* 157).

That a single context must ultimately refer to a single event requires a level of abstraction especially difficult to achieve when dealing with contexts that also bear artefacts. Just as a floor surface evokes the 'event' that produced it, artefacts on the floor — almost always recorded as associated with that same context — speak to a range of activities, too. Referring to a context as an object (e.g., a floor) not only tethers the assumed event in place, but also perpetuates "the deep dichotomy in the way archaeological events are conceptualized — between acts of production and acts of use" (*Idem*). In other words, events are reductively categorized as either 'production' of 'use'; their temporality is that of a moment, since duration is scarcely ascribed to these acts; and, rather than processual occurrences that distend in time and across space, they are anchored to the space of the stratigraphic unit.

The paradigm of stratification that Harris proposed — one which explicitly links strata with events — is aimed at producing a stratigraphic sequence for the site rather than the excavation unit. In a system that requires a scalar movement between plan views and section drawings from excavation units to the site as a whole (see fig 3.5), "the site itself…has a rich temporality but its elements, its stratigraphic units, comprise homogeneous 'moments'…their only temporality is their place in a sequence." (*Ibid.* 158). In sum, the assumed yet undertheorized relationship between event and stratigraphic unit on the one hand, and stratigraphic unit and a comprehensive account of the site's stratigraphy on the other, attribute a stilted boundedness in both time and space to events.

Ceramic artefacts – small fragments of vessels as well as a few nearly complete vessels discarded and deposited on the house floors, in the sandy loam fill between layers of plaster, as well as in the post-abandonment fill cleared during excavation at MARP-23 – complicate the moment-like temporality of formative events. Just as artefacts speak to activities that likely had variable durations, they also evoke processes of crafting and networks of circulation that exceed the spatial confines of TU-2. In the following section, I present an account of the assemblage of ceramics excavated from this space to flesh out a sense of duration and continuity that interrupts the narrative of succession given by overlapping floor surfaces.

3.4) Forms of continuity

In recounting the details of the ceramic assemblage excavated from the house, I distinguish between materials recovered from post-abandonment deposits — an artefact-rich layer of topsoil and the soft ashy deposit under it — materials found from surfaces, and those recovered from the fill between layers of plaster whenever this was identified and excavated as a distinct deposit. In my descriptions, I focus both on diagnostic rim sherds and on attributes recorded on body sherds,

which form the vast majority of ceramic data. My descriptions are oriented towards identifying continuities between ceramic forms throughout the deposit, attentive to the context (floor, fill, post-abandonment deposit) from which they were recovered. Broadly speaking, my account provides a sense (admittedly sketchy) of some of the vessels that were used and deposited in a domestic space. My findings suggest the assemblage did not shift significantly over the late-12th to mid-14th centuries.

I draw on Carla Sinopoli's typology of ceramics at Vijayanagara (Sinopoli 1986, 1992), comparing forms across these two sites when possible. I also make use of the vocabulary of bowls and jars as a point of reference to distinguish between vessels that are have a narrow neck and wider rim and shoulder (jars), and those that do not (bowls). Vessels are likely on a continuum between these two categories, especially in the case of 'restricted' vessels that are shallow and have a generous rim diameter — rendering the contents of the vessel easily accessible as in an 'open' vessel. In addition to the distinction between restricted (jar) and unrestricted (bowl) vessels, Sinopoli brought together a series of considerations about the shape of the vessel – especially the angle of the rim, the height of the neck, the orientation of the body of the vessel below the neck, and the relationship between the diameter of the rim and the neck (that is, how restricted or open the vessel was) — to develop an understanding of potential vessel function (Sinopoli 1986: 165). This is not quite possible for the assemblage described below, given the small size of the fragments recovered. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the variability in rim morphology Sinopoli underscored at Vijayanagara is represented in this significantly smaller assemblage as well.

I make use of Sinopoli's three broad categories of rims — rounded, flange, and straight — to describe the rims from Maski. These terms refer to the shape of the exterior of the rim, whether

the lip is rounded at the lip, flattened (straight), or includes a groove on the exterior (a flange) that may have rendered the vessel easier to hold and carry (fig 3.8). These three broad rim categories — variations of which are seen across the assemblage, on bowls and jars, vessels of different sizes and shapes — appear to present a realm of possibilities on which potters could build. In other words, even as the shape of the vessel's rim has functional qualities — ease of pouring, a ledge or flange for holding and carrying — continuous variation in the precise style suggests potters accentuated their wares, enabling their clients as well to own pots that could be distinguished from others similar to them. While a few forms recovered from the house floors were identical to one another, the majority of rims share a repeating resemblance. That is, the same kinds of forms — wide platters, jars of a range of sizes, lamps — were found across the deposit, and vary slightly in their appearance.

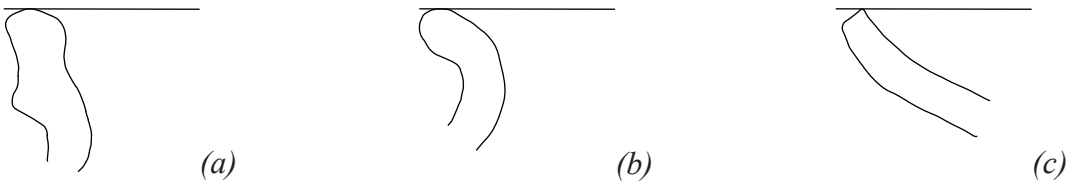


Figure 3.8 Rounded (a), straight (b), and flange (c) rim forms.

My descriptions of body sherds take into account surface colour and surface treatment; I understand the colour of the vessel and the differences between surfaces that were slipped, polished or burnished, to be significant for marking the appearance of vessels for those who made and used them. I also note the relative thickness of the walls of vessels, and signs of the production process such as joins or impressions of organic materials (grass or chaff). Although potters did make use of the wheel, the frequent occurrence of very thin-walled vessels and impressions of a flat object against the interior suggest they were finished using a paddle and anvil. Forms like shallow bowls with pronounced carination were likely prepared with the

assistance of a mould — their thin and rounded bases suggest that the broken bases of other round-bottomed vessels may have been used as moulds.

Notwithstanding the variability in rim morphology and techniques for shaping vessels, the range of surface colours and treatments is fairly limited (fig 3.9). The vast majority of sherds recovered from this excavation unit were grey (34%) and a sizeable proportion were black (17%). The predominance of grey and black vessels remains constant across the deposit, suggesting that expectations for vessels used within the house may not have shifted significantly during this time (fig 3.10). In itself, the range of variability in rim forms and the limited repertoire of surface colours and treatments witnessed here resonate with Sinopoli's findings at Vijayanagara and confirm longstanding impressions of medieval ceramic assemblages from South India. Ceramic finds from other kinds of spaces, however — such as the well also located in MARP-23 (Chapter 4) — demonstrate that the contours of variability are shifting and place-based.

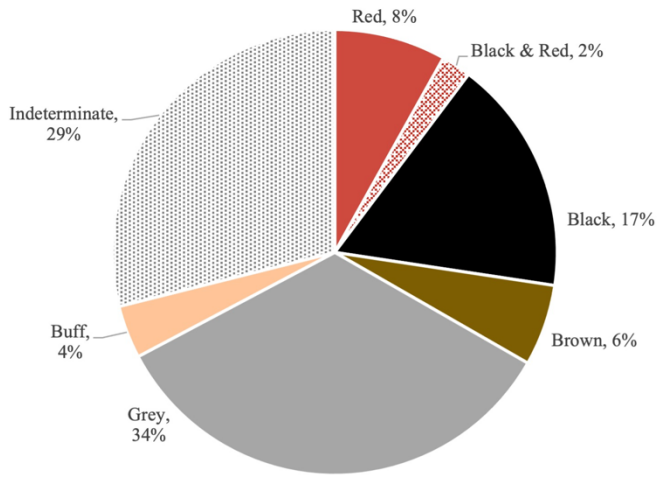


Figure 3.9 Surface colours of ceramics recovered from floor surfaces from floor surfaces in TU-2 (n=996)

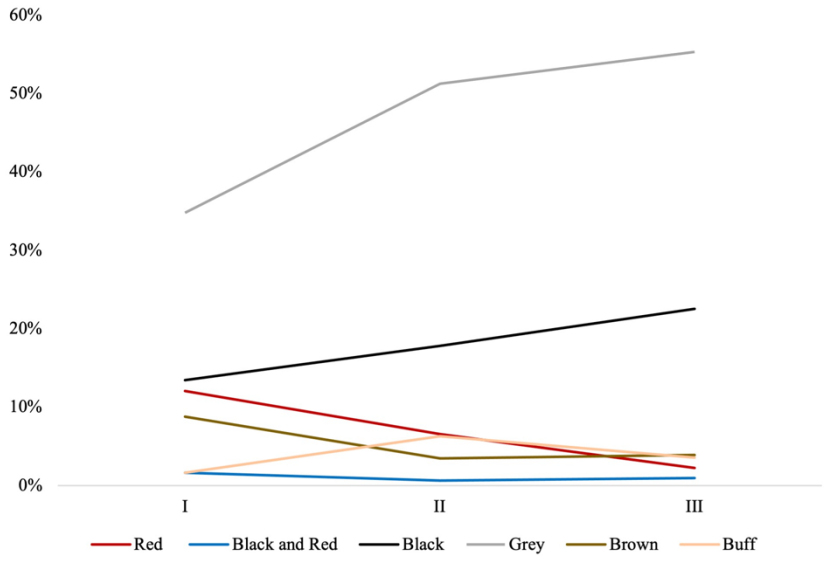


Figure 3.10 Black and grey ceramics remained the most common across the deposit, though their densities did reduce in the most recent set of surfaces (I).

***

Topsoil and post-abandonment fill: While it is difficult to put a finger on the temporal range of materials recovered from the artefact-rich topsoil at MARP-23 — a context that remains "open" till date (cf. Lucas 2001: 161) — several forms identified in this layer occurred across the deposit. Among these are a distinctive form (fig 3.11 a-b): a shallow bowl — or small plate with raised rim. Their size — a rim diameter of 14-15 centimetres — suggest they could have been a vessel for serving food, or lids for jars. Several examples of another kind of shallow bowl form (fig 3.12 a-d) — much wider, with a rim diameter of about 20 centimetres — were also recovered from here. Each of these, similar in shape and size though variable in rim morphology and surface colours and treatments, could have been platters for serving food or kneading dough, lids for wide-mouthed vessels, or griddles for cooking flatbreads. Their rims, equipped with a flange or ledge, give a sense of portability. Mostly in greys or slipped black, one of these was a highly polished black bowl (fig 3.12b).

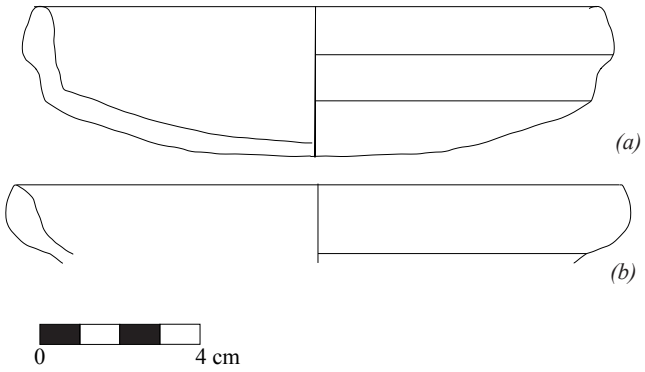


Figure 3.11 Shallow bowl/plate forms at the house

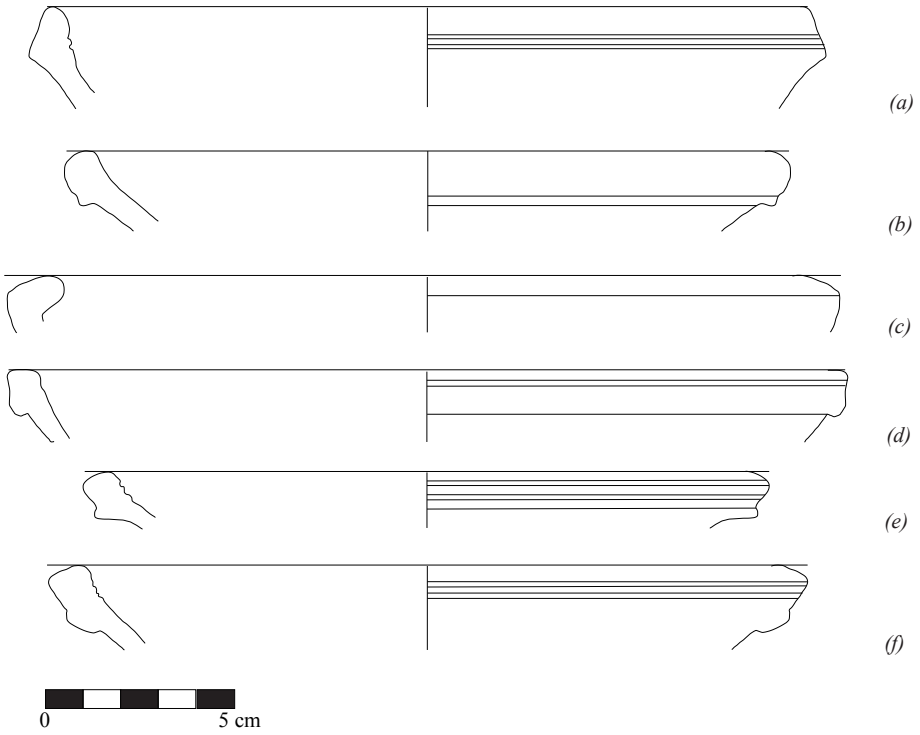


Figure 3.12 Shallow, wide-mouthed bowl forms may have served as platters, vessels for kneading dough, or griddles for making flatbreads.

In comparison with bowl forms, jars occur far more frequently. Based on the morphology of their rims — especially the variable length of the neck and the size of the mouth — it is apparent that the category 'jar' or 'restricted vessel' should be conceptualized somewhat loosely. Broadly speaking, the diameters of their rims cluster around three sizes — about 12-14 centimetres (fig

3.13), slightly larger jars with an opening of about 15-17 centimetres (fig 3.14), and wide-mouthed jars with a diameter of about 23-24 centimetres (fig 3.15). Their rim shapes are variable, too: several of the small vessels have rounded rims without a pronounced ledge (fig 3.13 a & c); other vessels have rims that were thickened at the top, creating a space to hold the jar (fig 3.14 a, c-d); others still have a pronounced ledge or flange that would have facilitated handling (fig 3.15 b). Whereas bowls were either grey or black forms, several jars were grey (n=5), but they were equally likely to be slipped red (n=3) and burnished (n=1) or lightly polished (n=1); some were slipped black and burnished (n=2).

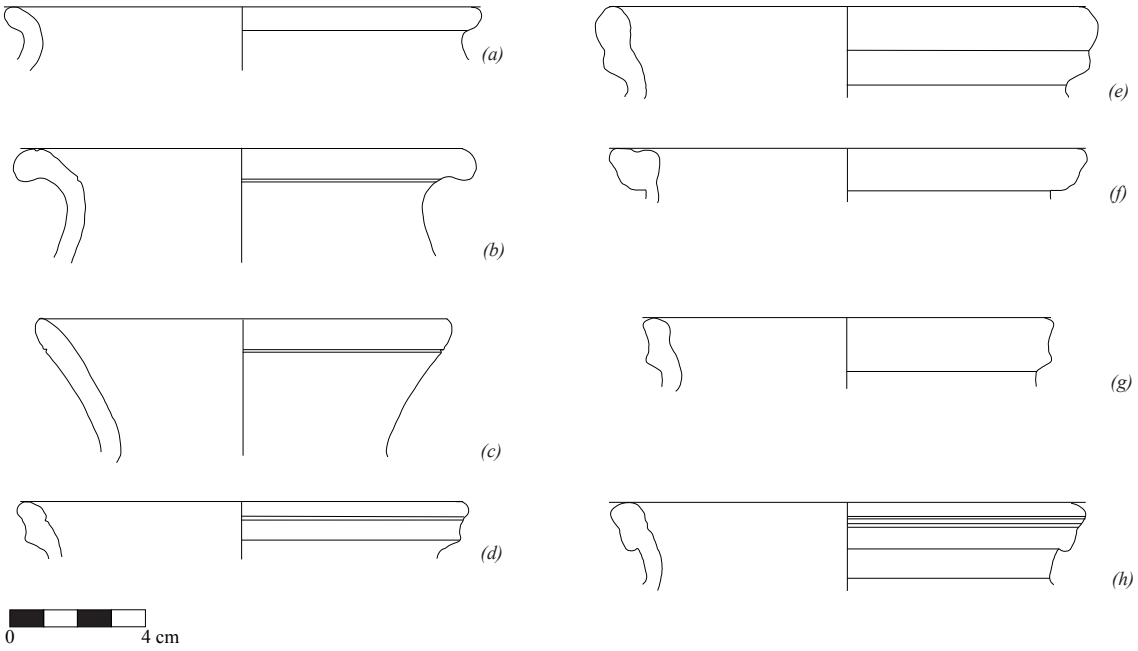


Figure 3.13 Small jars with a rim diameter of 12-14 centimetres.

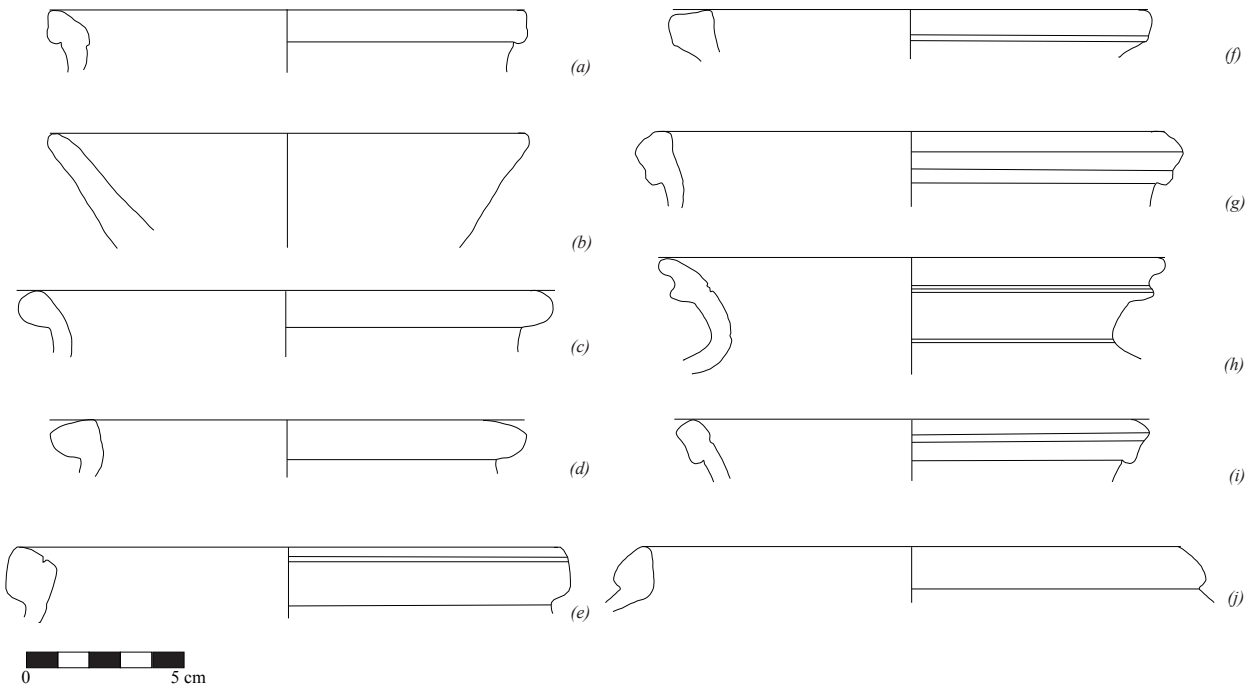


Figure 3.14 Jars with a rim diameter of 15-17 centimetres.

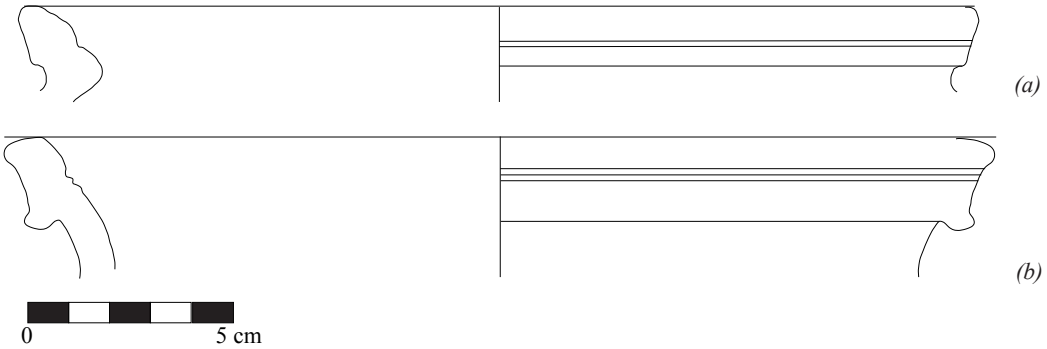


Figure 3.15 Jars with a rim diameter of 22-24 centimetres

Surfaces and fill: Despite the complexity of "multiple surfaces" (cf. Matthews et al. 1997), I rely on a somewhat reductive breakdown of this deposit in order to describe the ceramics recovered from it. Plaster surfaces were removed in seven passes. The most recent surface excavated (Surface I), composed of eroded plaster that was difficult to excavate as an integral layer, was removed along with its underlying fill of sandy-silty charcoal-rich loam. The rims of three jars and a small, shallow bowl were recovered from here. While two of these jars had thickened rims squared off at the top (fig 3.15 e-f), a third jar — slipped red — displays a rounded rim with a

pronounced flange and longer neck (fig 3.14 g). Though no signs of soot or burning were identified on the shallow bowl form, its morphology and size (fig 3.16 a) suggests it may have been a lamp.

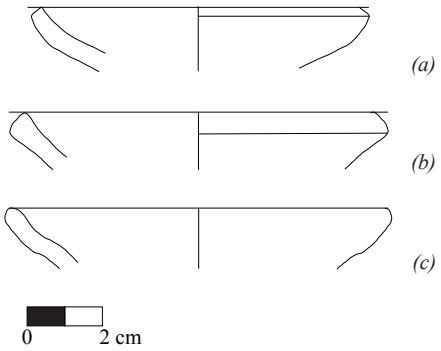


Figure 3.16 Lamps were used to illuminate this space. One of these (c) was recovered from the niche or alcove identified in the rammed mud wall.

A grey jar rim with a burnished exterior, recovered from the surface below (Surface II) resembles the two jars with thickened and squared off rims described above (fig 3.13 f). It is possible that these jars — akin to one another in form and dimensions — could be stacked one on top of the other and used for storage. A smaller container — a grey jar with burnished surfaces, a minimal flange, and decorated with an incised band — was also recovered from here and resembles burnished jars of a relatively small size found across the deposit (fig 3.13 g). Though they do not appear unwieldy, they lack the ledges and pronounced protrusions seen on other vessels that could have served as handles. The rim of a wide-mouthed shallow bowl or platter recovered from this surface — bevelled on the interior of the rim and with a flange on the exterior, is akin to forms I have noted above as likely platters for serving food or kneading dough (fig 3.12 e).

Figure 3.17 A shallow bowl was embedded in the fill.

The fill between this surface and the one below it comprised an ashy deposit with higher densities of charcoal and larger ceramic fragments. It may be that refuse accumulating elsewhere, possibly in the immediate vicinity of the house, was collected and deposited before a fresh surface was prepared. The entirety of a small shallow bowl or plate was identified here (fig 3.17), identical to one recorded in topsoil (fig 3.11a). A substantial proportion of the rim of a very small vessel — only 8 centimetres wide at its rim — adorned throughout with parallel incised lines was also recovered from here (fig 3.18). This small container may have been a cup from which to drink. In addition, a grey jar with a narrow neck and wide rim, bevelled on the interior where a lid would have sat well, is potentially a shape suited for storing or transporting liquids (fig 3.14 h).

At the base of this fill, another plastered surface (Surface III) was exposed, distinct because plaster extended all the way to the rammed earth wall and lined its base. A number of large vessel fragments were stowed and apparently sealed by the plaster (fig 3.19): the major part of a globular jar whose morphology — a relatively small rim diameter, high neck and acute body angle (cf. Sinopoli 1986: 170) — suggests it was a jar for carrying and storing water.

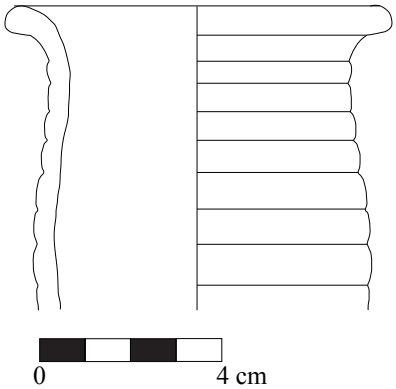


Figure 3.18 A drinking cup.

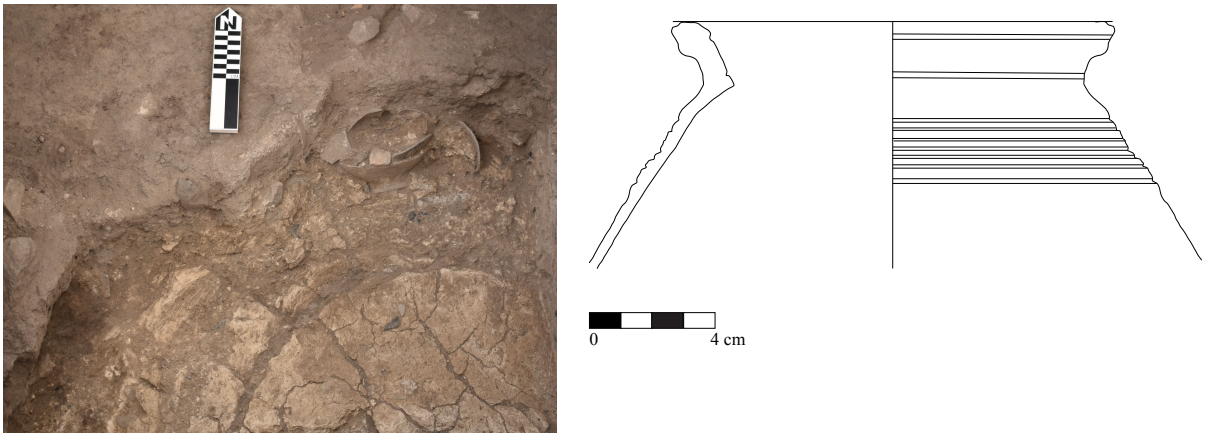


Figure 3.19 Several large fragments of a globular jar were sealed with plaster and deposited by the wall.

Fragments of a lamp were recovered from this surface, as well as from the wall plug identified in the corner of this room (fig 3.16 b-c). This wall plug would have sealed off a previous niche or alcove; the ceramic evidence helps imagine it as a place where a lamp was once placed to illuminate this indoor space. Among the ceramics recovered from further excavation below this — which I refer to here as the next surface (Surface IV) — was a familiar form, the shallow platter bevelled on the interior of the rim and bearing a flange on the exterior (fig 3.12 f). The surface below was distinct for the plaster bricks abutting the rammed earth walls. Among the jar rims recovered from here, which include two nearly identical forms (figs 3.13 h & 3.14 i),[2] was a form that was likely both wide and shallow — a good candidate for a storage jar whose contents would have been easy to access by hand or with a scoop (fig 3.14 j).

Attribute analysis on body sherds: As mentioned above, the limited range of surface colours and treatments recorded on ceramics from this excavation unit does not vary significantly over time. Viewed in conjunction with the repetition of forms across the deposit, this continuity suggests a fairly circumscribed set of containers were used in this space; potters elaborated variability by proliferating the shapes and accents on rim forms rather than surface colour or treatment. The

[2] This same form was also identified in the oldest surface (Surface VI).

majority of sherds found (71.8%) were from thin-walled vessels, less than half a millimetre thick. The predominance of thin-walled vessels further suggests that potters used paddle-and-anvil to shape their wares, or pressed clay into moulds for preparing some vessels. Thin-walled vessels may also have served as containers for cooking, since they conduct heat well and are less likely to break from thermal stress; marks of burning or traces of soot were noted on a number of sherds.

3.5) Making space for 'activities'

Even as artefacts bear the promise of extending the imagination of activities beyond the excavation unit, studies that most cogently intersect the formation of archaeological deposits with artefacts tend to tether artefacts to the spaces from which they are excavated. I refer here to Schiffer's "formation theory" (Schiffer 1987). A further elaboration of principles that he developed in his 1970s critiques of the New Archaeology (Schiffer 1976), formation theory foregrounds the complex processes of (trans)formation that constitute the archaeological record. An intervention that problematizes any sense of the archaeological record as a fossil or as direct evidence of 'the past', Schiffer contended that a number of cultural (loss, discard, reuse) and natural (decay) factors "mediate between past behaviours of interest and their surviving traces." (Schiffer 1987: 7). Any research program that takes these transformations seriously must investigate their intricacies, "assessing and correcting for their many effects" (*Idem*).

On the one hand, Schiffer presents the archaeological record as dynamic and open, still in formation when excavated and documented by the researcher. Yet, the heuristic value of formation processes as he presents them rely on identifying discreet factors that altered an artefact or context, in order to build back to an 'original' state. On the one hand, Schiffer's emphasis on the dynamism of archaeological contexts problematizes the association between

event and stratigraphic unit discussed earlier. Specifically, he (Schiffer 1987: 266) presents scenarios whereby "a single depositional process can give rise to materials in different deposits" and, conversely, "a single deposit can contain the products of many different depositional processes." Yet, Schiffer's behavioural archaeology ultimately took on a direction that emphasized the formation of artefact assemblages rather than deposits.

I understand this emphasis to arise from a particular conception of the heuristic value of artefact assemblages as opposed to deposits. Whereas the spatial arrangements of artefacts were seen as resulting from dynamics of use, reuse and discard that could be modelled — both ethnographically and in some exceptional archaeological situations — the *longue durée* in which deposits are formed are more challenging to observe. In a way, Schiffer's attention to the formation of assemblages rather than deposits is an epistemological claim about the kinds of human activity, and the scale of this activity, that archaeologists can hope to study (cf. Lucas 2012: 103). It is especially noteworthy that attention to the micro-scale to which artefacts provide access was first illustrated in relation to household assemblages (Schiffer 1985): as deposits, the formation of house floors has been closely linked to human activities (e.g., Matthews et al. 1997).

It may be that the dichotomy between 'natural' and 'cultural' transformations guiding some of Schiffer's early interventions led him to elide how archaeological deposits, too, bear complex traces of human activities at a variety of temporal scales. At the same time, formation theory operates with an idea of artefact assemblages as deeply rooted in the deposit. The location of artefacts in a deposit makes them cohere as an assemblage, and the association between assemblages and spaces is among the most salient contributions of studies inspired by formation theory. In concluding this chapter, I orient my analyses towards problematizing the imagination

of ‘activities’, especially their spatial and temporal contours, that emerge from and exacerbate the interpretive “parallax” (cf. Lucas 2012: 101) between archaeological deposits and the artefacts associated with them.

The house excavated at MARP-23 — comprising a series of plastered floor surfaces enclosed within rammed earth walls — was inhabited nearly two centuries and did not overlie definite traces of past occupation. This was no “durable” or “continuous” house — a domestic space that demonstrates the symbolic cultivation of an attachment to place over time-scales stretching across several generations. Yet, its repeatedly renewed floors produce a layered deposit, each plaster floor surface building on the one below. Even though these layers would be accurately described as being in sequence — defined by the stratigraphic relationship of superposition — I draw upon scholarship that takes seriously the *content* of the stratum to articulate a sense of temporality within these layers. Each instance of a surface noted during excavation likely comprises several applications of plaster, which may be associated with particular calendrical cycles or significant events.

Figure 3.20 Layers of plaster interspersed with fill (d=90 cm).

Additionally, the difference between layers of plaster — some thin, cracked, and sloping, others that were thickly applied and stretched to line the base of the wall — suggest variation in the preparation of plaster and its application. Excavations show layers of plaster were interspersed with a deposit of fill — a thick, ashy and artefact-rich deposit in some cases, and in others a fairly thin deposit of sand loam. Both the presence of fill and the relatively low density (ca. 6 grams/litre) of ceramics

across the excavated space indicate the interplay of *deposition* and *removal* that contributed to the accumulation of plaster floor surfaces. In other words, even though an overarching sense of sequence and superpositioning come through from the layered accumulation of floor surfaces over time (fig 3.20), the multitude of acts that produce this deposit (including erasure) can be gestured towards and in some cases recovered, but may not be possible to account for in their entirety — rendering it a true palimpsest.

This understanding of the heuristic potentials of a palimpsest is at odds with the efforts of a behavioural archaeology that tracks the correspondence between activities and their traces and, recognizing these signatures, ties activities to areas (Lucas 2012). In some ways, signatures such as high rates of fragmentation and low ceramic densities contribute meaningfully to an understanding of this deposit as a well-maintained and well-worn space. However, in the absence of a more expansive sense of what kind of 'area' this was, I have argued that the ceramic fragments recovered from it point towards a world of activities that exceed the bounded space of the house.

Some vessel forms repeat across the deposit. The re-occurrence of certain types of vessels — for instance lamps, or wide platters — displaying an almost continuous variation in rim forms, punctuates the temporality of succession with a sense of continuity. This continuity cannot be ascribed to the activities conducted in this area alone, however. It speaks as well to the ways in which potters prepared a variety of vessels for the home. Vessels recovered from the house would also have served as containers for carrying some goods out of the home and bringing others in. Large fragments of a jar whose form appears expedient for carrying liquids, deposited under a plastered surface by the wall (fig 3.19), evokes the well located near the house (see Chapter 4). That is to say, the artefacts do not necessarily sketch a detailed image or snapshot of

a part of the palimpsest; instead, they evoke interconnected events that extend in space and across time. In some ways, thus, the highly restricted window this small excavation unit allows pushes the analysis of quotidian domestic life beyond the mud walls of the house.

4. Digging for Distinction: Crafting variability at the well

One day when Kothalobā was thirsty, he drank some water from Umāïsē's cup without asking her permission. And Umāïsē got angry. "You are a Śūdra." [She said.] "Why did you drink from my cup?"[1]

4.1) Everyday encounters

Wells appear frequently in epigraphy from medieval South India. Commissioning them was a way to accrue religious merit, and those who patronized their construction often accounted for the periodical maintenance these durable features required. The MARP team recorded several wells in the fields around Maski during pedestrian survey (fig 4.1). Their original moment of construction is notoriously difficult to identify in the absence of an associated inscription. However, the visible layering of repairs and modifications — which include the more recent installation of pumps, the presence of a range of older apparatuses for drawing water, and the use of a variety of mortars to keep the structure intact — evince a long history of use stretching into the present.

Figure 4.1 A medieval step-well recorded during pedestrian survey (Bauer 2018).

This chapter focuses attention on the well excavated at MARP-23 with two parallel concerns in mind: its particularity as an element of infrastructure within a settlement, and the

[1] Feldhaus & Tulpule 1992: 131.

symbolic valences of purity that water, as a substance, has accumulated historically. I bring these concerns together in an analysis of ceramic fragments recovered from the vicinity of the well. Features that hold water and control its flow, such as wells and reservoirs, canals and check-dams, have been crucial for supporting agriculture, animal rearing, and settlement in the semi-arid southern Deccan. Since at least the first millennium BC, infrastructures for water were socially significant places marked both by the ways in which they gather people (and animals), and by a persistent though historically shifting politics of exclusion.

I begin this chapter by contextualizing the well at MARP-23, drawing on a legacy of research on water and the various infrastructures that facilitate its storage and circulation in the semi-arid regions of South India (Bauer 2011; Bauer & Kosiba 2016; Morrison 2012, 2015; Mosse 2003). These interventions underscore the relationship between hydraulic infrastructure and political power, the ways in which a diverse range of water features — some large projects involving patronage and significant investment of labour, others improvised yet enduring — define the landscape, and the complexity of ownership and access in the past and present. Archaeological research has focused especially on features that supported irrigation and were located *outside* settlements, among agricultural fields (Morrison 2009). Notwithstanding the apparent differences between an infrastructure for irrigating fields and the well in question — more likely used to draw water for household consumption than to support the cultivation of crops[2] — I take up the contention that hydraulic infrastructures are potent places because they materially instantiate an intersection between ritual and everyday productive activities (Bauer 2011; Morrison 2012).

[2] Though it is possible that gardens used to grow herbs or vegetables within the settlement were watered by painstakingly drawing water from the well (Morrison 2015: 13).

These observations resonate with a broader anthropological turn to the materiality of infrastructures and the forces that animate them (Anand 2011; Larkin 2015). If excavations at the well provide a sense of a visible and enduring location, they also evoke the multitude of encounters and interactions that would have occurred in a place where people routinely gather, or a landmark they frequently convene at or pass by. Infrastructures have a "peculiar ontology": they are "things and also the relation between things" (Larkin 2013: 329). The vocabulary of networks and translation across actors (Callon 1986; Latour 2005), assemblages and circulation (Bennett 2010) have been key to grappling with the place infrastructures occupy and the connections they facilitate and inhibit. I draw upon this lexicon to flesh out what kind of locus the well might have been and the relations such a space may engender not only between things, but also among people.

I argue that these relations are fruitfully conceptualized by taking seriously the well's location within a settlement. In some ways, the identification of a shared space animates our imagination of MARP-23 as a settlement where quotidian routines unfolded both within homes and outside them. A sizeable but unwalled settlement located close to arable land, I have referred to MARP-23 as a large village. In this chapter, I delineate what that might mean in terms of the spatiality of settlement and relations between its inhabitants, drawing on anthropological work that revisits and critiques an entrenched understanding of Indian villages as repositories of traditional lifeways and reified hierarchies (Daniel 1984; Mines 2005; Mines & Yazgi 2010). Attention towards how space is structured – how people move through it and encounter one another – have been significant for arriving at a more nuanced understanding of identities, exchange, and interactions in rural settings. As such, the village well emerges as a germane locus for inscribing and re-working hierarchies. On the one hand, it is a space where

several people from different social groups could gather. Yet, during the 12th-14th century when the well at MARP-23 was in use — just as now — the act of drawing water from a well and being in its vicinity bears symbolic weight far in excess of its technical function as a source of water, complicating its apparent nature as a "public" place.

Part of this symbolic weight is borne by containers used to draw, carry, and consume water. Fragments of ceramic vessels were abundant in the well itself and in its vicinity. It appears the well became a receptacle for rubbish on falling out of use (by the early 15th century at the latest) and may have been filled in relatively quickly. Surfaces of compact mud and cobbles, littered with potsherds, were produced by regular footfall in the well's surroundings. Conventions of maintaining a shared outdoor space were evidently not as rigorous than those witnessed at the house floors. Pieces of vessels that broke here were likely abandoned rather than swept up, creating an accumulation of discarded materials both recent and old that – I posit – offered an "available past".

I close this chapter with a detailed analysis of ceramics from these informal surfaces. Far greater in volume than those recovered from the floors of the house, this assemblage was also significantly more variable in morphology, surface colours, and surface treatments. The diversity of forms, which exceeds jars and pitchers for carrying water expected for this setting, suggests a range of activities occurred in the well's surroundings. That vessels were visibly distinct from one another adds a concrete dimension to Umaïsē's horror at the lower-caste Kothalobā drinking from her water cup. It points to the significance of variability in a society for which touch can be polluting.

4.2) Digging a well at MARP-23

The first test-unit (TU-1) excavated at MARP-23 revealed a stone-lined ring well, dug through bedrock, comprising multiple courses of dressed stones arranged in a circle. Nearly three metres below the current ground surface, the MARP team had still to reach the bottom of this well. Its depth and construction suggest considerable effort was expended in its production. TU-1 was initially excavated as a 1 m^2 test unit exposing patchy traces of compacted mud surfaces and an area with friable granitic mortar potentially used as a material for surfacing. Cobbles that appeared to have collapsed suggested this space may be located close to a built feature from which stones had tumbled. On expanding the excavation unit towards the north and east — bringing the extent of space excavated to 2 m^2 — the arc of a stone-lined ring well with multiple coursings was revealed (figs. 4.2 & 4.3). Roughly a fourth of its circumference lay in the corner of the extended excavation unit. The friable granitic mortar identified earlier abutted the edge of the well's masonry; cobbles were set within this crumbly matrix to produce a platform at the edge of the well. Beyond this platform, patchy surfaces of compacted mud littered with fragments of broken ceramic vessels were evident across the remainder of the excavated space. The structure of the well had an apparent gap in it where an apparatus to draw water may previously have stood.

Figure 4.2 The well excavated at MARP-23 with adjoining platform and associated cobble-and-mud surfaces

Wells identified outside of settlements during pedestrian survey frequently have rectangular stone slabs with a hole through which a rope (with a container tied to one end) can be strung. Draft animals may have been used to draw water from these wells to irrigate fields. They are also frequently equipped with steps to descend into the well and fill a container. The deliberately constructed cobble platform in this case, and the well's location within a settlement, suggest that people stood at the well and collected water for their everyday household consumption. Those doing so would have brought their own ceramic jars in which to carry water. It is possible, however, that a metal vessel was permanently installed for drawing water from the well.

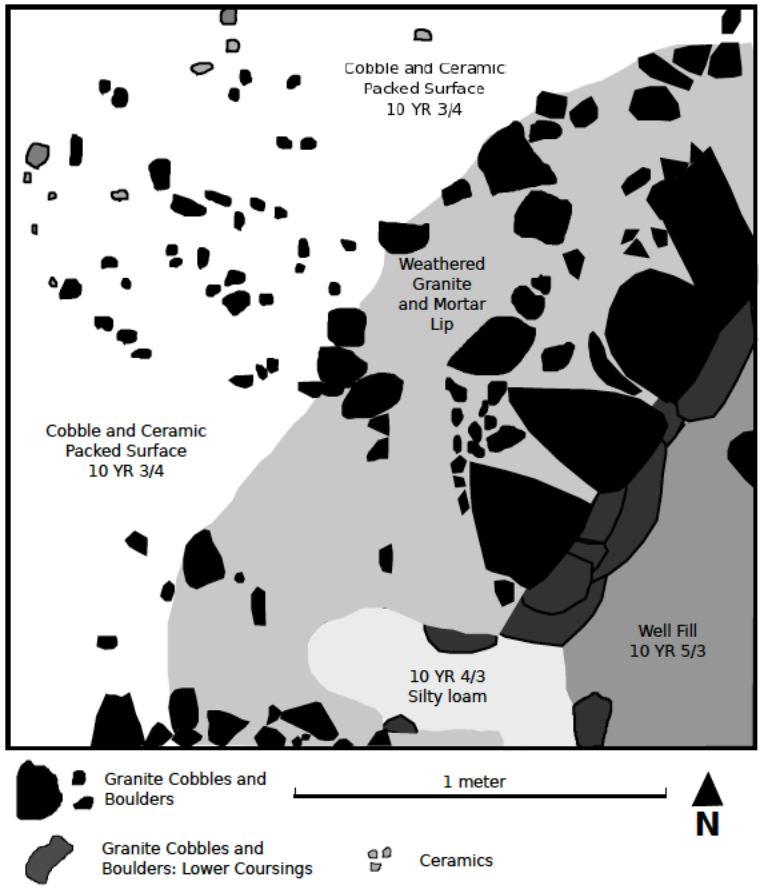


Figure 4.3 A plan view of the well excavated at MARP-23 shows the gap in the well's masonry, the granitic mortar in which cobbles for the platform were set, and casual surfaces packed with cobbles and discarded ceramic fragments (d=189 cm)

Extending beyond the cobble platform adjacent to the well, the casual surfaces in its vicinity were quite unlike those seen at the house located about a hundred meters away. Whereas surfaces at the house were produced through the laborious and frequently repeated work of applying plaster, surfaces by the well were produced by the compaction of mud that occurs in a well-trodden space. If the vast majority (>80%) of ceramic artefacts recovered from the house were highly fragmented (measuring <2 cm on a side) and their overall paucity (6.71 grams/litre) indicates that residents frequently cleared their living space of rubbish, a similar concern for cleanliness did not extend to a shared space such as the well. The density of artefacts recovered from this space were somewhat higher than at the house (ca. 9-10 grams/litre). Several of these fragments were small (ca. 30% of fragments measured a centimeter on a side) — and their fragmentation speaks to patterns of heavy footfall. The volume of sherds and the presence of larger pieces suggest vessels broke often here, and debris was not meticulously removed.

Radiocarbon assays from these surfaces indicate the well was used for under two centuries, a relatively short period given the notably long use-lives of hydraulic infrastructures in the region. Like the house nearby, it was used from the late-12th century and likely abandoned by the end of the 14th century. The loose, artefact-laden fill in the well post-dates the period during which it was actively in use. In archaeological scholarship, durable infrastructures — constituting visible, periodically modified, ineluctable installations in the landscape — present sites where people routinely encountered monuments from the past. This is not ostensibly the case here. However, charcoal collected from one of the oldest surfaces in the vicinity of the well yielded a date from the early Iron Age (mid-2nd millennium BCE). Even if the well was not a feature used for several centuries, practices of maintenance and the accumulation of

discard in this space made it possible for people to frequently encounter materials from pasts both recent and distant.

It is likely that the well excavated in TU-1 was one among several sources of water used by residents of this settlement. Pedestrian survey and the epigraphical record suggest that a multiplicity of hydraulic infrastructures sustained settlements, agrarian life, pastoral activity, and ritual: tanks and wells in temple compounds, reservoirs and step-wells in fields, and rock pools atop granitic outcrops where animals graze. Features associated with agrarian production and animal rearing have been the subject of extensive research in northern Karnataka, especially concerned with the ways in which "geographies of difference" (Bauer 2018) are shaped by variable opportunities to access resources (Bauer 2011, 2018; Johansen & Bauer 2018; Morrison 1996, 2009, 2015). Water carries particular salience in this region, where rainfall is far from plentiful but the most prestigious agricultural products — principally rice, but also coconuts and bananas — require irrigation.

If this tension lies at the crux of most discussions of hydraulic infrastructures, it is immediately apparent that the complexities of managing water in the region intersect ecology with politics and symbolically charged yet quotidian dietary practices and preferences. Even though wells within settlements figure little in the political ecology of landscape modifications, I draw upon this extensive literature to build towards an understanding of the contours of inequality that have historically congealed around access to water. In the brief history of efforts to store water and manage its flow outlined below, I foreground two themes: the ways in which these features structure space and assemble people, and the dense accumulation of symbolic associations that a shared facility for water materially instantiates or evokes.

It is likely that a concern with managing water is already manifest in settlement patterns during the region's Neolithic period (2000-1200 BC). Several Neolithic settlements in the semi-arid reaches of northern Karnataka and adjacent parts of Andhra Pradesh have been identified around the bases of granitic outcrops down which rainwater would have flowed (Morrison 2009). The cultivation of rain-fed crops (millets and pulses) may have been aided by capturing seasonal run-off. The use and, in some cases, modification and maintenance of a series of dispersed features in which surface run off collected, such as weathering grooves and rock pools on hilltops, emphasize that the management of water facilitated pastoralism and extensive land-use practices in addition to agriculture (Gaggioli et al. 2021: 786). It is only during the subsequent Iron Age (ca. 1200-300 BC), characterized by the emergence of larger settlements, monumental commemorative structures (megaliths), and an expanded repertoire of crops (including paddy rice), that the region's inhabitants began building larger-scale infrastructures to store water in addition to capturing run-off, strategically using floodplains, and modifying rock-pools to augment their capacity (Bauer 2015; Bauer & Morrison 2008; Gaggioli et al 2021).

These strategies and their entailments have been extensively documented in northern Karnataka, at the Iron Age settlement of Kadebakele and nearby megalith complex of Hire Benakal. At the hilltop settlement of Kadebakele, residents likely relied on the nearby river for water through the year and used the river's flood-plain to cultivate paddy rice. However, the proliferation of a number of features for storing water, augmented with earthen or masonry-reinforced walls — echoing the forms of modified rock-pools — within settlements, near pasture, and in association with megaliths, suggest these were used for quotidian routines of agro-pastoral production and ritual purposes potentially associated with burial rites (Bauer

2011; Gaggioli et al 2021). Archaeological evidence of feasting (Bauer et al. 2007; Sinopoli 2012) signals that the intensification and diversification of agro-pastoral activity — intertwined with new techniques of harnessing water — engendered novel modes of commensality.

At Hire Benakal, a commemorative complex comprising over a thousand megalithic monuments, spatial analyses suggest the largest structures were located in proximity to a central reservoir (Bauer 2011; Bauer & Trivedi 2013). Although the site was continuously modified and regularly visited for over a millennium, the spatial arrangement of monuments indicates a consistent correlation between the level of resources and labour required to build a particular structure, and its location in the complex. For instance, taking into consideration the cluster of monuments at the very centre of the complex, smaller and more improvised forms were situated at the periphery whereas the largest slab-supported dolmens were central, proximate to a large modified rock-pool (Bauer 2011: 96-97). Surely built by enlisting the labour of several individuals, the location of these monuments relative to less labour-intensive structures suggests that the ability to muster collective labour and claim a prized place within the commemorative complex were correlated (*Ibid.* 98).

Smaller megalithic complexes in the region echo the spatial arrangement evinced at Hire Benakal, with the most labour-intensive monuments situated near a reservoir or modified rock-pool (*Ibid.* 99). Furthermore, Hire Benakal is located near several Iron Age settlements — some of which show evidence of long periods of occupation. These include dwellings, terraces maintained for raising livestock, as well as ephemerally occupied rock-shelters that herders likely made use of. In short, if the elaboration of agro-pastoral activities during the Iron Age is linked to the emergence of deliberately prepared infrastructures to store water, the specific

dimensions of social inequality, too, hinged on differential capacities to establish proximity with a resource consequential for quotidian production activities *and* ritual.

Following the emergence of Hinduism during the Early Historic period and its increasing significance in the Subcontinent in subsequent centuries, the symbolic qualities of water are generally understood in relation to caste norms of purity and pollution. Even though my focus in this chapter is far removed in chronological terms from the Neolithic and Iron Age, the brief history delineated above charts how water and its infrastructures may operate within a more layered realm of signification. On the one hand, concerns with ritual purity and the threat of pollution establish hierarchies of access to water sources. At the same time, the relationship between the intensification of agrarian production — which relies on access to irrigation facilities — and social or political power is rendered all the more intricate by the ritually consequential and culturally pervasive taxonomy of "wet" (irrigated) and "dry" (rain-fed) crops.

The distinction between "wet" and "dry" cultivation, prevalent in contemporary discourse by way of an uptake in colonial legal language (Ludden 1985), is seen in historical typologies of cultivars and soils from about the 10th century onwards (cf. Bauer 2018, Morrison 1995). *Prima facie*, such a categorization — one that relies on factors such as rainfall and the water-content of soils — lends itself to thinking in terms of ecological zones. However, both inscriptions and archaeological patterns make apparent its entanglements in donative practices and temple ritual. This is perhaps best illustrated at Vijayanagara, where detailed research intersecting epigraphical and archaeological evidence charts the particular course of agricultural intensification around an imperial city (Morrison 1995, 1996; Lycett & Morrison 2014; Sinopoli & Morrison 2007).

As Vijayanagara grew to become a vast imperial capital — situated in a relatively dry interior landscape rather than the deltaic zones where a number of other medieval polities were centred — facilities to enable "wet" agriculture were expanded. A network of canals circulated water drawn from the Tungabhadra river and directed it into reservoirs for storage. Inscriptions and archaeological evidence gesture towards two phases of intensification, when the city first grew in the 14th century, and subsequently in the 16th century (Morrison 1996: 593). Inscriptions enable insight into the kinds of actors — occasionally royal patrons, often local elites — who commissioned these infrastructures, perpetuating their names and earning religious merit; additionally, they demonstrate how the cultivation of crops that require irrigation — primarily rice, but also coconuts, sugarcane, bananas — were closely tied to the temple economy.

Archaeological evidence of the substantial landscape modifications that occurred during these periods of intensification underscore the investments of labour entailed in such projects. On the one hand, irrigation would have increased yields by enabling multiple sowings a year; at the same time, crops associated with "wet" agriculture are also more labour intensive than rain-fed millets and pulses (Morrison 1996: 594). Their elevated status, whether in ritual spaces or more quotidian consumption, was entangled with the significant inputs required to produce them. In addition to irrigated and rain-fed crops, which would have been grown in fields outside and in-between settlements, inscriptions also refer to gardens. Used to grow vegetables, flowers, spices and fruit, gardens were likely located within towns and villages and may have been painstakingly watered using the nearest well (Morrison 2015: 13).

Although the large-scale landscape modifications that continue to shape the nature of agricultural production around Vijayanagara are not evident at Maski, a number of smaller

settlements and infrastructures such as check-dams and wells point conclusively to the expansion of agriculture during medieval period (Bauer 2018: 33). The distinction between "wet" and "dry" agriculture in Maski's surroundings emerges most pressingly in relation to the ability of different soils to retain moisture (*Ibid.* 34). Just as the intensification of agricultural production at Vijayanagara included an expansion of *both* "wet" and "dry" cultivation (Morrison 1996: 594), more extensive land use practices at Maski meant that inhabitants began to make greater use of less fertile, sandy red soils in addition to the clay-rich black soil known as *regur* (Bauer 2018: 36). The differential productive capacities of these two soils and the cultural preference for *regur* are unmistakable; the fact that expanding settlement and agricultural activities brought red sandy soils into greater use suggests the difference between these two soils became an important axis of social distinction (*Ibid.* 39).

Privileged cultigens such as rice would only have grown in clay-rich soil, and this soil's greater capacity to retain moisture likely enabled more reliable harvests of customarily rain-fed crops such as pulses and millets, too. Inscriptions that record the donation of land to provide for temples explicitly make reference to black soils, whose productivity guaranteed supplies crucial to temple worship (*Ibid.* 38-9). Undoubtedly, those who farmed sandier soils contended with greater precarity and were less able to participate in a temple economy centred on water-intensive agriculture. Unlike the canals that distributed water around Vijayanagara, Maski's hydraulic infrastructure consists predominantly of wells. Often located in fields, these would have been used to irrigate crops; within settlements such as MARP-23, they may have been used to water gardens. Paddy rice was likely cultivated closer to the Maski *nullah*, a seasonal drainage channel that runs near Sulidabba. Most irrigated land in the area surveyed by the

MARP team is located near this *nullah* and takes advantage of higher groundwater levels in its proximity.

4.3) The village and the watering hole

MARP-23 is located in a narrow strip of darker clay-rich soils at the foot of the Durgada Gudda outcrop, perhaps owing to seasonal run-off and the accumulation of colluvium. The "archaeologies of flow" outlined above have raised questions about patronage for large infrastructure projects, the collective labour of maintaining reservoirs and canals, and distinctions emerging along axes of participation, proximity, and access. The well at MARP-23 directs these concerns to the space of the settlement, shifting the focus somewhat from water as a resource that sustains agro-pastoral production and attendant regimes of value towards understanding the well as a place where people performed quotidian tasks and encountered one another. This is not to eschew the preoccupation with power and the material instantiation of difference that has guided scholarship on the infrastructure of water in the region. Rather, to specify how the terms of sociality may be maintained, contested, or otherwise navigated at the well in MARP-23 requires an elaboration of how the settlement is constituted, and the kinds of assembly a place like the well made possible.

Though premised on an understanding that they are rooted in (claims to) modernity, a burgeoning ethnographic literature on infrastructures offers thematic points of departure relevant to the well in discussion. In his review article on the anthropology of infrastructure, Larkin (2013: 328) emphasizes the interplay between systematicity and contingency that renders infrastructures technological objects whose workings and breakdowns have unanticipated effects. An attention to the systematicity of infrastructures pulls together the range of forces involved in making and running them. In these instances, infrastructures can, as

Bennett (2010) argues, be seen as assemblages (*sensu* DeLanda 2006): contingent combinations of disparate human and nonhuman elements. An inquiry in this vein must take into account the materiality of these facilities, the kinds of movements (of people and things) they enable, the labour of making and maintaining them, and complex relationships between political functionaries, technical workers, and people who lay claim to and use infrastructures (e.g., Anand 2011). Yet, the heterogeneity that makes infrastructures systems also renders them vulnerable to breakdown and abandonment, modification and reconstitution. Their workings and malfunctions can thus "reveal forms of political rationality", bringing into relief the often complex negotiations, manoeuvres and acts of translation that make a system cohere, if only for a time (Larkin 2013: 328).

It is possible to conceptualize the well at MARP-23 as an assemblage, too, comprising stones and friable granite mortar, the labour (and knowledge) of its makers, groundwater, a continued commitment to maintenance over the course of several decades, and so forth. Its assembly entails a specific configuration of labour organization, access to resources, and regime of value. Moreover, assembled entities can themselves be part of other assemblages. A well like the one at MARP-23 would have been an important element in the village, if the village were considered an assemblage of different kinds of spaces. It likely lay at the core of daily routines of cooking, cleaning, and washing. A visible communal space within the settlement was possibly a landmark, a place that people would have known, passed by, and convened at. If this well was one among many such features in MARP-23 and its surroundings, it might have had a specific name.

This is not to make a case for ever evolving configurations, or for nesting assemblages within assemblages *ad infinitum*. Rather, setting aside the potentially fruitful consideration of

the well as an assembled entity and its imbrication in other assemblages, I argue that this feature's qualities — its visibility, durability, and functionality — rendered it a locus where assemblages were stabilized. Infrastructures have a "peculiar ontology" in Larkin's thinking, as "objects that create the grounds on which other objects operate" (Larkin 2013: 329). In other words, this well anchored assemblages in space, enabling quotidian encounters between people who may have met there every day, others who may pass by occasionally, and others still who may be making a singular visit. These encounters and co-incidences are reminiscent of what Tim Ingold (2020: 25) has referred to as the other side of assemblage: gathering, not an additive joining of disparate components but "the drawing together of the pathways along which its constituents have come into being…" (*Ibid.* 24). I consider the effects of the well's "peculiar ontology" by delineating some of the processes of assembly operative in its vicinity.

Ingold's unease with assemblages owes much to a perceived flattening of the relations between their constituent parts; these relations are additive and strictly maintain the autonomy of parts that form a whole, falling short at accounting for the work it takes to make an assemblage cohere (*Ibid.* 22). His term "gathering", which lies in orthogonal rather that contradictory relation to assemblage, emphasizes precisely these aspects of assembly: how does a "contingent combination" cohere? How does it endure? And, given its coherence, might it be that the relations between its constituents do pervade the "exteriority" that DeLanda (2006: 10) insists on? Despite Ingold's generative critique, DeLanda does present an idea of forces that lend coherence and relative durability to an assemblage. Processes of "territorialization" refer to the internal homogeneity of the constituents of an assemblage and their boundedness in space (*Ibid.* 12); processes of "coding" instead refer to variably binding rules, conventions or

norms that similarly set the terms for how heterogeneous an assemblage may be, and how tightly its constituent parts are bound (*Ibid.* 16).[3]

A spatial term such as 'territorialization' is fitting in the case of the well: a fixed space that people would have visited regularly to collect water, the well and its immediate vicinity created a bounded locus for assembly. Similarly, the historical accumulation of meanings, relationships with, and exclusions from sources of water act as powerful mechanisms of 'coding'. I draw out a more detailed image of processes of territorialization and coding at work in the environs of village wells in the medieval Deccan by turning to the almost ethnographic descriptions of quotidian life in the unconventional 14th century hagiography of Gundam Raul (Feldhaus 1984). At the same time, however, I attempt to keep in mind the orthogonal axis of gathering that Ingold fleshes out: for territorialization necessarily suggests movement to and from, and while codes may set the terms for any encounter, encounters themselves have the potential to push the boundaries of convention.

Set in the town of Rddhipur (Berar, Maharashtra), the hagiography of Gundam Raul documents episodes in the life of this eccentric founder on the antinomian Mahanubhava sect. Rddhipur's residents and their homes, the town's market and the vendors who set up wares there, and places such as roads, temples, wells and tanks, form an animated backdrop for Gundam Raul's holy acts. On the one hand, episodes compiled in the text open a window into quotidian encounters and transactions, mapping these interactions onto the lived geography of a settlement. At the same time, these stories celebrate Gundam Raul's erratic and irreverent deeds, often in flagrant violation of social conventions. In doing so, they provide an unusual

[3] See Chapter 1 for a fuller discussion of the stability of assemblages.

view of practices of coding — norms of gendered, caste-appropriate, and place-specific behaviour — and their contestation.

Rddhipur had several tanks and wells. These are always known by name, often used as a reference to indicate roads or paths associated with them, and at times distinguished by the purpose they were meant to serve. Clearly, features like wells occupied an important place in how Rddhipur's residents oriented themselves spatially. If most of the town's wells and tanks seem like convenient landmarks, one of these stands out: the Mang's well. It is apparent from descriptions of Rddhipur's layout that the Mangs — a dalit community associated with professions like leather-working — inhabited their own quarter, removed from the main settlement. More pointedly, they were unable to access any of the numerous sources of water across Rddhipur and, "dying for lack of water", appealed to Gundam Raul (Feldhaus 1984: 61). The Mangs' predicament, pushed outside the settlement and specifically prohibited from accessing common sources of water, continues to give meaning to perhaps the most iconic gesture of anti-caste protest in contemporary India: for dalits to draw water from the village well (Keer 1962: 70).

The Raul — much to the dismay of Rddhipur's residents — frequently visited the Mang's quarter, going into houses, sharing in meals, and drinking from the well they dug under his guidance.[4] Gundam Raul was undoubtedly an exceptional character: a divine being whose antinomian inclinations tested the boundaries of acceptable behaviour in a 14th century Deccani town. Infused with his spirit, descriptions of Rddhipur destabilize an entrenched idea of non-urban settlements marked by a static fixity of hierarchies. This fixity — an insistence on

[4] In an episode narrated in the text, the village headmen decide to displace the Mangs and Mahars, moving them further away from town to prevent the Raul from making his visits. He is not discouraged by this development (Feldhaus 1984: 61).

tradition and imagination of "the village" as a repository of traditional ways of life — echoes longstanding tropes in the historiography of medieval India.[5] I don't attempt to counter the allegation of fixity with evidence of social mobility or a nascent spirit of modernity in late-precolonial India, as some scholars have suggested. Rather, I follow a critical turn in ethnographic accounts of Indian villages (Daniel 1984; Miller 1985; Mines 2005) that foreground questions of place, personhood, and lines of stratification intersecting with and exceeding caste. These interventions challenge the influential anthropological understanding of caste as systemic, all-pervasive, and intractable — an imagination of social structure that necessarily renders all interactions as somehow already scripted.

I do not intend to take these recent ethnographic observations as templates for Maski's environs in the 12th-14th century, further reifying the perceived timelessness of the village. However, I understand the transformations ethnographers note — brought by wealth, a shifting political arena, and the spatial extension of economic and kin networks — as opening a possibility to grapple with the "transitive" and "intransitive" aspects of social relations. That is, they gesture towards a complex vocabulary of difference within which distinctions are made, renewed, and subverted both in exceptional moments like festivals or celebrations, and in everyday utterances and transactions, in things given and received (Mines 2005). In particular, Mines underscores how people enact or subtly shift lines of difference from their various gendered, socio-economic, age, and caste positions during moments of encounter and exchange (*Ibid.* 83); distinctions are only valid and potent insofar as people *make* them by attending to the intricacies of *where* and *with whom* they are interacting, and what the terms of engagement may be in that situation (*Ibid.* 93).

[5] See Chapter 1 for a discussion of these tropes and the attribution of a particular ahistorical character to precolonial India.

Regardless of the vision that caste hierarchies produce situations of homogeneity,[6] it appears that quotidian encounters with difference are crucial both to upholding and re-inscribing social distinction. In this context, it is pertinent to understand that expanding settlement around Maski during the medieval period would have entailed greater contact between people from different social groups. Indeed, if an urban centre like Sulidabba provides a sense of sustained political significance and commercial activity, villages like MARP-23, low-density offsite ceramic distributions across the surveyed region, and a variety of agrarian infrastructure (wells and field-stations) indicate that a large share of land was brought under cultivation. Not all land was equal, however, making distinctions possible between those who farmed the region's more fertile *regur* and those contending with greater precarity on red sandy soils (Bauer 2018; see discussion of "wet" and "dry" soils above). Furthermore, pastoralists brought their herds to graze on the region's outcrops. They made use not only of rock-pools and ephemerally occupied rock-shelters but may also have seasonally set up camp near settlements and fields on the plains.

Ethnographic and historical accounts set up the expectation that hierarchies were spatially manifest, so that people lived in proximity others who were of a similarly ranked caste. For instance, at Yanaimangalam — the village in Tamil Nadu where Mines' work is based — the main village (Big ūr) is inhabited only by members of dominant castes (Mines 2005: 15-16). They regularly come in contact with lower-caste families living in neighbouring hamlets, who serve them as barbers, carpenters, washermen, potters, and field hands. Similarly in Dangwara, the village in central India where Miller (1985: 25) conducted his study, the lowest castes of leatherworkers and weavers occupy an area cut off from the main settlement — though the

[6] For instance, the injunction to live in segregated quarters or distinct settlements altogether, and prohibitions on commensality.

products they make are likely used by Dangwara's dominant caste residents, too. At Rddhipur, where Mangs and Mahars lived in segregated quarters, we nevertheless see Mali women come in from neighbouring villages to sell vegetables (Feldhaus 1984: 49), milkmaids traverse the village hawking curds and ghee (*Ibid.* 54), and pastoralists set up camp by a road (*Ibid.* 102).

It is in this context — wherein hierarchies are spatially manifest, yet everyday exchanges entangle diverse actors and occur in a variety of spaces — that I understand the well at MARP-23 as a locus of assembly. It is likely that the inhabitants of MARP-23 were themselves a circumscribed group who relied on several others for crafted and traded goods, services, and labour. Within the gamut of settlements identified during pedestrian survey, MARP-23 occupies primacy as the largest of its kind. Furthermore, its location near a large walled settlement (MARP-30, to which it is connected via a path) and the Durgada Gudda outcrop, likely made it a place frequented by a range of people who inhabited nearby hamlets and camps. On the one hand, a place such as the well — a visible, durable point of reference and source of water — was a potential place of encounter between residents of the settlement and those who came from outside. The range of ceramic vessels recovered from its vicinity suggest that collecting water was not the only purpose that drew people to the well. At the same time, charged with the understanding that care must be taken to avoid contamination in this space, the vicinity of the well was a locus in which people made, renewed, and navigated potentially fraught relationships in quotidian meetings and transactions. I argue that the sheer variability in the appearance of vessels — their morphology, surface colours and surface treatments — suggest that keeping one's containers to oneself may have been a way of marking difference.

4.4) Containers of difference

Surfaces by the well bear the traces of frequent movement across this space in their compacted appearance, and ceramic litter gestures towards lingering interactions (and plenty of breakage) in the well's vicinity. If floor surfaces at the house posed the challenge of distinguishing between applications of each new layer of plaster, the far more casual cobble-and-mud surfaces by the well are impossible to separate into a neat sequence. These uneven surfaces were patchy and difficult to follow, characterized by compacted mud and fragments of ceramic vessels that lay flat, embedded in the mud as they were stepped on. The kind of palimpsest these surfaces formed also included older discarded materials – as suggested by a radiocarbon assay that yielded a date from the 2nd millennium BC.

Creating arbitrary distinctions between these surfaces — which defines how they were excavated — I track diachronic variability in the assemblage from the late-12th century when the well was first dug, into the mid-late 14th century, when it fell out of use. My analysis is based on delineating the relative frequencies of sherds that display particular attributes of colour, and treatments such as applying slip, and burnishing or polishing. I do so across six arbitrarily defined surfaces. The first of these (Surface I) is associated with the earliest phases of the platform built alongside the well (late-12th century); the last likely post-dates the well's use-life and represents materials discarded in this space during the late-14th and early-15th century.

Taken as a whole, ceramics recovered from the vicinity of the well show a greater range of variability than those observed at the house nearby (fig 4.4). Whereas ceramics in grey — whether these were slipped, burnished, or without any surface treatment at all — predominate in the floor surfaces at the house (fig 4.5), vessels in red, black, brown and buff appear to be

more evenly distributed in the area around the well. Moreover, a far greater concentration of vessels in use near the well were burnished or polished over a slip (red = 13%; black = 9%). Unlike at the house, where most containers that were slipped black or red did not receive any further surface treatment, vessels to which potters added some sheen outnumber their matte counterparts in the vicinity of the well. These include vessels slipped red or black and subsequently burnished or polished, as well as those slipped brown and polished.

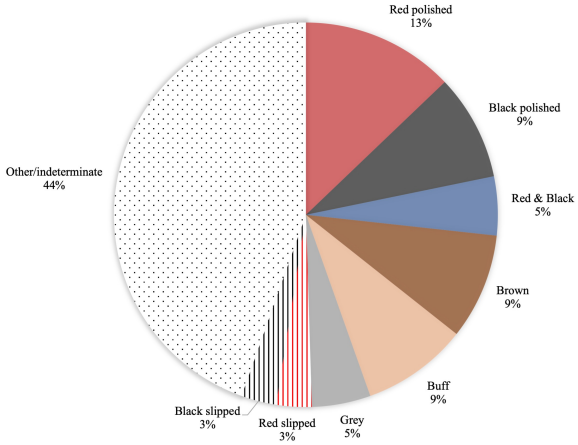


Figure 4.4 Percent frequencies of ceramics recovered from cobble-and-mud surfaces by the well (TU-1). n=8738

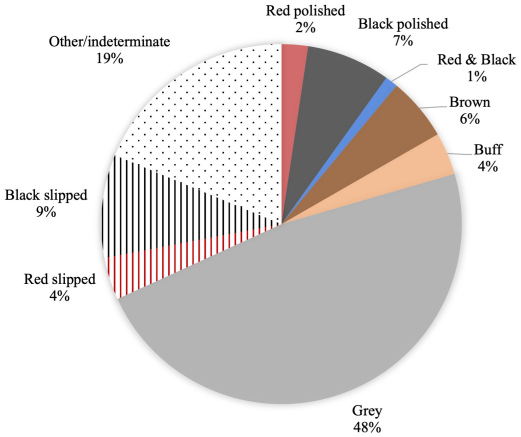


Figure 4.5 Percent frequencies of ceramics recovered from floor surfaces at the house (TU-2). n=996.

These trends do shift somewhat over time (fig 4.6), once again marking a change from the very consistent distributions recorded in the house floors. Most remarkably, grey ceramics — present in very small densities around the well — became more common in the last recorded surfaces. The same appears true for vessels in buff, whose frequency shoots upward in the late-14th and early-15th century. While the distributions of ceramics in brown, and vessels slipped black that were subsequently burnished or polished remain fairly consistent over time, those slipped red and shined occurred far less frequently in the 14th century even though they were remarkably common in earlier decades. Ceramics slipped both red and black — the highly

polished Red and Black ware usually associated with Iron Age and Early Historic deposits — occur in unexpectedly high densities near the well. Accounting for 5% of ceramics recovered from this space, their densities are significantly higher in older surfaces and decline over time.

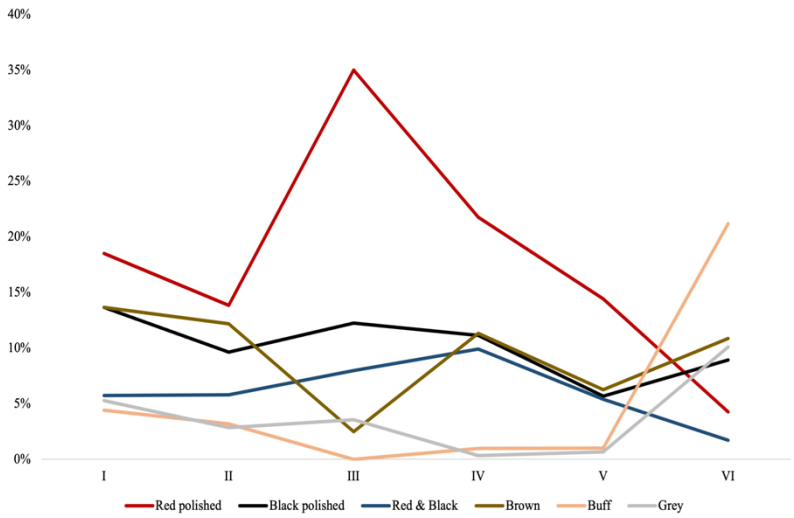


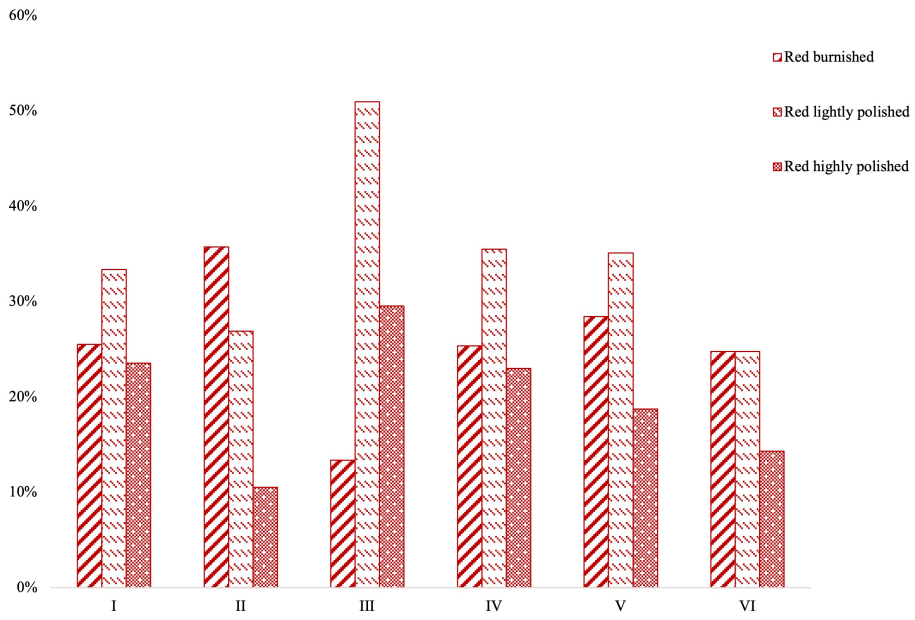
Figure 4.6 Shifting frequencies of ceramic vessels across surfaces recorded at the well. Surface 1 is the oldest recorded surface.

Finer distinctions emerge when these attributes are broken down. In particular, ceramics slipped red as well as those in black present gradations in the degree to which they are polished. That is, these vessels may be highly polished — to a degree that resembles those identified in prehistoric and Early Historic contexts; they may be polished to a lesser degree, too, with a uniform sheen yet easily distinguishable from more polished vessels; lastly, vessels slipped red or black may be burnished, characterized by a lesser degree of shine still. The latter two — vessels that are polished to a lesser degree or simply burnished over a slip — have been identified only in medieval contexts and usually occur in low densities (as witnessed at the house in MARP-23, and as Sinopoli [1986: 136] notes at Vijayanagara). Their resemblance with more polished vessels is apparent, and evokes a process of making that had a longer history and was more laborious.

Polished and burnished vessels were more commonly seen at the well than in any other space documented at Maski. At the same time, sherds demonstrating *all three* degrees of shine

occur in significant densities across the deposit (fig 4.7). While lightly polished or burnished vessels predominate, the sustained concentrations of highly polished vessels suggest that potters continued to produce vessels evoking the kind that had prevailed in the region a millennium before their time. Their engagement with older ways of making — and their clients' use of these vessels at the well — are similarly manifest in the strikingly high densities of Red and Black slipped and polished wares, reaching a peak of 10% in a late-13th or early-14th century surface. Here, too, vessels slipped red and black on the same side, an acutely archaic appearance, were present in addition to those slipped red on one side and black on the other. Vessels slipped both red and black were always highly polished.

As expected, rims of broken jars abound in the well's vicinity and far outnumber bowl forms (54 jar rims, 26 bowl rims). It is likely most jars recovered from surfaces by the well were used to carry water: morphological features like an elongated neck would have kept liquid from spilling, and flanges or ledges on the exterior of the rim seem useful for gripping, hoisting and carrying full vessels. Two jars recovered from the earliest recorded surface at the well display some of these characteristics: they have fairly small rim diameters (13-14 cm) and an extended neck (fig 4.8). Jars with a thickened lip, which enables a good grip, occur frequently throughout the deposit. It is noteworthy that no two examples look identical. In one surface alone, likely dating to the early-mid 13th century, four vessels with thickened rims were of variable diameters (ranging from 16-23 cm) and distinct with regard to their colour and finish (fig 4.9).



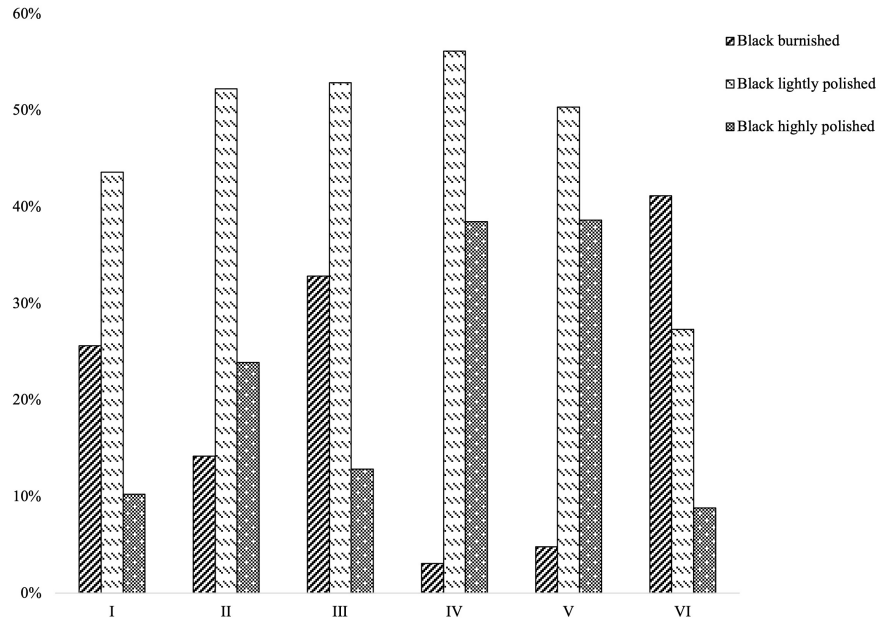


Figure 4.7 Burnished, lightly polished, and highly polished ceramics in red (top; n=1142) and black (bottom; n=764) were found in significant densities near the well.

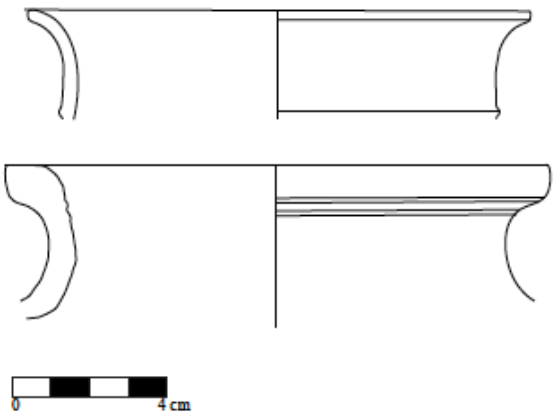


Figure 4.8 Two jars recovered from the oldest surface by the well have small rim diameters and extended necks

.

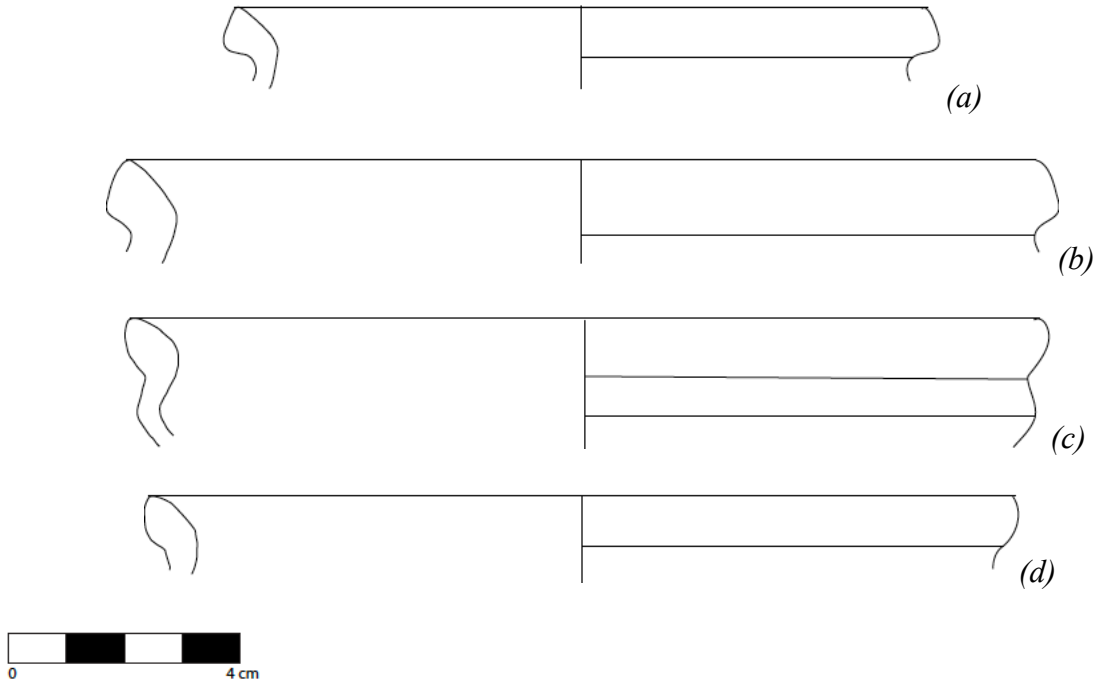


Figure 4.9 In one surface alone, several vessels showed thickened rims. While (a) was slipped red, the nearly identical form in (b) was slipped red and highly polished. (d) was burnished over a black slip and (c) is a Red and Black slipped and polished (same side) bowl

Jars with a pronounced flange or ledge are also common across the deposit (figs 4.10 & 4.11). These resemble one another, often accented with beveled grooves on the interior surface.

Yet, their appearances are distinct both in terms of morphological details, and their colours and textures. These jars occur in red, black and brown, frequently burnished or polished over a slip; in the most recent surface, we see them in grey and buff, too. While all these jars can be understood as pitchers for collecting water — an interpretation based on certain morphological features and coloured by the context from which they were recovered — other vessels recovered from these same surfaces seem less expedient for that task. For instance, several small jars with rim diameters of 10-12 centimetres may have served as vessels for drinking rather than replenishing the household supply; the base of a small drinking cup found from one of the surfaces is suggestive in this regard (fig 4.12). At the other end of the spectrum, thick-walled jar forms with large rim diameters also occur in these surfaces, and seem less than ideal for holding water (fig 4.13).

Bowl forms found littered on these surfaces were similarly unlikely to have been used for carrying water (or consuming it). If most jars were distinct from one another, bowl forms recovered from surfaces near the well show a different tendency. Bowls of two kinds recur across the deposit: black polished bowls with a rounded rim and an incised band running across the exterior surface (fig 4.14a), and thicker walled convex bowls with a squared rim (fig 4.14b). Even though the former category show a uniformity of surface treatment and colour that the latter group do not display, these bowls occur in a variety of sizes. Some of these, about 11-14 centimeters wide, appear to be bowls in which food may be served. Others, with rim diameters between 23-35 centimeters, seem to be large platters or dishes. The form in figure 4.14b, too, occurred in two different sizes: one had a diameter of 23 centimeters and the other was 35 centimeters wide at its rim. The black slipped and polished bowls are identical to forms recovered from Iron Age contexts near Maski. The frequency with which they occur suggests

these thin-walled forms may have been somewhat disposable, used to eat a quick meal along the side of a road or by the well.[7] Larger bowls and platters may have been used to carry goods exchanged at this recognizable landmark and meeting place.

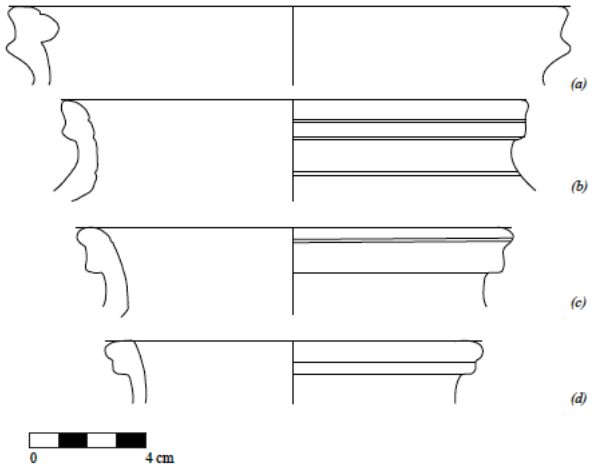
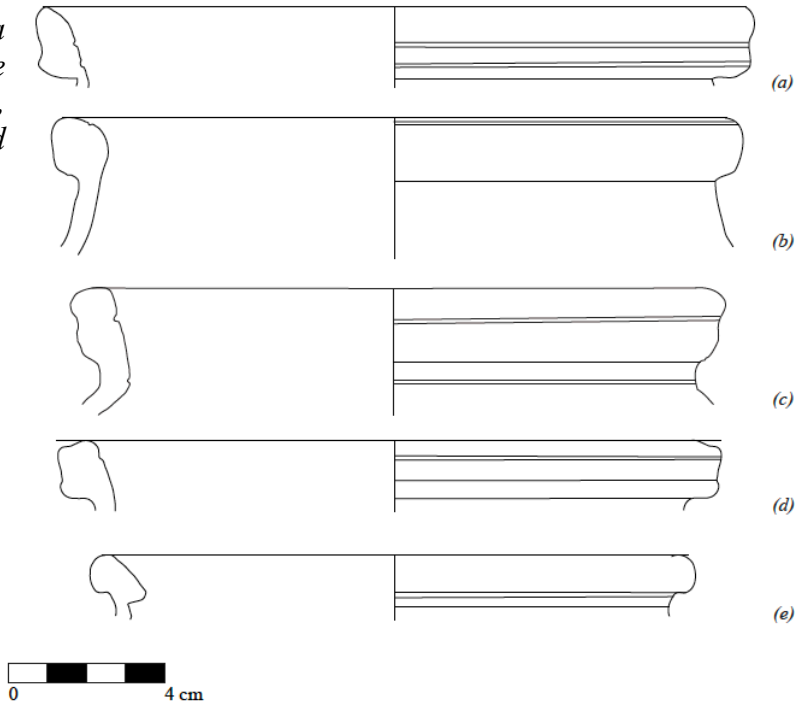


Figure 4.10 Jars with a pronounced flange. (a) was slipped grey and (b) was slipped black. (c) was burnished over a red slip and (d) was slipped buff.

Figure 4.11 Jars with a ledge. (a), (b) and (c) were all slipped buff. (d) was grey, and (e) was lightly polished over a red slip.



[7] While it is difficult to suggest this was a place for commensality, it may be that some people did occasionally eat by the well. An episode from Rddhipur features a Brahmin who brings his parcel of food to eat by a tank after taking his bath (Feldhaus 1984: 63).

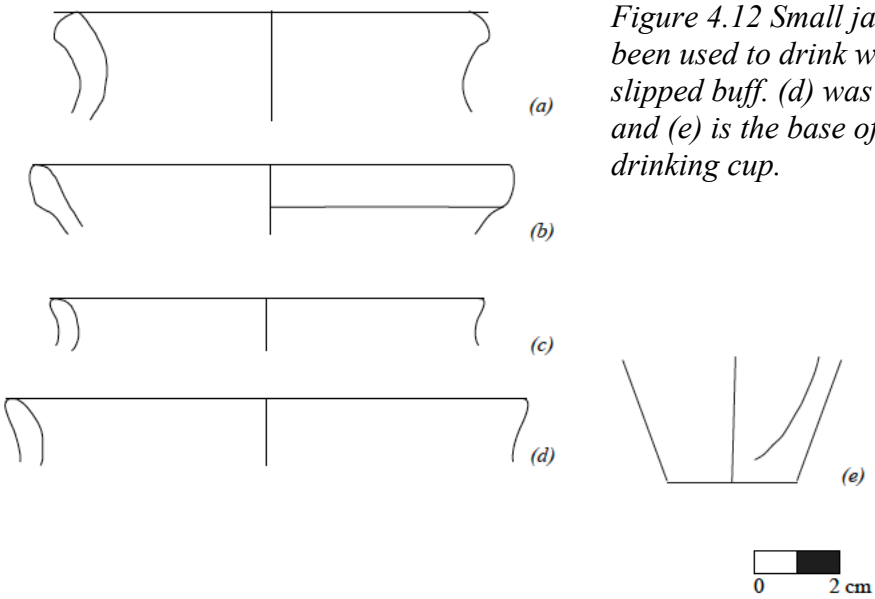


Figure 4.12 Small jars by the well may have been used to drink water. (a) and (b) were slipped buff. (d) was Black and Red (same side) and (e) is the base of a lightly polished red drinking cup.

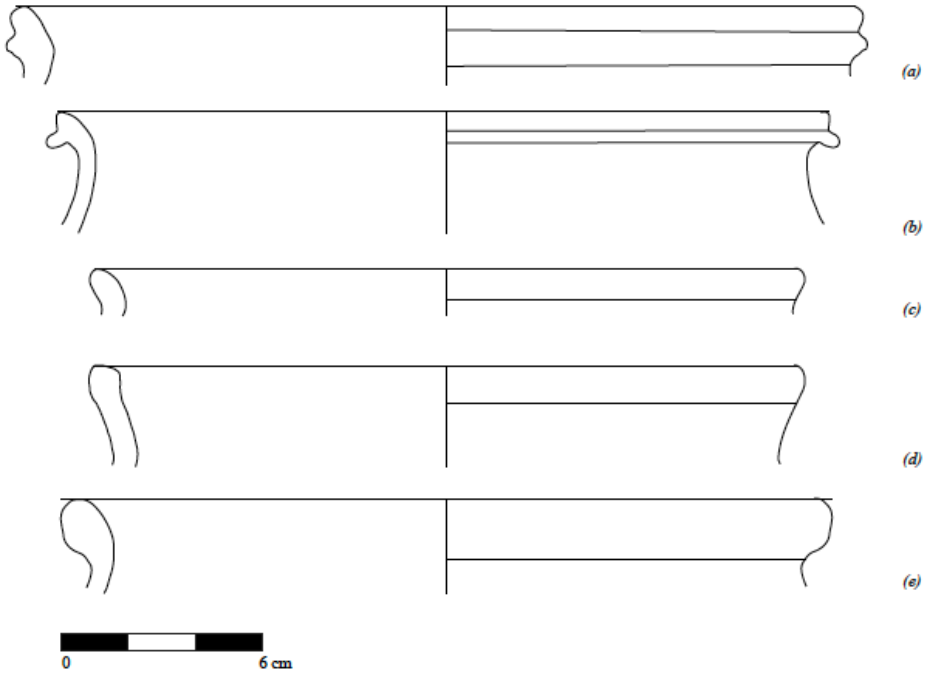


Figure 4.13 Large jars recovered from surfaces near the well. (a) and (e) were lightly polished over a red slip while (b) was red and highly polished. (c) and (d) were highly polished black-slipped jars

***

If the compacted mud near the well at MARP-23 is a sign of frequent passage through this space, ceramics recovered from these well-trodden surfaces are the most significant material

residues of quotidian acts of assembly and exchange in this location. Despite how partial these traces appear, the axes of variability sketched above form the basis of my understanding of this important locus in the settlement's lived geography. Ceramics recovered from the house nearby spoke to activities like preparing food in jars with traces of burning, serving it in small shallow bowls, storing household items, and illuminating an indoor space with lamps. The paucity of sherds found, and their small size, spoke of a place that was kept clean; repeating forms across the assemblage — recurring constellations of jars, bowls, lamps and platters — suggest that the understanding of kinds of vessels required in a house remained consistent for several generations who inhabited this space.

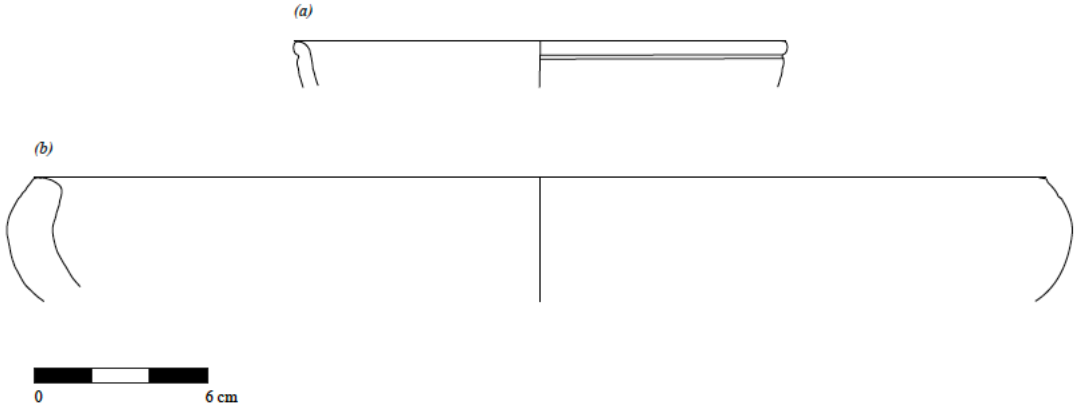


Figure 4.14 Bowls forms recurred across surfaces at the well. The black slipped and polished bowl (a) was present in dimensions ranging from 11-26 cm. Several fragments of this same form recovered from these surfaces were too small to draw and measure. The convex bowl in (b) was burnished over a black slip. A smaller version of this form was also identified at the well.

Surfaces by the well provide a remarkable contrast to this assemblage, all the more pointed when considering that those who lived in that house were likely to have frequented this well. The volume of discarded vessels presents the first noticeable contrast between these two spaces. On the one hand, the sizeable scatter of broken vessels in the well's vicinity suggests this area was not carefully maintained. At the same time, relaxed routines of maintenance

meant those visiting the well constantly came in contact with discarded vessels, both new and old. This volume of discard — and the degrees of variability in its shapes, hues and finish — presented an "available past" for potters and their clients alike. In a way, the encounter with different kinds of vessels at the well may have perpetuated the expectation that a range of containers would be used there.

It is most likely that the same potters who supplied the house also made vessels used at the well. Beyond the understanding that a wide variety was permissible or expected in a space like the well, I propose that variability may in fact have been desirable. Umaïsē's exclamation when Kothaloba uses her cup demonstrates her caste position in contrast with his, and assumes a particular vessel was recognizably hers. The distinctiveness of the drinking cup was meant precisely to avoid the accident on which the story hinges: contamination in a situation of commensality. For the antinomian Mahanubhavas, the exchange stands as a reminder that the prohibitions of caste have no place in their devotional community. At the well in MARP-23, however, where those who could visit must also negotiate the intricacies of encountering diverse others, the anecdote suggests it may have been handy to come equipped with a distinct water jar. In a place where several people routinely gathered to collect water, carrying containers that appeared different from one another — whether in their shape, size, colour, or finish — was one way to avoid contamination.

The kind of differences witnessed here — gradations in polish, differences in colour, and variations in morphology — suggest that potters drew upon a wide repertoire of techniques to produce vessels that could be distinguished from one another. In particular, they built on deeply historical ways of shaping and finishing vessels, making a resource of and perpetuating aspects of the "available past". Not only were distinctly medieval forms such as jars with flange rims

executed with highly polished surfaces, the iconic black slipped and polished bows customarily recorded in 1st millennium BC contexts were conspicuously present near the well. I hesitate to attach a higher value to vessels that embodied these archaising practices and suggest they were more prized than others. Instead, their proliferation at the well indicates that variability itself was prized. It suggests that to produce difference, potters expanded their repertoire by reaching for, appropriating, modifying, and thereby renewing aspects of the region's ceramic tradition.

5. Citational Accumulations: Depositing discard at MARP-30

5.1) Temporalities of Trashing

Discarded objects have been at the centre of my inquiries at both the house and the well in MARP-23, building from the accumulation of ceramic fragments an understanding of how routine acts of use, breakage, and maintenance structured particular places and anchored ceramic assemblages. This chapter instead focuses on a context of discard — a place where rubbish collected from elsewhere was deposited — excavated on the terraced hilltop settlement of MARP-30. This extensive settlement is comprised of a series of interconnected occupational terraces on the southern slopes of Maski's Durgada Gudda outcrop. The density of stone architecture visible on its surface — including numerous alignments of cobbles forming room-blocks, and masonry-lined retention walls to keep terraces from eroding — signal this settlement's difference from MARP-23 downslope. The construction of paths that connected terraces and walls that restricted movement suggest that a significant mobilization of labour and resources was required to sustain a place like MARP-30.

On the one hand, the material differences between settlement at MARP-30 and MARP-23 outlined above set apart those who lived in these neighbouring, and connected, spaces: the occupants of the hilltop terraces were more protected from adversity, held commanding views of the landscape around them, and had greater access to labour and resources. I begin this chapter by providing a more detailed account of the settled space of MARP-30, underscoring especially the ways in which a density of occupation and activities over a long period of time define Maski's Durgada Gudda outcrop. While taking into account that material conditions of dwelling on the outcrop present a hierarchical distinction from those downslope — in terms of investments of labour and resources — I am instead keen to draw attention to the ways in

which spaces on the outcrop are constituted by an accumulation of materials over time, and historical modalities of place-making (cf. Bauer 2020).

While MARP-23 was settled during the 12th-14th century — and radiocarbon dates from MARP-30 suggest contemporaneous occupation — pedestrian survey across the outcrop as well as excavations at MARP-30 speak to a more complex history (Bauer & Johansen 2019). Not only was the Durgada Gudda outcrop a focal point of settlement at Maski during the Medieval period; the residential terraces, ritual spaces, fortified outposts, and areas for pasture where people lived and circulated during the 12th-14th centuries AD were frequently proximate to or overlapped with spaces that had previously been in use during the Neolithic (3000-1200 BC) and Iron Age (1200-300 BC). Radiocarbon dates from the lower terraces of MARP-30 suggest this was not a continuous occupation, constituted by building upon a past that is proximate and remembered. Medieval deposits at MARP-30 post-date previous traces of settlement by over a millennium, creating temporally layered deposits between which genealogical relationships of continuity are not explicitly articulated.

The small test unit (SU-1) excavated at MARP-30 — wherein medieval deposits from the 14th century AD cut and superimposed preceding contexts from the 13th century BC — provides one instance of this long but interrupted history. The excavation of this space was part of the Maski Archaeological Research Project's efforts to conduct salvage work in an area where ongoing construction activities had exposed and risked destroying archaeological deposits associated with MARP-30. The 1 m^2 excavation unit was situated just south of an extensive vertical exposure created by recent construction, which showed several external surfaces associated with architecture (fig 5.1). Radiocarbon assays suggested these were in use between the late-12th/early-13th century and the mid-late 14th century (*Idem*). It was expected

that excavated deposits would be contemporary to these surfaces seen in section and provide a better understanding of the beginnings of medieval settlement at MARP-30.

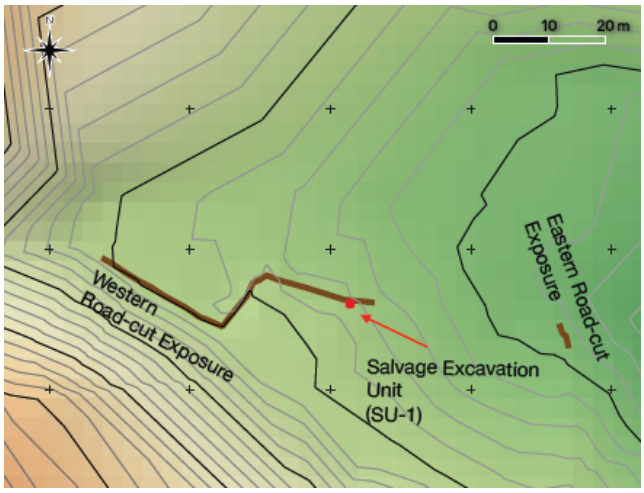


Figure 5.1 SU-1 was situated just south of an extensive vertical exposure created by construction activities.

Excavations revealed an outdoor area associated with stone architecture from the 14th century AD. A stone wall comprised of large cobbles and the extramural space adjacent to it were set over a darker and firmer loam deposited to seal off a previous phase of occupation. While an artefact-rich fill accumulated in this outdoor space – likely once it had fallen out of use – a pit feature was identified in the northwest corner of the excavation unit, cutting through the layer of firm clay, and continuing to a depth of over two metres below the current ground surface. This pit feature was still ongoing when excavations were halted for safety concerns. Readily identified as a midden, the upper levels of this pit contained high densities of large ceramic fragments, and included faunal material, charcoal, as well as artefacts such as stone tools and ornaments (bangle fragments, shell buttons). At the lowest levels of the pit exposed during excavation, however, ceramic densities dropped, suggesting that patterns of deposition had shifted over time.

Moreover, below the blocky fill laid down in this space to prepare a surface for further construction, the 14th century pit described above cut a fill that was similarly midden-like. An older pit, capped with cobbles and containing high densities of ceramic and faunal material

interspersed with construction debris, became apparent both in plan and section views. Radiocarbon assays from these two deposits suggest the pits had several centuries between them: the older pit was dated to the 13th century BC, whereas medieval deposits from this excavated space — which include the pit in the northwest corner as well as an episode of renewal and construction — were limited to the 14th century AD. Although it is not unexpected that Iron Age and Neolithic deposits would be present at MARP-30, I argue in this chapter that the history of deposition seen in the small confines of SU-1 enables insight into how particular practices — middening, for instance — could have lasting effects on the use of space and the accumulation of certain artefact assemblages (of discard).

Building on an attention towards the temporality of settlement atop the Durgada Gudda outcrop, I attempt to draw out the long history of depositing discard in this space — suggesting it is significant that a cobble-capped pit of the 14th century AD sits close to another cobble-capped pit used for depositing discard in the 13th century BC. To do so, I rely on scholarship that complicates matters of deposition and calls into question the archaeological lexicon for classifying and labelling artefact-rich deposits (Garrow 2012; Jervis 2014; McNiven 2013; Newman 2019). Even though several of these interventions are centered on "special" deposits whose taxonomy and interpretation are entangled with a concept of ritual, the call to attend to the specificity of depositional events generatively problematizes categories such as "midden" and "rubbish" — frequently presented as straightforward labels to describe artefact-rich contexts. Instead, taking into account the particularity of artefact assemblages — what kinds of artefacts were included, their fragmentation, histories of use, re-use and recycling — and the rhythms and temporalities of deposition enables a more layered understanding of the practices and events whereby deposits are formed.

Attuned to this specificity, I present an analysis of artefacts excavated from the pit features and fill at MARP-30. On the one hand, the heuristic value of this assemblage proceeds from its abundance and proximity to architecture; the relatively large fragments of ceramic vessels deposited here likely came from several nearby structures and help supplement the partial understanding of a "domestic assemblage" of ceramics put forward in Chapter 3. In presenting the ceramic data, I follow from an extensive literature on contexts of "secondary deposition" (Schiffer 1972) that link discard with the places where and activities whereby it was generated (Beck 2006). A number of refits were possible across the assemblage, suggesting that broken fragments of ceramic vessels were deposited together in several cases. Worked sherds were also common, indicating that objects discarded in this space had previously been re-used or re-purposed.

At the same time, tracking how the nature of the deposit shifted across time — with regard to the densities of different artefacts and their fragmentation, as well as changes in sediment — helps foreground not only the ongoing life-histories of artefacts, but also of the place where they were deposited. On the one hand, my analyses suggest that the 14th century AD pit was not initially a place for depositing discard. I also propose that the artefact-rich fill above this pit is likely to be an accumulation of rubbish following the abandonment of this space, rather than a midden where discard was repeatedly thrown. While drawing these distinctions, I posit that the older cobble-capped pit exposed in this space — which medieval residents of MARP-30 sealed off with a layer of firm clay-rich fill — had a lasting effect on how this space was used (cf. Jervis 2014). The small confines of SU-1 thus provide one instance of the specific contours of "multi-period" settlement at Maski: not only were spaces produced by repeated and quotidian

acts of deposition, the accumulation of materials that resulted from these acts was in itself place-making in potentially enduring and unanticipated ways.

5.2) "Multiple components" at MARP-30

The Durgada Gudda outcrop is marked by a density of archaeological traces that distinguish it as a focal point of settlement and activities both before and during the Medieval period. This very density of traces — of habitation and activities such as herding, worship, commemorative and defensive building — rendered it difficult to identify relationships between disparate concentrations of artefactual and architectural remains in the first instance of recording. As a result, a number of occupational terraces spanning the outcrop — including those that constitute MARP-30 — were designated as separate "sites" (Bauer 2020: 196). Revisiting these spaces subsequently, mapping the ways in which areas where people lived and circulated articulate with one another, and recognizing that the boundaries between 'prehistoric' and 'medieval' ceramic assemblages may be fuzzier than previously noted, produces a somewhat different account of settlement on the hill.

During the 11th-16th centuries AD — when Maski was a place that featured in the region's epigraphical record (see Chapter 1) — the Durgada Gudda outcrop and areas adjacent to it were both densely and extensively occupied (*Idem*). Terraces comprising` MARP-30 are among several interconnected settled spaces on the southern and eastern slopes of the outcrop (including MARP-28, MARP-82) that were likely occupied contemporaneously. Walking down the southern slope of the outcrop towards the well excavated at MARP-23, artefact densities remain continuous and suggest that settled areas on the outcrop were connected with those on the peneplain. Occupational terraces to the east of MARP-30 likely lead down towards another area of habitation at the foot of the hill, designated MARP-88. In other words, on the southern

and eastern slopes of the Durgada Gudda outcrop alone, an extensive series of terraced settlements were contemporaneously occupied and were connected with inhabited areas at the foot of the outcrop (MARP-23 and MARP-88). This particular concentration of settlement on and in the immediate vicinity of the hill — which includes the largest site in the surveyed area, MARP-102, north of the outcrop — was distinct in its scale and density from more ephemerally occupied spaces such as field-stations and campsites that were also in use during the same period (Bauer 2020).

It is generative on the one hand to forgo the initial impulse of dividing each of these concentrations of archaeological traces into distinct sites. Yet, the material traces of settlement do vary significantly across spaces on the outcrop and adjacent to it. It is difficult to track the specifics of settlement at the eastern foot of the outcrop (MARP-88) — currently built up and in use as a school; surface observations and excavations at MARP-23, however, provide a resolute sense that this space was not demarcated from areas around it with walls or fortifications. While a dense concentration of ceramics is visible across its extent, traces of architecture are rare; excavations that revealed a rammed-mud structure (see Chapter 3) suggest why this may be the case. On occupational terraces atop the outcrop instead, like those of MARP-30, alignments of cobbles forming room-blocks are common. Masonry-lined retention walls were built to keep terraces intact. If paths running between spaces demonstrate they were connected, cobble-and-boulder walls also blocked off areas, regulating and channeling movement.

It is undoubtedly the case that a greater mobilization of labour and resources — to which the residents of these terraced settlements had differential access — enabled the construction and maintenance of particular spatial configurations atop the Durgada Gudda outcrop

(Fanthome 2021). However, the spatiality of settlement on the hill cannot be reduced to sociological factors alone. Instead, as Bauer (2020: 202) emphasizes, the unique geomorphology of the region's outcrops creates terraces and saddles as well as steep rock-slopes, enabling the social production of different kinds of spaces that can be variably easy or difficult to traverse. Structuring space around the contours of the Durgada Gudda outcrop's multiple boulder slopes, peaks and terraces was not unique to its medieval residents, however. It is apparent that during the Neolithic period (3000-1200 BC), small settlements emerged on the hill, marked by distinctive pink and grey micaceous ceramics, associated with grinding slicks on boulders and with ephemerally occupied rock-shelters. Residential terraces, commemorative mortuary features, and spaces maintained as pasture often situated close to (modified) rock pools — an assemblage of spaces, activities and materials associated with region's Iron Age (1200-300 BC) – also occur frequently on the outcrop.

Indeed, the difficulties of recording settlement at Maski — which entails assigning time-periods to clusters of artefacts, features, and sites — are especially manifest on the Durgada Gudda outcrop precisely because of the complex temporalities of settling and using this space. On the one hand, this results in artefact scatters that are difficult to situate conclusively, even within the relatively capacious temporal categories we work with. At MARP-30, where medieval materials predominate on the surface, prehistoric ceramics as well as chipped stone and characteristically Neolithic ground stone axes have also been noted. At the same time, more detailed documentation work on the terraces of MARP-30 suggests that the ways in which spaces on the outcrop were historically settled, modified, and used profoundly shaped the form that acts of building and maintenance took during the 12th-14th centuries AD. That is to say, features like terraces and masonry-reinforced retention walls, rock-shelters and rock-

pools, and architecture that incorporates or otherwise uses the outcrop's geomorphology, were historically sedimented modalities of producing space on the outcrop that were *also* adopted and appropriated by its medieval dwellers.

If some of the upper terraces of the Durgada Gudda outcrop show traces of Neolithic occupation, settlement expanded significantly during the subsequent Iron Age, bringing more spaces into use for both pasture and habitation. A few of these are located in close proximity to MARP-30 and constitute visible traces of the past (e.g., MARP-155 and MARP-241). Petroglyphs on boulders – vividly depicting motifs such as cattle, wild fauna and birds, and scenes of herding – overlook a large terrace with a retention wall (MARP-155) likely maintained for pasture during the 1st millennium BC and in use to this day. Not only did the 12th-14th century residents of the Durgada Gudda outcrop live in close proximity to these spaces, the two phases of occupation overlap in several areas on the hill (Bauer 2020: 200). Such an overlap is evidenced in the small excavation unit (SU-1) located on one of MARP-30s lower occupational terraces.

The team conducted excavations at MARP-30 in Summer 2019, intensifying an effort to document and salvage archaeological deposits on the Durgada Gudda outcrop. In Summer 2018, we had documented an extensive exposure created by renewed construction on the hill (Bauer & Johansen 2019). This 13 metre long and 1.5 metre deep vertical section was located slightly upslope from another (ca. 1.5 metre long and 1 metre deep) road-cut the MARP had

recorded previously (Bauer & Johansen 2015). This smaller exposure showed two surfaces and layers of intervening fill; ceramics collected from exposed strata comprised a range of

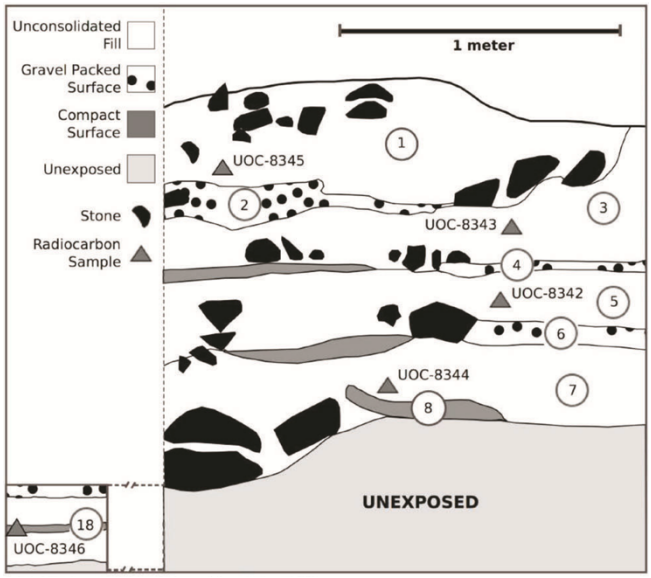


Figure 5.2: An extensive exposure at MARP-30 showed core-and-veneer walls as well as several external surfaces, packed with cobbles and gravel.

grey, buff and black sherds in addition to fragments of slipped and polished vessels in red, black, and those that were both red and black. Radiocarbon assays placed this deposit in the late-13th to late-14th century (*Ibid.* 798). The more extensive exposure upslope stretched this temporal frame, suggesting the earliest recorded strata were occupied during the late-12th century and confirming this terrace was likely abandoned by the end of the 14th century (Bauer & Johansen 2019: 50).

This exposure showed five external surfaces packed with gravel and cobbles, displaying a friable granitic material (perhaps used for construction or surfacing) previously seen in association with the well at MARP-23. Core-and-veneer walls made with small boulders and intervening cobbles were associated with these surfaces (fig 5.2). Some of the architectural features visible in profile articulated with stone alignments seen on the surface (*Idem*); it was in relation to these features that the excavation unit SU-1 was situated, immediately to the south of the exposure that had expanded further as construction activities continued on the outcrop

(fig 5.3). The MARP team excavated this unit to a depth of 2.26 metres below the present ground surface and decided to suspend further excavation over concerns for safety. Archaeological deposits were ongoing at this depth. Excavations revealed an extramural area, just outside a structure set on a firm and blocky deposit. A pit feature cut through the packed mud deposited before building; another, significantly older, cobble capped pit was exposed below the layer of packed mud.

Figure 5.3 Excavation unit SU-1. The wall running in the east of the unit articulated with architecture visible in the exposure (right). (d=34 cm).

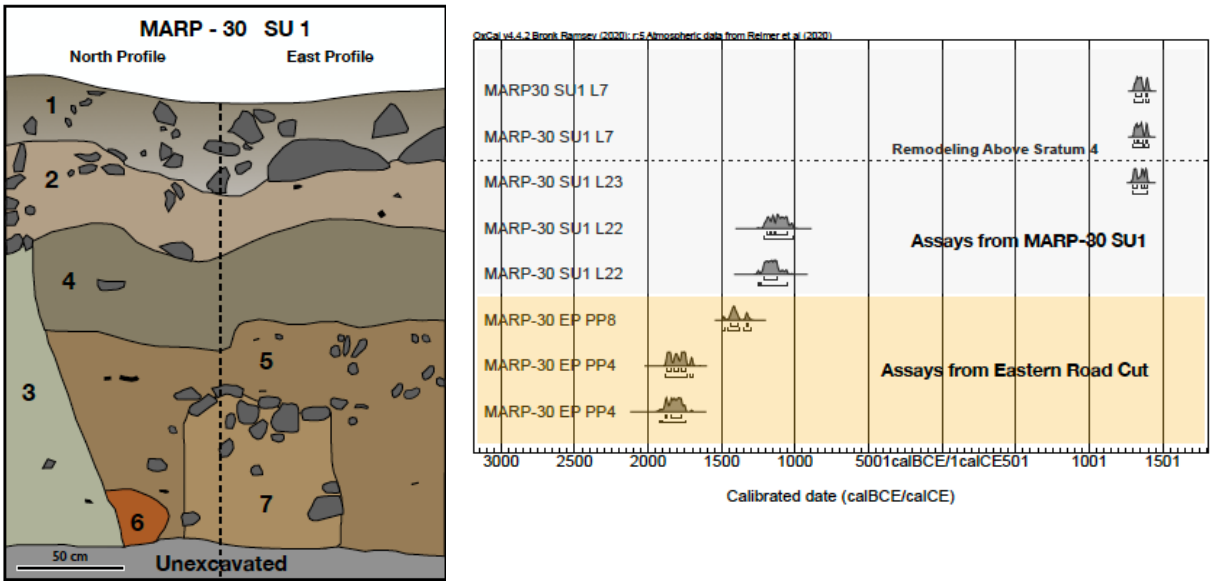
A stone alignment oriented North-South was exposed just below topsoil, articulating with architecture visible in the exposed section to the north. These faced boulders running along the eastern boundary of the excavation unit suggested most of our 1 m^2 unit lay immediately outside a structure. Cobbles were also exposed in the southwestern corner of the excavation unit, likely collapsed from construction that lay outside the area we had excavated. A layer of weathered, friable granite was exposed under these cobbles, further corroborating our understanding that this was an outdoor space. While an artefact-rich fill was identified across the deposit, a distinct ashy matrix associated with large fragments of ceramic vessels was

exposed in the west of the unit, sealed by the abovementioned weathered granite. This ashy matrix remained consistent in the northwest corner of the excavation unit even while fill across the rest of this space transitioned to a blockier loam with higher clay content — ostensibly deposited to seal off underlying deposits and create a level surface for building. Radiocarbon assays from charcoal collected both above and below this levelling episode suggest this phase of building occurred during the 14th century AD (fig 5.5a and b).

Figure 5.4 Cobbles from collapsed architecture were found in the southwest corner of the excavation unit. Weathered granite -- possibly construction debris or an external surface onto which cobbles had collapsed -- was seen below them. (d=44 cm).

It became apparent that the ashy fill noted in the western profile of the excavation unit was a pit. Dug through the firm clay loam, it extended into the northwest corner of the excavation unit and was still visible in plan view at the end of excavations (Stratum 3, fig 5.5a). The quantity and range of artefacts recovered — which included ceramic, faunal material, charcoal, and artefacts like bangle fragments and clothing buttons — suggested this cobble-capped pit was a midden where refuse from several nearby structures was deposited. In the oldest deposits removed from the pit, however, ceramic densities as well as the quantity of faunal material had dropped considerably. It is likely this pit was used for purposes other than discard in the first instance. The layer of darker loam (Stratum 4) over which inhabitants of MARP-30 had built

new structures in the 14th century lay above another artefact rich fill. Ceramic densities were high in this fill, as was the quantity of faunal material. This fill, still distinct from the pit in the northwest corner, surrounded another cobble-capped pit (Stratum 7). Its structure and composition suggested this, too, was a midden; radiocarbon assays indicate discard was deposited there in the mid-2nd millennium BC (fig 5.5b).



(a) *(b)*

Figure 5.5: (a) shows drawings of the North and East walls of SU-1, representing the 14th century pit (Stratum 3), a layer of dark loam deposited before a new phase of building (Stratum 4), and an older cobble-capped pit (Stratum 7). 5.5(b) represents calibrated radiocarbon dates from Stratum 7 (L22 and L23), the medieval pit labelled Stratum 3 (L23) and above the remodelling event marked by Stratum 4 (L7). (Source: Bauer et al. 2021).

In summary, this small excavated space showcased a complex history of deposition comprising two middens set apart from one another by several centuries. While we were unable to excavate either feature in its entirety, the shifting artefact assemblage in the medieval pit cautioned against a singular interpretation of its contents. At the same time, the proximity between these two pit features, their formal similarity, and the fact that medieval residents of

this space encountered and deliberately stabilized a loose, discard-filled sediment to prepare a surface for construction, suggest that practices of depositing discard resulted in accumulations that structured space in lasting ways. The archaeology of the southern Deccan is replete with examples of place-making that resist simple periodization in their durability and persistence, their histories of appropriation and re-use (see Morrison 2009, 2016). Excavations at MARP-30 instantiate one of the forms this may take within a settlement — not with reference to built structures, but in relation to visible accumulations of fragmented materials that make a midden of a place.

5.3) Breaking down discard

That archaeologists study the rubbish of others is perhaps a truism (cf. Rathje & Murphy 2001). If the discipline's inception is associated as much with a romanticism for ruins as it was shaped by new realities of living with industrial and urban waste in 19th century Europe (Lucas 2012: 124-5), the turn to formalize archaeology's research program during the 1960s and 70s was especially attentive to charting patterns of discard (Binford 1978, 1980; Schiffer 1972). The ceramic assemblages presented so far, from the house and the vicinity of the well at MARP-23, are illustrative of this preoccupation. Not only were the fragments I studied conceptualized as discarded objects, practices of disposal and maintenance were considered constitutive of these spaces. At the well, a place where ceramic vessels were likely to break often (cf. Beck 2006), their fragments were not cleared regularly. House floors were instead swept frequently, leaving few and small fragments of broken vessels as traces of a well-maintained space. Artefacts in both these contexts would qualify as "primary refuse" in Schiffer's (1972: 161) typology of trash. Yet, to imagine that refuse was cleared from the house begs the question of where the majority of domestic discard was eventually deposited.

The pits excavated at MARP-30 were likely one such space, contexts of "secondary refuse" (*Idem*) where rubbish collected from elsewhere was deposited. Even while excavating through much of the loose fill that characterized SU-1, excavators classified this space as a possible midden based on the high density of artefacts — an example of how contexts are often defined intuitively in the field. Middens can take several forms — including pits, mounds, or surface scatters — and are often defined by a high density of artefacts and telltale breakage patterns. However, given the place these contexts historically occupy in archaeological narratives, and the common use of the term as a shorthand for artefact-rich contexts in general, scholars have attempted to delineate parameters for its application (e.g., Needham and Spence 1997). Only deposits formed by the repeated disposal of refuse in one place, leading to an accumulation of artefacts there, are considered middens. Although the temporality of their production may vary (e.g., rapidly filled pits *versus* slowly growing mounds), as might the relative uniformity or "richness" of their contents (e.g., shell middens *versus* household middens), and the specific nature of fragmentation within the midden assemblage, it is in all cases likely that discard was collected from elsewhere and deposited there with a degree of intentionality (McNiven 2013).

In this section, I outline two parallel sets of concerns that foreground the heuristic value of midden deposits and their formation: on the one hand, an extensive literature on ceramic ethnoarchaeology has focused on developing a toolkit for archaeologists to address questions about population, household consumption, and ceramic use-lives based on midden assemblages (Schiffer 1987; Shott 1996; Varien & Potter 1997). On the other hand, scholarship that is attentive to questions of deposition, cultures of discard, the temporality of refuse, and engagements with objects thrown and scavenged, has called attention to the need to understand the specific qualities of assemblages and contexts that are variably referred to as "rubbish",

"midden", or "ritual deposit" (Garrow 2012; McNiven 2013; Newman 2019). Placing literatures on disparate kinds of deposits in conversation, this recent turn in scholarship challenges ossified taxonomies that have come to simultaneously label, describe and explain aspects of the archaeological record.

Ceramic ethnoarchaeology and its attention towards discard is strongly premised on Schiffer's formation theory (see discussion in Chapter 3) and the distinction between "systemic context" and "archaeological context" that animated his early work (Schiffer 1972). Specifically, Schiffer questioned whether "the spatial patterning of archaeological remains reflects the spatial patterning of past activities" and suggested that materials are often *removed* from their "systemic context", taken elsewhere either for further use or to be discarded (*Ibid.* 156). This calls for an understanding of the "life history" of elements as they "enter a system, are modified, broken down, or combined with other elements, used, and eventually discarded" (*Ibid.* 157). If the systemic context is defined by acts of procurement and manufacture, re-use and recycling, eventual discard marks the end point of the "flow model". As refuse, materials "no longer participat[e] in a behavioral system" (*Ibid.* 159) and come to constitute the archaeological context. "Dumping behaviour" marks the crucial transition from systemic to archaeological context; unlocking its patterns thus holds the key to inferring the systemic context from the archaeological one.

Although the calculation of population, the number of pots in use in a household, and the variable use-lives of these artefacts have been the hallmark of studies associated with this intellectual genealogy, I find Beck's orientation towards the spatiality of discard generative for situating the deposit excavated at Maski (Beck 2006; Beck & Hill 2004). Part of a long-term ethnoarchaeological project in the northern Philippines (the Kalinga Ethnoarchaeological

Project; Longacre & Skibo 1994), Beck is interested in where residents of Dalupa (a village with ca. 400 inhabitants) deposit their ceramic refuse. She found that vessels broke overwhelmingly in two locations: at sources of water and in the home. While vessels that broke at or *en route* to water sources were frequently abandoned there (Beck 2006: 46), fragments of broken vessels from homes were deposited in "household middens" shared by several house lots (*Ibid.* 29). On the one hand, it emerges that not all discarded vessels are eventually deposited in middens; on the other hand, it is apparent that middening practices were such that the same household may use more than one "household midden", as well as larger "communal middens".

Middens tend to accumulate slowly in Beck's account, and their contents are often disturbed due to the activities of animals who rummage through them and children who play in their vicinity. Adult residents of Dalupa, however, claimed to steer clear of middens and described them as "dirty, smelly, mite-infested places" (*Ibid.* 44). Practices of re-use, recycling and re-purposing precede the deposition of objects in middens at Dalupa, so that discard accumulating in those spaces is customarily beyond reclaim. However, the fact that children and animals do trample on and spend time in the vicinity of middens — activities that fragment and thus alter the assemblage — evinces a continuing engagement with discarded items. Based on her observations, Beck points out that middens may be cleared on occasion and surmises that the spatial distribution of active middens has likely shifted as the settled geography of Dalupa changes over time (*Idem*).

Beck's concerns provide a useful point of departure for my understanding of deposits at MARP-30. Her findings raise the possibility that the 14th century pit located near several architectural alignments may have become a receptacle for discard generated in a number of

spaces, some of which were residential. Such pits or other places where discard was repeatedly deposited are likely to be common across occupational terraces at MARP-30, given the density of structures visible on the surface. On the one hand, the proximity of this pit to structures accords with Beck's findings that most residents did not travel far to throw out their refuse; at the same time, the presence of animal bone in both pits, as well as the possibility they were filled in relatively quickly and then sealed with cobbles, points to some of the sensory entailments of living near and frequently encountering accumulations of rubbish.

Several of the variables Beck delineates likewise resonate with scholarship that interrogates categories that most "ceramic ethnoarchaeologists" assume. Questions of re-use and re-purposing, whether and how people continue to engage with discarded objects, and what kinds of artefacts are found in any particular assemblage deemed rubbish are, for instance, central to Newman's inquiry into a class of deposits associated with ritual "termination" (Newman 2019). Where Beck observes aspects of "dumping behaviour" that are unavailable to archaeologists with a view to developing more nuanced connections between archaeological and systemic contexts, Newman (2019) and others (e.g., McNiven 2013) call for a more detailed attention to the artefacts themselves. Accounting for the nature of fragmentation in the assemblage, addressing how objects were curated, whether they were previously worked, re-worked, abraded, or cast aside, is key to grappling with the particular choices and acts through which these artefacts come to cohere as an assemblage (Newman 2019: 809).

A detailed attention to the artefacts themselves and the places where they were deposited provides tools to re-think conceptual categories put forward as descriptors, labels, and interpretations for complex artefact assemblages that may in fact be quite variable (*Ibid.* 811). Newman's analysis of breakage patterns, wear, abrasion, and burning lead her to posit that an

assemblage (fragmented artefacts in a structure) archaeologists of the Maya are trained to identify as traces of a ritual of abandonment is in fact comprised of objects better described as "provisional discard" (*Ibid.* 830). Recasting these materials as objects that had perhaps "reached the end of one functional life but [we]re stored for reuse in another", she interprets what may be called a ritualized "termination" as an act of renewal. The intwining of discard and ritual pervades Newman's work (see also McNiven 2013), foregrounding questions about intentionality and symbolism that have long plagued scholarship on "special" or "structured" deposition.

The value of a category like "structured deposition" remains in debate over distinguishing between deposits that result from "special" (symbolic or ritual) acts, and those produced by more quotidian activities (Garrow 2012). Even though the debate has come to centre deposition-as-process and problematize a longstanding interpretive schema, Garrow's recent call to distinguish between deposits that were deliberately "structured" and those that are accumulations of "everyday" acts risks re-inscribing dichotomies between the ritual and the mundane. Picking up several of the themes Garrow touches on, Jervis (2014: 183) shifts the focus from discerning meaning in the act of deposition towards considering how meaning may emerge through this process "as the biographies of objects, people and features or spaces became entwined."

Unlike Schiffer's biographical approach to discard, wherein discard marks the end of an artefact's life history, Jervis works with a more capacious understanding.[1] On the one hand,

[1] The use of a biographical or "life history" approach is common to several of the interventions I cite. McNiven explicitly critiques Schiffer's "flow model" and the place discard occupies in it. Newman suggests, like Jervis, that the pre-depositional biographies of artefacts should be taken into account when theorizing events of deposition. This broader understanding of artefact life-histories draws upon Chapman's work on fragmentation (Chapman 2000; Chapman & Gaydarska 2006), as well as the move to think biographically about commodities and value (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986).

since “meaning emerges through the process of deposition”, deposits of discarded objects have a futurity. Not only may objects be scavenged and re-used, but their accumulation also creates affordances by structuring further depositional activity and creating boundaries between spaces (*Ibid.* 187). At the same time, Jervis accounts for how the pre-depositional lives of objects are an important consideration for understanding how they came to be deposited in particular ways (*Ibid.* 184; cf. Newman 2019: 814).

Jervis’ articulation of the place-making quality of discard — that it may “make waste” of a place insofar as discarded objects hold a “latent potential agency” to structure further deposition — is evocative for threading the history of deposition at SU-1. In the 14th century, residents of this terraced settlement covered over and stabilized a loose fill packed with ceramic and faunal material. While laying down a structure over an old cobble-capped pit, they also dug another pit in its vicinity — one that eventually became a receptacle for discard and was likewise sealed with cobbles. With the effects of discard in mind, the following section attends to the specific qualities of ceramic artefacts recovered from the excavation unit.

5.4) Making a midden

At the outset of excavations at SU-1, even prior to defining this deposit as a potential midden, it was apparent that a greater range of artefacts and higher densities of both faunal and ceramic material characterized this space in comparison to those seen at MARP-23. From an outdoor space such as the vicinity of the well, the MARP team recorded few artefacts other than fragments of ceramic vessels (ca. 10-12 grams/litre). Instead, in the uppermost strata of SU-1 — that is, fill abutting the wall running North-South — densities of ceramic material were higher (ca. 16-19 grams/litre). Apart from some faunal material, we also documented fragments of shell, glass bangles, worked sherds and stone tools. The greater accumulation of

materials at MARP-30 speaks to a density of occupation and activity, corroborated by the scale of settlement evidenced on the surface of residential terraces like the one where SU-1 is situated.

Artefact densities increased on further excavation (fig 5.6). A pit feature was exposed, and a friable sandy loam became pervasive across the unit, leading excavators to identify this as a potential midden. In this section, providing an account of excavated deposits and materials, I outline how — repeatedly and over the course of a long history — this space became one where discard was deposited. Events of dumping and closing off pits as well as efforts to renew this space were discernible during excavation, rendering it possible to track shifts in how the deposit was formed. The changing composition of the artefact assemblage, too, helps sketch a history of shifting patterns of discard and its deposition.

Type of deposit	Ceramic density (grams/litre of sediment removed)
Fill associated with N-S wall and architectural collapse	17.4 g/l
Upper levels of pit fill	26.8 g/l
Lower levels of pit fill	15.1 g/l

Figure 5.6 Table showing densities of ceramics recovered from SU-1.

I use the abundant assemblage of medieval ceramics excavated here to supplement data from MARP-23 and build towards a broader understanding of the kinds of vessels in use during the 13th-14th century AD at Maski. At the same time, I emphasize how the accumulation of discard had enduring effects — as evinced by my understanding that a place where discard had been deposited several centuries prior again served a similar purpose in the 14th century AD. The morphology of the two deposits — both pits capped with cobbles — mirror one another in ways that evoke recurring forms of settlement and land-use on the Durgada Gudda outcrop. Beyond these resonances, however, I also attend to the differences between these two pits and their artefactual contents.

***

The pit feature identified in the northwest corner of the excavation unit underlay a layer of artefact-rich fill associated with the upper courses of the wall running along the east of the excavation unit, and architectural collapse in the southwestern corner (see fig 5.4). Ceramics slipped red or black were most common in the fill in this extramural space (fig 5.7). Both red and black vessels were frequently shined – either burnished, lightly polished or highly polished – over a slip. Fragments of vessels slipped brown or buff were also present in high densities. Highly polished Black and Red wares, as well as vessels in grey occurred in this fill, albeit in lower densities. Faunal material was also present in relatively low densities (<1 gram/litre of sediment removed), alongside fragments of shell, iron and glass bangles.

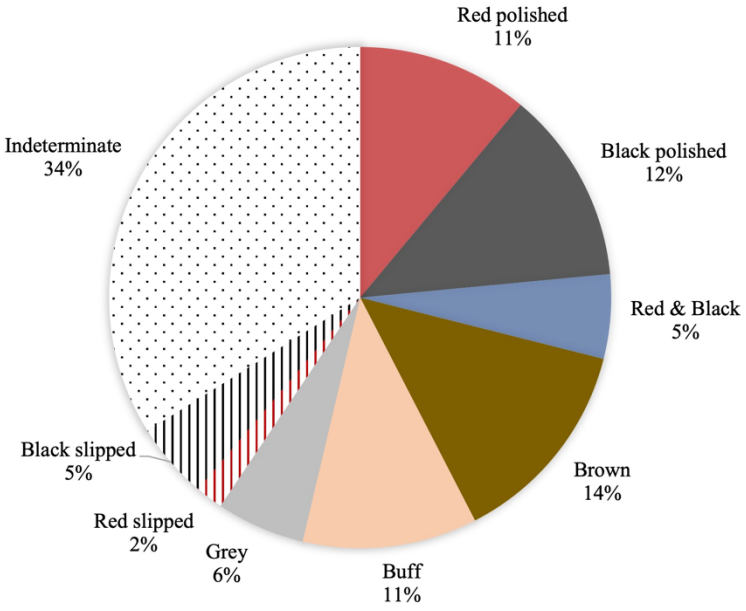


Figure 5.7 Distributions of ceramic by surface colour and surface treatment, in fill above the 14th century pit.

While it is likely that artefacts found here were discarded, it would be a misnomer to refer to this particular deposit as a midden. The layers of sand loam with occasional silty and ashy lenses, at times interspersed with daub from collapsed architecture, suggest that discarded

materials may have accumulated here as the space fell out of use. Patterns of fragmentation indicate that ceramic sherds measuring up to 2 centimetres on a side accounted for half (51%) of the assemblage (fig 5.8), showing that a higher proportion of sherds were more fragmented in deposits *above* the pit than *within* it. Unlike fill within a pit, closed off and protected from post-depositional trampling, fill above the pit may have been a more "open" context (cf. Lucas 2001).

Yet, a significant proportion of the ceramic assemblage recovered from this fill was *not* highly fragmented: sherds measuring 3-4 centimetres on a side were present in sizeable quantities. At least two sets of re-fits were also noted — suggesting that fragments of the same vessel were deposited together. These patterns indicate not only that larger artefacts were discarded here, but also that this space may not have been frequented after it was abandoned in the late-14th century. Vessels recovered from this fill were predominantly jar forms of a variety of sizes and morphologies — smaller jars with rims that were about 10-12 centimetres (fig 5.9), larger ones measuring close to 16 centimetres (fig 5.10), and the largest vessels, perhaps jars for storage, with openings between 19 and 22 centimetres wide (fig 5.11). A few bowl forms were also found in this fill, including a version of the shallow carinated bowls seen at MARP-23 (fig 5.12).

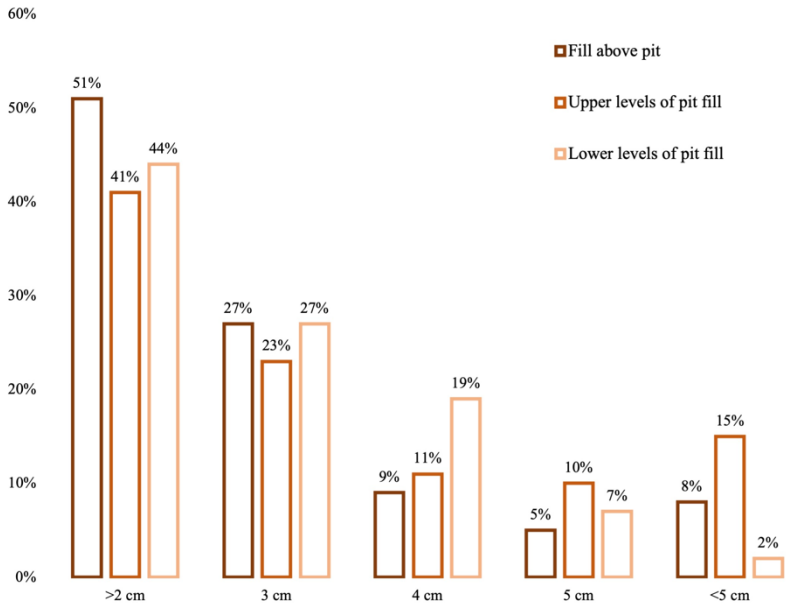


Figure 5.8 Proportions of ceramic fragments of different sizes above the pit, in the upper layers of pit fill, and the lowest levels of this (14th century AD) pit.

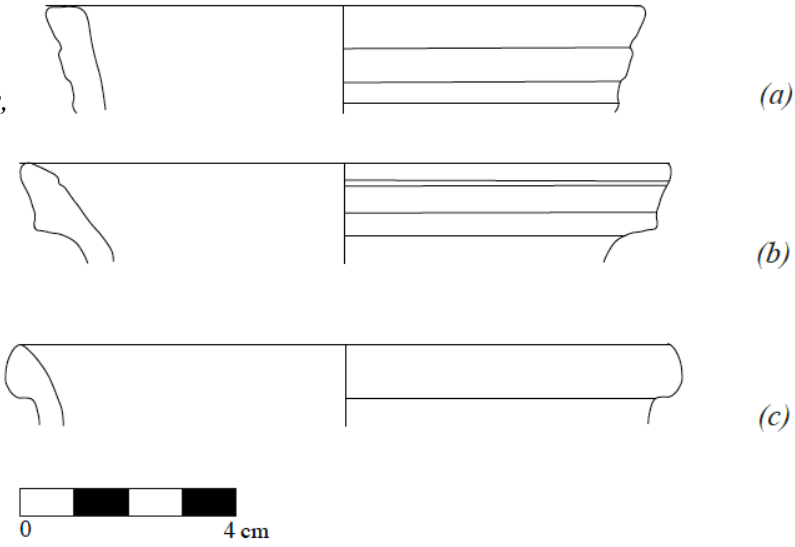


Figure 5.9 Small jar forms found in fill above the pit. (a) was slipped black, (b) was grey, and (c) was lightly polished over a black slip.

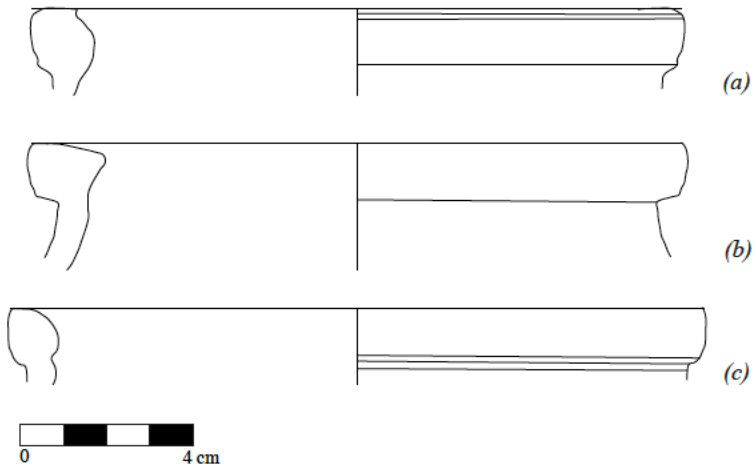


Figure 5.10 Jars with a rim diameter of about 16 cm recovered from fill above the pit. (a) was slipped buff while both (b) and (c) were grey. A form identical to the latter was also recovered from this fill.

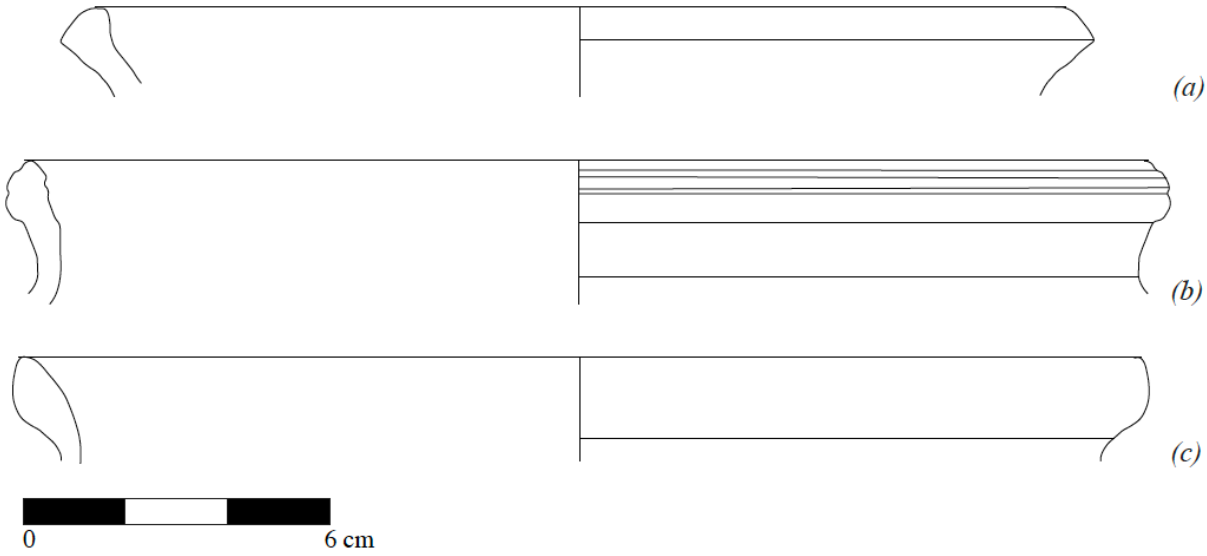


Figure 5.11 Larger jars, possibly used for storage, recovered from fill above the pit. (a) was slipped buff and showed traces of burning; (b) was grey, and (c) was slipped black.

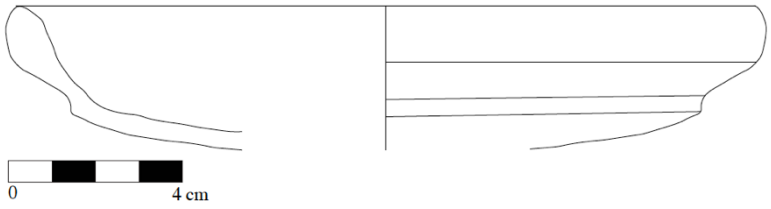


Figure 5.12 A shallow carinated bowl, slipped buff, recovered from fill above the pit.

Nearing the lowest courses of the wall in the east of the unit, the fill transitioned to a friable silty and sandy loam. An orange weathered granitic material that may have been used for construction or surfacing was exposed below architectural collapse in the southwest corner of

the excavation unit. This weathered granite sealed a fine ashy fill, and its removal exposed an arrangement of cobbles as well as large vessel fragments (fig 5.13). Protruding at an angle from the wall of the excavation unit, they appeared to have been part of a vessel that was thrown rather than placed; at first, the cobbles identified here were recorded as possible collapse from beyond the excavation unit.

Figure 5.13: Weathered granite sealed a deposit of fine ashy silt in the west of the unit. Large fragments of a ceramic vessel can be seen above cobbles in the northwest corner. These cobbles capped the pit (d=55 cm)

Although the friable granitic material mentioned above was present only in part of the excavation unit, the ashy fill it sealed in the west was noted across the excavated space. The density of ceramic recovered in this loose grey fill was higher (<20 grams/litre, see fig 5.6). A number of different artefacts were found in the screen — including a copper ornament, more bangle fragments, worked pieces of shell and bone, and re-worked ceramic. Cobbles noted in this area were retrospectively understood as capping the pit that continued in the northwest corner of the excavation unit, to a depth of nearly two metres. This area was identified as a pit

when its ashy contents became distinct from a darker and blockier matrix that surrounded it (Stratum 4, fig 5.5a).

The body of another large ceramic jar was exposed below cobbles that capped the pit (fig 5.14); while several fragments of this jar were found within the ashy silt, this vessel too appeared to be thrown rather than placed in the pit. Fragments from other ceramic vessels, as well as faunal material, a bangle fragment, pieces of shell and iron slag were recovered from sediment in and around it. Further excavation within the pit continued to yield high quantities of ceramics, alongside artefacts in shell (a button), bone (possible the fragment of a ring) and glass (bangle fragments). The presence of a more compacted material along the edges of the pit suggested it may have been lined with low-fired daub or mud.

Figure 5.14: Large fragments of a ceramic jar were found below cobbles in the northwest corner of the excavation unit (d=89 cm).

The upper layers of pit fill are marked by rising densities of ceramic material, and a shift in artefact fragmentation. The ceramic assemblage recovered from the upper levels of the pit were less fragmented than those noted in fill above the pit (see fig 5.8). Not only did sherds measuring less than 2 centimetres on a side account for 41% of the assemblage — a significant

decrease from proportions noted above this pit — larger sherds measuring over 4-5 centimetres on a side were consistently present in higher densities within the upper levels of the pit. In this ashy fill, some fragments measured over 10 centimetres. These distinct patterns of fragmentation suggest that larger pieces of broken ceramic vessels were collected and deposited in this pit, alongside other materials such as animal bone and fragments of small artefacts. The nature of the deposit itself — a pit covered with cobbles — likely prevented materials from further fragmentation.

Fragments of vessels slipped red or black accounted for a large part of sherds in the upper levels of the pit (fig 5.15). As seen in the fill above, both red and black vessels were often burnished or polished over a slip. There was a noticeable uptick in grey as well as buff vessels in the pit, and densities of vessels slipped brown remained significant. The density of Black and Red highly polished ceramics remained consistent with distributions recorded outside of the pit. Several re-fits were identified in the upper levels of the pit, including a shallow carinated bowl (fig 5.16d). Vessels that broke may have been deposited in their entirety. A number of worked sherds were also found; while most of these had smoothed edges, one was a ceramic disc. Broken vessels had occasionally been re-purposed — perhaps used to scrape or polish, or transformed into different objects altogether — before they were discarded in this pit.

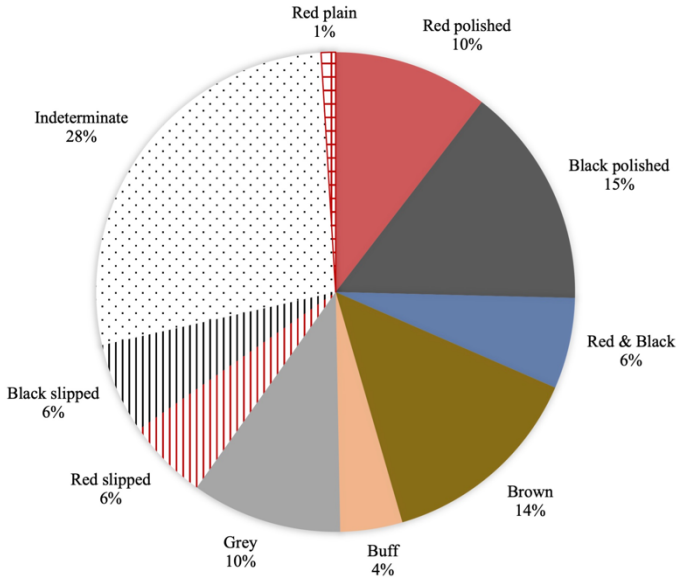


Figure 5.15 Distributions of ceramics by surface colour and surface treatment, in upper levels of fill in the 14th century pit.

Signs of burning were recorded on several sherds recovered from the upper layers of the pit; it is unlikely these were burned after being thrown out and may have been cooking vessels. The range of vessel forms found in the upper levels of the pit parallel observations at the house in MARP-23. A number of shallow bowl forms (fig 5.16) and a large platter (fig 5.17) were identified, alongside lamps (fig 5.18) and jars (fig 5.19). While some of these jar forms were small and may have been used as vessels for drinking water, larger jars similar in appearance to water pots recovered from the vicinity of the well were also found here. A wide mouthed jar that was highly polished over a black slip may have been a storage vessel. Patterns in the surface treatment of ceramics recovered from the pit, however, are distinct from those witnessed at the house at MARP-23. Notably, higher frequencies of vessels in red and black were burnished or polished over a slip. Across the deposit, these vessels were more likely to be polished rather than burnished (figs 5.20 & 5.21).

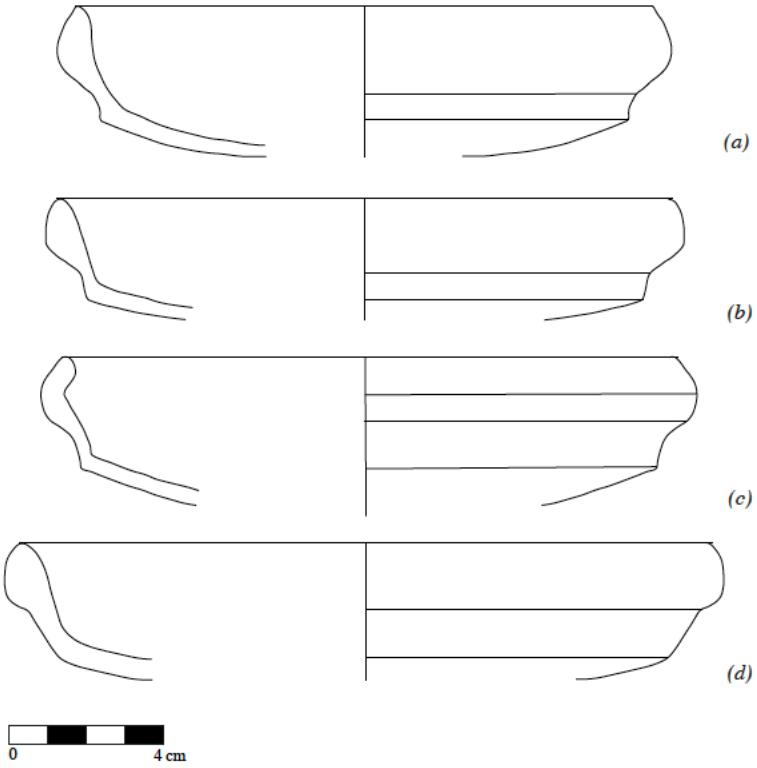
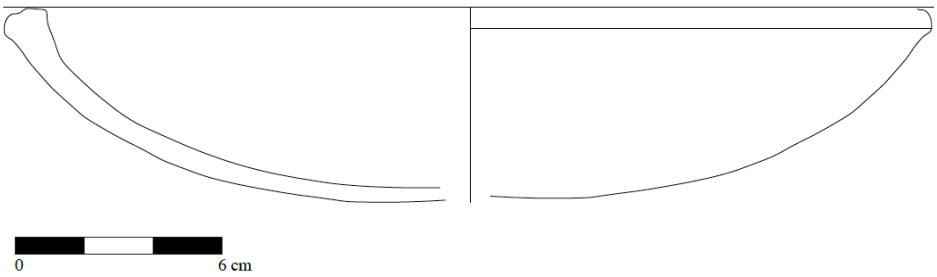


Figure 5.16 Shallow carinated bowls found in upper levels of the pit. (a) was slipped buff, (b), (c) and (d) were slipped black. Most fragments of (d) were recovered as re-fits.

Figure 5.17 Large fragments of a grey platter, with a rim diameter of 27 cm were found in the upper levels of the pit.



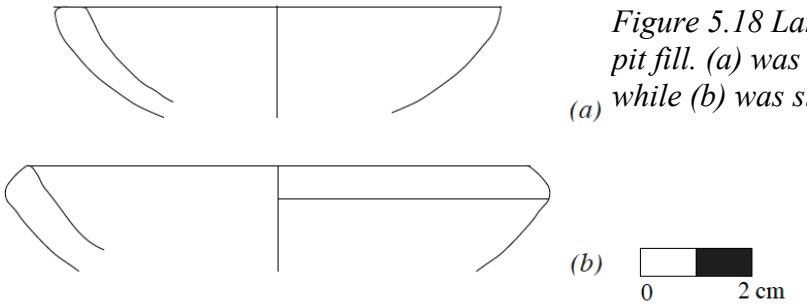


Figure 5.18 Lamps from upper levels of pit fill. (a) was an unslipped red lamp, while (b) was slipped black.

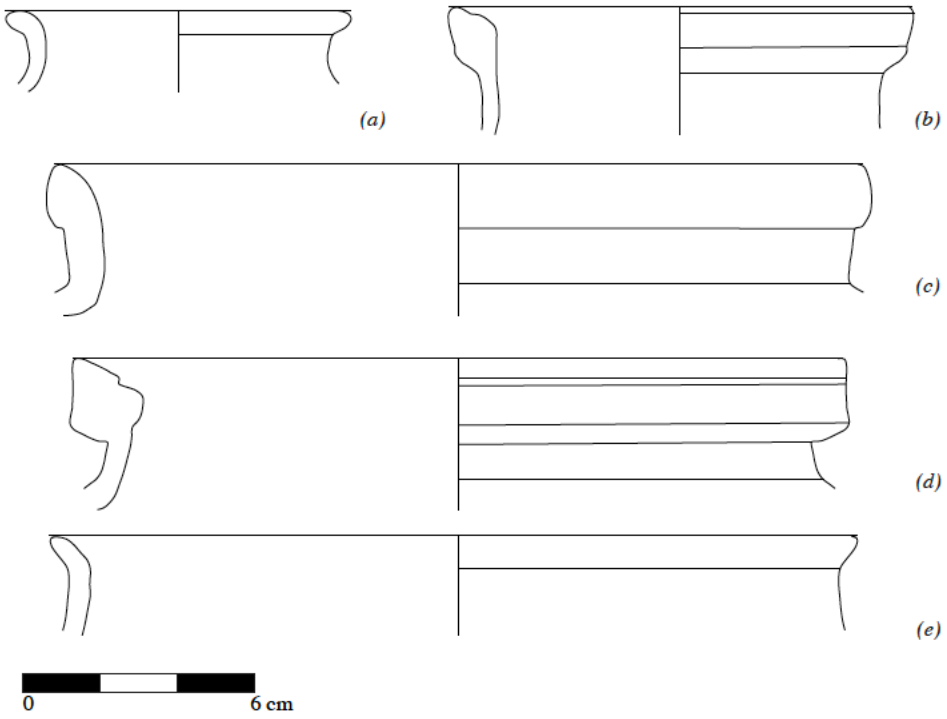


Figure 5.19 Some of the jars found in the upper layers of pit fill. (a) was burnished over a red slip; (b), another small jar, was Black and Red (highly polished); (c), possibly a water jar, was burnished over a grey slip and (d) was slipped brown. (e) was highly polished over a black slip.

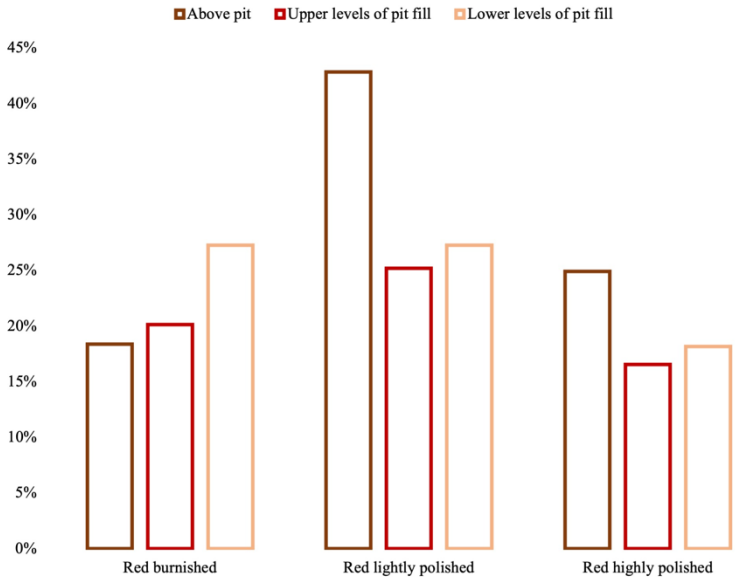
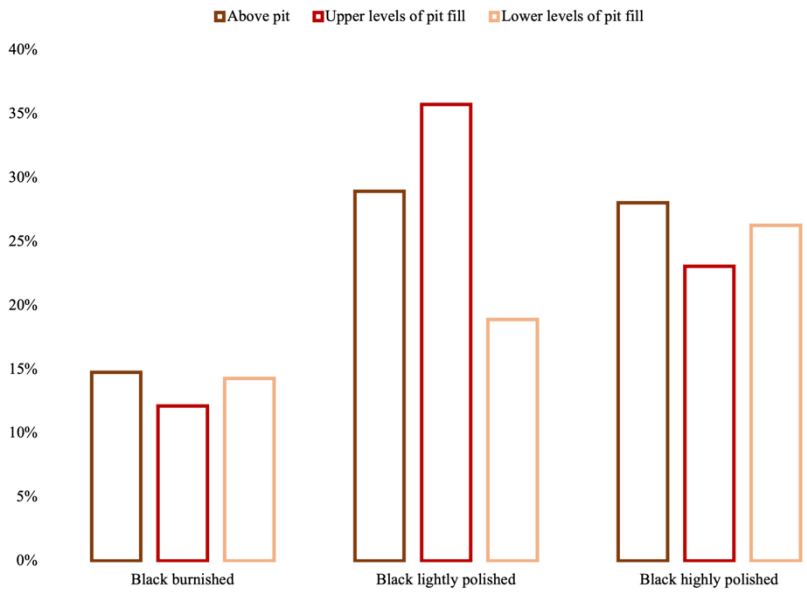


Figure 5.20: Distributions of burnished, lightly polished and highly polished red ceramics.

Figure 5.21: Distributions of burnished, lightly polished, and highly polished black ceramics.



Although ceramic densities fell sharply in the lower levels of the pit (ca. 15 grams/litre), distributions with regard to vessel colour and surface treatment remained consistent with those seen in the upper levels of the pit (fig 5.22). Vessels in red, black and brown remained the most common ones. Rather than the loose silty sand that characterized the upper levels of fill in the pit, the lowest excavated deposits were constituted of a coarse sand loam frequently interspersed with a silty plaster-like material, and with inclusions of weathered granite. Fewer artefacts other than ceramic were found at these levels, and densities of faunal material were further reduced from those noted above; charcoal, however, remained common. Frequent inclusions of plaster suggested this pit may have been lined, and perhaps used as a place for storage.

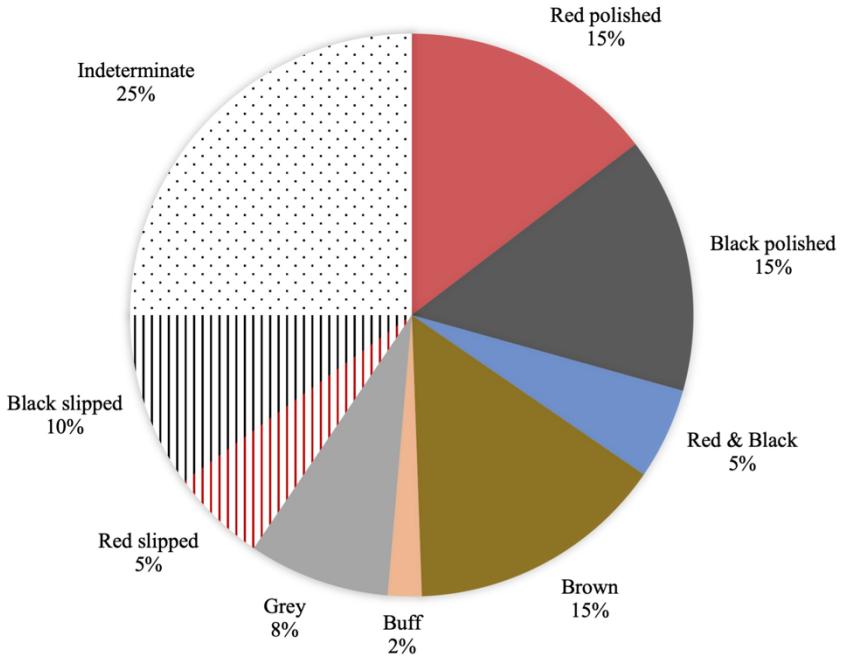


Figure 5.22: Distributions of ceramics by surface colour and surface treatment, in lower levels of fill in the 14th century pit.

Despite the distinction between upper and lower levels of the pit with regard to ceramic densities and nature of fill, patterns of fragmentation and the range of vessels found did not differ significantly. Several large fragments of ceramic vessels were recovered from the lower levels of the pit. Across the assemblage recovered from the pit, proportions of eroded sherds were smaller than those noted above the pit. The greatest concentration of burned sherds was recovered from the lower levels of the pit. Though greater densities of charcoal were noticeable while excavating the deposit, we did not note traces of burning *in situ*. While worked sherds — including a ceramic disc with a hole drilled through the middle — were found here, no re-fits were noted in the lower levels of the pit. The assemblage of ceramics recovered from the lower levels of the pit does not provide a conclusive understanding of the purpose this pit originally served; it is possible that hearth sweepings – which could include bits of plaster, charcoal, and fragments of vessels with accretions of soot – were deposited here. Jar forms predominate here, including smaller straight rimmed jars as well as a number of forms with thickened or flange rims (fig 5.23).

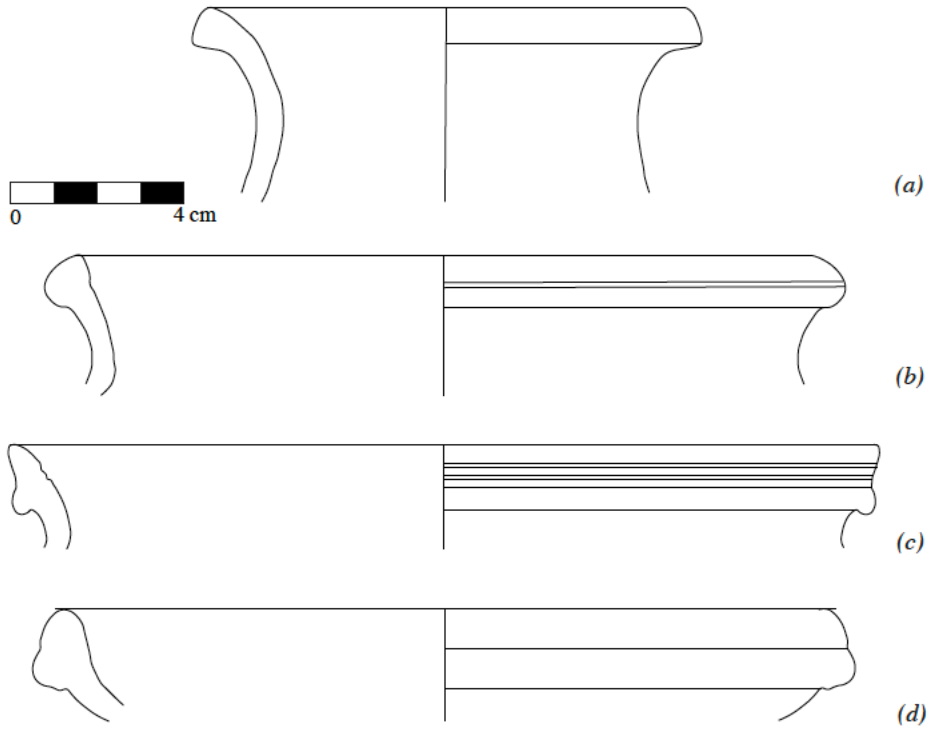


Figure 5.23: Smaller jars such as (a) – in grey as well as black – were found in the pit, along with forms that had thickened rims (b) or flange rims (c) – both grey. Bowl forms were much less common, as was the case above the pit as well.

***

Shifting artefact densities in the lower levels of the pit were noticeable not only in comparison with the more silty and ceramic-rich fill above, but the increasingly loose silty matrix that surrounded this pit. As artefact densities reduced in the pit, large volumes of ceramics and faunal material were recovered from fill to its east: on average, about 35 grams/litre of ceramic material, and 6 grams/litre of animal bone were collected from above and within what we later came to identify as a cobble-capped pit. Construction debris, especially fragments of daub, were frequent inclusions in this artefact-rich fill, through charcoal was not common.

The volume of discarded artefacts and animal bone – including large fragments of cattle bone – found both underneath the cobbles that capped this older pit and above them provide a

sense of the kind of space 14th century residents of this terrace encountered. It is difficult to say whether or not these objects were reclaimed and re-purposed before this older deposit was effectively sealed off, covered by a layer of compact mud and made ready for construction. However, even when hidden from sight, the sheer accumulation of materials here was place-making. Its durability warranted engagement in the future. Excavations in this space gesture towards some of these engagements – most pointedly seen in the renewal of this space, the subsequent continuation of middening practices here, and the manner in which the formal qualities of the two pits mirror one another.

It is also apparent that an understanding of what kind of discard would be deposited in this space shifted over time. On the one hand, significantly lower densities of faunal material in the medieval pit suggest residents may have deposited particular kinds of rubbish elsewhere. The number of worked sherds and other small, broken artefacts found in the more recent pit suggested practices of holding on to and re-purposing some objects before discarding them. Lasting engagements with objects may have extended as well to the materials medieval residents of MARP-30s terraces encountered. If the kinds of vessels recovered from the 14th century pit encompass a range of forms familiar from the house at MARP-23, the significantly higher densities of burnished and polished vessels evoke patterns underscored at the well. That is to say, older discarded materials not only produced accumulations that structured the making of places in the future; the forms and characteristic attributes of these materials could be taken up in ways that made assemblages of artefacts particular to the temporalities of places where they circulated.

Conclusion: Picking up the pieces

In her book on *Tobacco Pipes and Race*, Anna Agbe-Davies (2015: 33) admits she wasn't all that interested in pipes, after all. Her confession resonated with me: my decision to centre ceramics wasn't driven by a particular passion for these materials. A guiding interest in questions of time – grounded in a critique of ceramics as archaeological indicators of time – eventually settled into a series of interventions that are anchored in the space of the excavation unit and that reflect on themes of movement and place-making, gathering and dispersal. Shifting attentions are not atypical in the process of writing – not least for a project that has taken this long to come to fruition. Yet, I would argue that for concerns about temporality and historicity to come to congeal in an exploration of quotidian routines unfolding in particular places is perhaps not incidental. I use the space of this short conclusion to articulate a relationship between the intellectual problematics that define my research, and its analytical interventions.

Two concerns about narrativizations of time – an emphatic turn towards accounting for the strategic use of 'social memory' and genealogical ties in precolonial South India on the one hand, and the overwhelming use of ceramic vessels as indicators of chronology on the other – form the point of departure for this dissertation. A rich anthropological literature on the temporalities of quotidian routines and tasks presents an obvious counterpoint, drawing attention to the rhythms of everyday activities in non-elite settings; practices of crafting ceramic vessels, an embodied process involving the repetitive performance of learned gestures, are one among many acts of production whose temporalities archaeologists have generatively foregrounded.

A sense that routine acts encompass multiple temporalities is widely accepted by anthropologists and historians alike. Yet, I understand the overwhelming focus on memory (outlined in Chapter 1) as a mark of an underlying tension: the difficulty of drawing a connection between temporal relations formed in practice that we seek to account for, and the temporalizing interventions historians and archaeologists make. Situating my work in this gap, I draw on Ricoeur's philosophical meditations that cohere around a concept of historicity and thread a line between the phenomenology of temporal experience on the one hand, and historiography on the other. Consequently, even while the dissertation continues to centre fragments of ceramic vessels that were produced, used and circulated at Maski during the 12th-14th centuries AD, it is especially attuned to exploring the specific temporalizing potentials archaeological evidence and practices of interpreting it hold.

While ceramic vessels and our typological modes of addressing them are most closely linked with the cut of periodization, archaeologists have increasingly drawn attention to the temporalities that cohere in the process of crafting ceramic vessels – an act composed of numerous steps, executed through the iterative performance of learned gestures (see Chapter 2). At Maski, archaeological interventions – both pedestrian survey and excavation – access traces of temporal rhythms in the form of spatial accumulations. Residues of events such as the use and re-use, fragmentation and discard of ceramics are differentially inscribed in places, and produced them accretionally.

Fragments of ceramics are *not*, however, the only materials that bear traces of temporalizing activities. Furthermore, even though their accumulations are anchored in place, the portability and ubiquity of these vessels powerfully gesture towards movement, encounters, and happenings outside the bounds of excavated spaces. Tacking back and forth between the

specificity of the contexts exposed during excavation and the ceramic assemblages recovered from them did not reveal a unitary narrative about the temporalities of ceramic production and use at Maski. Rather, across three distinct vignettes that underscore temporal engagements of maintenance, renewal, and repetition, I put forward a more plural "medieval" assemblage. Expecting at the outset to sketch variability across time and refine our understanding of medieval chronology, my analyses instead demonstrate that the qualities of these assemblages (their accumulation and fragmentation) and variability within them (with reference to morphology and appearance) were specific to places.

***

A critical commentary on anthropologists' treatment, or perhaps avoidance, of questions of temporality has drawn attention to how time is spatialized to produce an 'other' as object of study (Fabian 2014[1983]). Archaeologists are not immune to this critique, despite the discipline's explicit attention to the pastness of its materials and the present time of its interventions (Lucas 2015; Olivier 2014). Adding weight to Fabian's claims, two of the discipline's most fundamental heuristic tools risk reducing acts of varying temporalities to abstract spatio-temporal units. While the categorization of artefacts – often a preliminary step in research agendas – might establish equivalences between objects, social groups, and time-periods (see Chapter 2), methods of recording and representing relationships between excavated deposits are predicated on translating deposit-forming acts and events into evenly-spaced blocks of sequential time (see Chapter 3).

Yet, as I articulate in Chapter 1, the fundamentally spatial metaphor of the palimpsest is among the most compelling ways to consider the temporal structure of archaeological entities. The layers of a palimpsest are the result of iterative action on matter. The traces they bear are

characterized as much by inscription as they are by erasure. Palimpsests are produced accretionally across time; rather than a sequential time represented by the superimposition of one layer over another, the duration of the palimpsest is interrupted and uneven. If some ingrained habits of archaeological thinking tend towards "tak[ing] the time out of practice" and flattening the space of action (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Munn 1993: 107-8), the complexity of the palimpsest perhaps opens one way of temporalizing space.

The layered floor surfaces of a partially excavated house at Maski materially instantiate this complexity. On the one hand, excavations exposed a series of floor surfaces whose alternating bands of grey ashy plaster interspersed with brown loam fill immediately evoke a palimpsest. They help visualize the sequent applications of plaster and deposition of fill whereby this space was accretionally produced over the course of nearly two centuries. As a palimpsest in the true sense, however, these layers evoke rather than disclose the process of their accumulation. What was excavated as one surface likely consisted of multiple plastering events. Relatively low densities of often highly fragmented materials were recovered from these surfaces, further underscoring an element of erasure: residents busied themselves with routines that resulted in *clearance* and *accumulation* alike.

If the layers of the palimpsest hold traces of multiple acts that each have their own temporal entailments, their extent in space is similarly difficult to delineate. Our excavation unit 'cut' a 1 m^2 window in the interior space of the house, making clear the partial nature of this intervention. Routines of renewing this space – clearing it and depositing rubbish elsewhere, preparing materials to apply a fresh layer of plaster, and collecting what would be thrown in as a fill between major plastering events – always evoke an outside. Fragments of ceramic vessels similarly suggest an expansive space of action: forms of vessels repeat across the floor

surfaces, interrupting sequent acts of renewal with a sense of continuity; not only were these vessels prepared by potters who likely supplied several households, the forms themselves – often equipped with a ledge or flange on the rim's exterior – were portable and likely used to carry goods into and out of the home.

A well located about a hundred metres was likely one of the places to which ceramic water jugs were carried from this house. Littered with fragments of broken ceramic vessels, the well and its vicinity are testament to routines that were both temporalizing and place-making, and which involved movement across Maski's settled geography. The well's masonry-lined structure rendered it a durable element of infrastructure. Surfaces in its vicinity demonstrated the well was an often-visited focal point for those who lived at the foot of Maski's Durgada Gudda or passed through this space. Unlike the meticulously maintained house-floors, these roughly overlapping layers of compacted mud were the accretional product of heavy footfall. The accumulation of ceramic sherds by the well attests to their frequent use and breakage there, and to relatively relaxed conventions for maintaining and clearing this outdoor space.

Ceramics recovered from surfaces in the vicinity of the well were remarkably more variable than those seen elsewhere at Maski, encompassing a greater range of colours, surface treatments, and morphology. They often demonstrate features associated with the region's Iron Age and Early Historic periods. I argue that surfaces by the well provide an instance of how frequent encounters with discarded materials (from pasts both proximate and distant) could produce an "available past" that may be worked on, renewed, and made present. Potters appropriated and, in some cases, modified older ways of making ceramics to produce the more variable assemblage seen at the well. Variability was key in such a place of gathering, where

the threat of contamination that accompanied encounters with diverse others could be mitigated by bringing one's own distinct clay pot.

Excavations at a terraced settlement on the slopes of Maski's Durgada Gudda outcrop too speak to questions of available pasts and their unanticipated futures. A small excavation unit (1 m^2) in an outdoor space surrounded by several structures with stone foundations exposed a pit used for depositing discard during the 14th century AD, which cut through another midden context dated to the mid-2nd millennium BC. The history of deposition recorded here suggests that a lasting accumulation of prehistoric discard became the grounds on which future inhabitants engaged with this space. On the one hand, the settlement's medieval residents deposited a layer of compact mud and renewed the area, sealing off a loose fill replete with ceramic and faunal discard. Yet, they dug another pit that eventually became a receptacle for discard. Capped with cobbles and mirroring the form of the older midden, the formal and spatial proximity of these pits gestures towards the unanticipated effects of enduring accumulations of materials.

***

I have suggested that the spatial distributions of ceramics at Maski disaggregate the notion of a "medieval" assemblage. They further push for a reconsideration of the ways in which quotidian materials and their fragments are temporalizing. On the one hand, temporalities of ceramic use and breakage, and routines of maintenance and renewal produced accumulations of materials specific to each place. At the same time, these accumulations had potential effects. At the well, frequent encounters with older materials not only made the past into a resource on which potters could draw, they also shaped the particular contours of ceramic variability in this space. The carefully maintained house floors evoke a place like a midden where household

discard would have piled up, offering possibilities for re-use and re-purposing. And a midden could become an enduring and visible accumulation that – centuries later – "made waste" of a place, setting it apart as a site for the continued deposition of rubbish.

Appendix A: Ceramic coding sheet

Site_____ Unit _____ _____E _____N Locus _____

MARP 2019: Ceramic coding

Artefact Number and Provenience				Vessel Form	Surface Colour		Surface Treatment		Decoration	Paste		Firing atmosphere		Micaceous-ness	Size	Thickness (mm)	Weight (g)	Type	Comment
#	Site	Unit	Locus		Ext Surf	Int Surf	Ext Surf	Int Surf		Inclusi-ons	Dens-ity	Core	Fabric colour						

Initials _____Date_____ Page of

Bibliography

Agbe-Davies, Anna S.
2015 Tobacco, Pipes, and Race in Colonial Virginia: Little Tubes of Mighty Power. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Allison, Penelope M., ed.
1999 The Archaeology of Household Activities. London/New York: Routledge.

Anand, Nikhil
2011 Pressure: The Politechnics of Water Supply in Mumbai. Cultural Anthropology 26(4): 542–564.

Appadurai, Arjun
1986 Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value. *In* The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective Pp. 3–63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arendt, Hannah
1998[1958] The Human Condition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bauer, Andrew M.
2011 Producing the Political Landscape: Monuments, Labor, Water and Place in Iron Age Central Karnataka. *In* The Archaeology of Politics: The Materiality of Political Practice and Action in the Past. Peter G. Johansen and Andrew M. Bauer, eds. Pp. 83–113. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
2015 Before Vijayanagara: Prehistoric Landscapes and Politics in the Tungabhadra Basin. Vijayanagara Research Project Monograph Series, Vol. 14. New Delhi: Manohar and American Institute of Indian Studies.
2018 Remote Sensing Soils and Social Geographies of Difference: The Landscape Archaeology of Regur from Iron Age through Medieval Period Northern Karnataka, Southern India. Journal of Field Archaeology 43(1): 31–43.
2019 Urbanism and the Temporality of Materiality on the Medieval Deccan: Beyond the Cosmograms of Social and Political Space. *In* New Materialisms Ancient Urbanisms. Susan M. Alt and Timothy R. Pauketat, eds. Pp. 184–217. New York: Routledge.

Bauer, Andrew M., Peter G Johansen, and Radhika L Bauer
2007 Toward a Political Ecology in Early South India: Preliminary Considerations of the Sociopolitics of Land and Animal Use in the Southern Deccan, Neolithic through Early Historic Periods. Asian Perspectives 46(1): 3–35.

Bauer, Andrew M., and Kathleen D Morrison
2008 Water Management and Reservoirs in India and Sri Lanka. *In* Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures. H. Selin, ed. Pp 4376–4385. Berlin: Springer.

Bauer, Andrew M, and Mudit Trivedi
2013 Contextualizing Megalithic Places: Survey, Mapping, and Surface Documentation in the Environs of Hire Benakal (Koppal District, Karnataka). Man and Environment 38(2): 46–61.

Bauer, Andrew M., and Peter G Johansen
2015 Prehistoric Mortuary Practices and the Constitution of Social Relationships: Implications of the First Radiocarbon Dates from Maski on the Occupational History of a South India "Type Site." Radiocarbon 57(5): 795–806.
2019 The Maski Archaeological Research Project (2010–18): Initial Results from a Multi-Period Interdisciplinary Project on the Raichur Doab, Karnataka, India. Current Science 117(1): 46–56.

Bauer, Andrew M., and Steve Kosiba
2016 How Things Act: An Archaeology of Materials in Political Life. Journal of Social Archaeology 16(2): 115–141.

Bauer, Andrew M., Peter G Johansen, Gavi Siddaiya and R. Gopal
2021 The Maski Archaeological Research Project (MARP): Comprehensive-cum-Consolidated Excavation Report for the 2018 Excavation Season and 2019 Salvage Excavations. Report submitted to the Archaeological Survey of India.

Beck, Margaret E.
2006 Midden Ceramic Assemblage Formation: A Case Study from Kalinga, Philippines. American Antiquity 71(1): 27–51.

Beck, Margaret E., and Matthew E Hill
2004 Rubbish, Relatives, and Residence: The Family Use of Middens. Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory 11(3): 297–333.

Beck, Robin A., ed.
2007 The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology. Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University.

Benjamin, Walter
2004 Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings. Michael W. Jennings, ed. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap.
2005 Excavation and Memory. *In* Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings Pp. 1931–1934. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press Cambridge, MA.

Bennett, Jane
2010 Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things. Durham (NC): Duke University Press.

Binford, Lewis R.
1962 Archaeology as Anthropology. American Antiquity 28(2): 217–25.

1965 Archaeological Systematics and the Study of Culture Process. American Antiquity 31(2): 203–10.
1973 Interassemblage Variability – the Mousterian and the 'Functional' Argument. *In* The Explanation of Culture Change, 227–54. London: Duckworth.
1978 Dimensional Analysis of Behavior and Site Structure: Learning from an Eskimo Hunting Stand. American Antiquity 43(3): 330–361.
1980 Willow Smoke and Dogs' Tails: Hunter-Gatherer Settlement Systems and Archaeological Site Formation. American Antiquity 45(1): 4–20.
1981 Behavioral Archaeology and the" Pompeii Premise". Journal of Anthropological Research 37(3): 195–208.
1982 The Archaeology of Place. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 1(1): 5–31.
1983 In Pursuit of the Past: Decoding the Archaeological Record. Berkeley. CA: University of California Press.
1986 An Alyawara Day: Making Men's Knives and Beyond. American Antiquity 51(3): 547–62.

Boelhower, B.
2005 Mnemohistory: The Archaeological Turn in the Humanities from Winckelmann to Calvino. Symbiosis 9: 99–116.

Boivin, Nicole
2000 Life Rhythms and Floor Sequences: Excavating Time in Rural Rajasthan and Neolithic Çatalhoyuk. World Archaeology 31(3): 367–388.

Borić, Dušan
2010 Introduction: Memory, archaeology and the historical condition. *In* Archaeology and Memory. Dušan Borić, ed. Pp. 1-34. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Bourdieu, Pierre
1977 Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
1990 The Logic of Practice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bradley, Richard
1998 Ruined Buildings, Ruined Stones: Enclosures, Tombs and Natural Places in the Neolithic of South-West England. World Archaeology 30(1): 13–22.
2002 The Past in Prehistoric Societies. London: Routledge.

Bradley, Richard, and Howard Williams
1998 The Past in the Past: The Reuse of Ancient Monuments. World Archaeology 30(1).

Brew, J. O.
1946 Archaeology of Alkali Ridge, Southeastern Utah. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, v. 21. Cambridge, Mass: Peabody Museum.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M. & Timothy K. Earle, eds.
1987 Specialization, Exchange and Complex Societies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Callon, Michel
1986 Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St. Brieuc Bay. *In* Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge. John Law, ed. Pp. 67–83. London: Routledge.

Carver, Martin O.H.
1990 Digging for Data: Archaeological Approaches to Data Definition, Acquisition and Analysis. *In* Lo Scavo Archeologico: Dalla Diagnosi All'edizione. Riccardo Francovich and Daniele Manacorda, eds. Pp. 45–120. Florence: Edizioni all'insegna del Giglio.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh
2009[2001] Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chapman, John
2013 Fragmentation in Archaeology: People, Places and Broken Objects in the Prehistory of Southeastern Europe. London/New York: Routledge.

Chapman, John C, and Bisserka Ivanovna Gaydarska
2006 Parts and Wholes: Fragmentation in Prehistoric Context. Oxford: Oxbow books.

Childe, V. Gordon
1958 A Short Introduction to Archaeology. New York: Macmillan.

Clark, John E.
2007 In Craft Specialization's Penumbra: Things, Persons, Action, Value, and Surplus. Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association 17(1): 20–35.

Connerton, Paul
1989 How Societies Remember. Themes in the Social Sciences. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Costin, Cathy Lynne
1991 Craft Specialization: Issues in Defining, Documenting, and Explaining the Organization of Production. Archaeological Method and Theory 3: 1–56.
2007 Thinking about Production: Phenomenological Classification and Lexical Semantics. Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association 17(1): 143–62.

Cox, Whitney M.
2010 Scribe and Script in the Cālukya West Deccan. The Indian Economic & Social History Review 47(1): 1–28.

Daniel, E. Valentine
1984 Fluid Signs: Being a Person the Tamil Way. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Davis, Kathleen
2008 Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

De Landa, Manuel
2006 A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity. London/New York: Continuum.

Desai, Pandurang Bhimarao
1958 A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Kannada Districts of Hyderabad State. Hyderabad Archaeological Series. Archaeological Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh.
1962 Select Stone Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, no. 9. Hyderabad: Govt. of Andhra Pradesh.

Deshpande, Prachi
2007 Creative Pasts: Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700-1960. New York: Columbia University Press.

Dietler, Michael, and Ingrid Herbich
1989 Tich Matek: The Technology of Luo Pottery Production and the Definition of Ceramic Style. World Archaeology 21(1): 148–64.

Douglas, Mary
1991 The Idea of a Home: A Kind of Space. Social Research 58(1): 287–307.

Durkheim, Émile
1995 The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. Karen E. Fields, trans. New York: Free Press.

Eaton, Richard M.
2009 "Kiss My Foot", Said the King: Firearms, Diplomacy, and the Battle for Raichur, 1520. Modern Asian Studies 43(1): 289–313.

Eaton, Richard M., and Phillip B. Wagoner
2014 Power, Memory, Architecture: Contested Sites on India's Deccan Plateau, 1300-1600. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E.
1939 Nuer Time-Reckoning. Africa 12(2): 189–216.

Fabian, Johannes
2014[1983] Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object. New York: Columbia University Press.

Fanthome, Eduard
2021 Politics Beyond Imperial Cores: Spatial Production in the Peripheries of Medieval South India. The Medieval History Journal 24(1–2): 92–129.

Feldhaus, Anne, ed.
1984 The Deeds of God in Ṛddhipur. New York: Oxford University Press.

Feldhaus, Anne, and Shankar Gopal Tulpule, eds.
1992 In the Absence of God: The Early Years of an Indian Sect: A Translation of *Smṛtisthaḷ*, with an Introduction. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Flad, Rowan K, and Zachary X Hruby
2007 'Specialized' Production in Archaeological Contexts: Rethinking Specialization, the Social Value of Products, and the Practice of Production. Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association 17(1): 1–19.

Ford, James A.
1954a On the Concept of Types. *American Anthropologist* 56(1): 42-57.
1954b Comment on A.C. Spaulding, 'Statistical Techniques for the Discovery of Artifact Types'. American Antiquity 19(4): 390–91.

Fowler, Chris
2017 Relational Typologies, Assemblage Theory and Early Bronze Age Burials. Cambridge Archaeological Journal 27(1): 95–109.

Fowler, Chris, and Oliver JT Harris
2015 Enduring Relations: Exploring a Paradox of New Materialism. Journal of Material Culture 20(2): 127–148.

Gaggioli, Amanda M, Andrew M Bauer, Kathleen D Morrison, and Mark T Lycett
2021 Early Water Management in South Asia: Geochronology and Micromorphology of Rock Pools and Small-scale Water Catchment Features in Karnataka, India. Geoarchaeology 36(5): 780–788.

Garrow, Duncan
2012 Odd Deposits and Average Practice. A Critical History of the Concept of Structured Deposition. Archaeological Dialogues 19(2): 85–115.

Gopal, B. R.
1982 Minor Dynasties of South India, Karnataka. Madras: New Era Publications.

Gosselain, Olivier
1992 Technology and Style: Potters and Pottery among Bafia of Cameroon. *Man* 27(3): 559–86.
2008 Thoughts and Adjustments in the Potter's Backyard. *In* Breaking the Mould: Challenging the Past through Pottery. I. Berg, ed. Pp. 67–79. Oxford: BAR Press.

Guha, Sumit
2009 The Frontiers of Memory: What the Marathas Remembered of Vijayanagara. Modern Asian Studies 43(1): 269–288.
2019 History and Collective Memory in South Asia, 1200-2000. Global South Asia. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Habib, Irfan
1985 Classifying Pre-colonial India. The Journal of Peasant Studies 12(2–3): 44–53.

Halbwachs, Maurice
1992 On Collective Memory. Lewis A. Coser, trans. Heritage of Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Harris, Edward C.
1975 The Stratigraphic Sequence: A Question of Time. World Archaeology 7(1): 109–121.
1979 The Laws of Archaeological Stratigraphy. World Archaeology 11(1): 111–117.

Hartog, François
2015 Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time. Saskia Brown, trans. New York: Columbia University Press.

Heidegger, Martin
2008[1927] Being and Time. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, trans. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Thought.

Hodder, Ian
1982 Theoretical Archaeology: A Reactionary View. *In* Symbolic and Structural Archaeology. Pp. 1–16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1990 The Domestication of Europe: Structure and Contingency in Neolithic Societies. Oxford: Blackwell.
1998 The Domus: Some Problems Reconsidered. *In* Understanding the Neolithic of North-Western Europe. Mark Edmonds and Colin Richards, eds. Pp. 84–101. Glasgow: Cruithne Press.

Hodder, Ian, and Craig Cessford
2004 Daily Practice and Social Memory at Çatalhöyük. American Antiquity 69(1): 17–40.

Hodder, Ian, and Peter Pels
2010 History Houses: A New Interpretation of Architectural Elaboration at Çatalhöyük. *In* Religion in the Emergence of Civilization: Çatalhöyük as a Case Study. Ian Hodder, ed. Pp. 163-186. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inden, Ronald B.
1990 Imagining India. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Inden, Ronald B., Jonathan S. Walters, and Daud Ali, eds.
2000 Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Ingold, Tim
1993 The Temporality of the Landscape. World Archaeology 25(2): 152–174.
2013 Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
2020 In the Gathering Shadows of Material Things. *In* Exploring Materiality and Connectivity in Anthropology and Beyond. Philipp Schorch, Martin Saxer, and Marlen Elders, eds. Pp. 17–35. London: UCL Press.

Jervis, Ben
2014 Middens, Memory and the Effect of Waste. Beyond Symbolic Meaning in Archaeological Deposits. An Early Medieval Case Study. Archaeological Dialogues 21(2): 175–196.

Johansen, Peter G, and Andrew M Bauer
2018 On the Matter of Resources and Techno-politics: The Case of Water and Iron in the South Indian Iron Age. American Anthropologist 120(3): 412–428.

Joyce, Rosemary A.
2000 Heirlooms and Houses: Materiality and Social Memory. *In* Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies. Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, eds. Pp. 189–212. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Joyce, Rosemary A., and Susan D. Gillespie, eds.
2000 Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Keer, Dhananjay
1962 Dr. Ambedkar, Life and Mission. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Kluckhohn, Clyde
1939 The Place of Theory in Anthropological Studies. Philosophy of Science 6(3): 328–44.

Knappett, Carl
2012 Meaning in Miniature: Semiotic Networks in Material Culture. *In* Excavating the Mind: Cross-Sections through Culture, Cognition and Materiality. Niels Johannsen, Mads Jessen & Hielle Juel Jensen, eds. Pp. 87–109. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Kopytoff, Igor
1986 The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process. In The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective. Arjun Appadurai, ed. Pp. 64-92. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koselleck, Reinhart, Javiér Fernández Sebastián, and Juan Francisco Fuentes
2006 Conceptual History, Memory, and Identity: An Interview with Reinhart Koselleck. Contributions to the History of Concepts 2(1): 99–127.

Krieger, Alex D.
1944 The Typological Concept. American Antiquity 9(3): 271–88.

Kulke, Hermann
1993 Kings and Cults: State Formation and Legitimation in India and Southeast Asia. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors.

Lanzmann, Claude, Ziva Postec and Dominique Chapuis, dir.
2013 Shoah. The Criterion Collection: 663. The Criterion Collection. New York.

Larkin, Brian
2013 The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure. Annual Review of Anthropology 42: 327–343.

Latour, Bruno
2005 Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lave, Jean
2011 Apprenticeship in Critical Ethnographic Practice. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lemonnier, Pierre
1993 Introduction. *In* Technological Choices: Transformation in Material Cultures since the Neolithic. Pierre Lemonnier, ed. Pp. 1-35. New York: Routledge.

Longacre, William A., and James M. Skibo
1994 An Introduction to Kalinga Ethnoarchaeology. *In* Kalinga Ethnoarchaeology: Expanding Archaeological Method and Theory. Pp. 1–11. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Lucas, Gavin
2001 Critical Approaches to Fieldwork: Contemporary and Historical Archaeological Practice. London/New York: Routledge.
2005 The Archaeology of Time. London/New York: Routledge.
2012 Understanding the Archaeological Record. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
2017 Variations on a Theme: Assemblage Archaeology. Cambridge Archaeological Journal 27(1): 187–90.

Ludden, David E.
1985 Peasant History in South India. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lycett, Mark T, and Kathleen D Morrison
2013 The "Fall" of Vijayanagara Reconsidered: Political Destruction and Historical Construction in South Indian History. Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 56(3): 433–470.

Malafouris, Lambros
2008 At the Potter's Wheel: An Argument for Material Agency. *In* Material Agency: Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach. Carl Knappet & Lambros Malafouris, eds. Pp. 19–36. Berlin: Springer.

Malinowski, Bronislaw
1927 Lunar and Seasonal Calendar in the Trobriands. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 57: 203–215.

Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels
1978 The Marx-Engels Reader. Robert C. Tucker, ed. New York: Norton.

Matthews, Wendy, Charles French, Timothy Lawrence, and David Cutler
1996 Multiple Surfaces: The Micromorphology. *In* On the Surface: Çatalhöyük 1993-1995. Ian Hodder, ed. Pp. 301–342. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

McAnany, Patricia A., and Ian Hodder
2009 Thinking about Stratigraphic Sequence in Social Terms. Archaeological Dialogues 16(1): 1–22.

McKern, William C.
1939 The Midwestern Taxonomic Method as an Aid to Archaeological Culture Study. American Antiquity 4(4): 301–13.
1942 Taxonomy and the Direct Historical Approach. American Antiquity 8(2): 170–72.

McNiven, Ian
2013 Ritualized Middening Practices. Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory 20(4): 552–587.

Miller, Daniel
1985 Artefacts as Categories: A Study of Ceramic Variability in Central India. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mines, Diane P.
2005 Fierce Gods: Inequality, Ritual, and the Politics of Dignity in a South Indian Village. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mines, Diane P, and Nicolas Yazgi, eds.
2010 Village Matters: Relocating Villages in the Contemporary Anthropology of India. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mixter, David W. and Edward R. Henry, eds.
2017 Webs of Memory, Frames of Power: Collective Remembering in the Archaeological Record. Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory 24(1).

Morrison, Kathleen D
1995 Fields of Victory: Vijayanagara and the Course of Intensification. Berkeley: University of California, Archaeological Research Facility.
1996 Typological Schemes and Agricultural Change: Beyond Boserup in Precolonial South India. Current Anthropology 37(4): 583–608.
2005 Brahmagiri Revisited: A Re-Analysis of the South Indian Sequence. *In* South Asian Archaeology 2001. C. Jarrige and V. Lefevre, eds. Pp. 257-261. Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations, ADPF.
2009 Daroji Valley: Landscape History, Place, and the Making of a Dryland Reservoir System. New Delhi: Manohar.
2012 Doorways to the Divine: Vijayanagara Reservoirs and Rural Devotional Landscapes. South Asian Studies 28(2): 157–169.
2015 Archaeologies of Flow: Water and the Landscapes of Southern India Past, Present, and Future. Journal of Field Archaeology 40(5): 560–580.
2016 On Putting Time in Its Place: Archaeological Practice and the Politics of Time in Southern India. Cambridge Archaeological Journal 26(4): 619–641.

Morrison, Kathleen D and Carla M Sinopoli
1992 Economic Diversity and Integration in a Pre-colonial Indian Empire. World Archaeology 23(3): 335–52.

Morrison, Kathleen D., M. T. Lycett, and M. Trivedi
2016 Megaliths and Memory: Excavations at Kadebakele and the Megaliths of Northern Karnataka. *In* South Asian Archaeology and Art: Contextualizing Material Culture in South and Central Asia in Pre-Modern Times. Papers from the 20th Conference of the European Association for South Asian Archaeology and Art Held in Vienna from 4th to 9th of July 2010. Ute Franke and Petra Latschenberger, eds. Pp. 239-252. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols.

Mosse, David
2003 The Rule of Water: Statecraft, Ecology and Collective Action in South India. Oxford University Press.

Mukhia, Harbans
1981 Was There Feudalism in Indian History? The Journal of Peasant Studies 8(3): 273–310.

Munn, Nancy D.
1986 The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society. Durham: Duke University Press.
1992 The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay. Annual Review of Anthropology 21(1): 93–123.

Murphy, Keith M.
2015 Swedish Design: An Ethnography. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Nandy, Ashis
1995 History's Forgotten Doubles. History and Theory: 44–66.

Narayana Rao, Velcheru, David Dean Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam
1992 Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamilnadu. Delhi/New York: Oxford University Press.
2001 Textures of Time: Writing History in South India, 1600-1800. Delhi: Permanent Black. Needham, Stuart, and Tony Spence 1997. Refuse and the Formation of Middens. Antiquity 71(271): 77–90.

Newman, Sarah E.
2019 Rubbish, Reuse, and Ritual at the Ancient Maya Site of El Zotz, Guatemala. Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory 26(2): 806–843.

Nilakanta Sastri, K. A.
1955 A History of South India: From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Nora, Pierre
1989 Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. Representations 26: 7–24.
2001 Rethinking France, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Novetzke, Christian Lee
2016 The Quotidian Revolution: Vernacularization, Religion, and the Premodern Public Sphere in India. New York: Columbia University Press.

Olivier, Laurent
2011 The Dark Abyss of Time: Archaeology and Memory. Arthur Greenspan, trans. Lanham, Md: AltaMira Press.

Patil, Channabasappa S., Vinoda C. Patil, eds.
1997 Inscriptions of Karnataka: Raichur District, vol. 4. Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums.

Pollock, Sheldon
1995 Making History: Kalyani AD 1008. *In* Srinagabhinandanam: MS Nagaraja Rao Felicitation Volume. Merutunga Jinavijaya, ed. Pp. 559-576. Bangalore: MS Nagaraja Rao Felicitation Committee.
2006 The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India.

Rathje, William L, and Cullen Murphy
2001 Rubbish!: The Archaeology of Garbage. University of Arizona Press.

Ricœur, Paul
2004 Memory, History, Forgetting. David Pellauer, trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Roddick, Andrew P.
2009 Communities of Pottery Production and Consumption on the Taraco Peninsula, Bolivia, 200 BC-300 AD. PhD Dissertation. Berkeley: University of California.

Roddick, Andrew P. and Ann Brower Stahl, eds.
2016 Knowledge in Motion: Constellations of Learning across Time and Place. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Roskams, Steve
2001 Excavation. Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sahlins, Marshall
2004 Apologies to Thucydides: Understanding History as Culture and Vice Versa. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schiffer, Michael B
1972 Archaeological Context and Systemic Context. American Antiquity 37(2): 156–165.
1985 Is There a "Pompeii Premise" in Archaeology? Journal of Anthropological Research 41(1): 18–41.
1987 Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
1995 Behavioral Archaeology: First Principles. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Shanks, Michael
2012 The Archaeological Imagination. Walnut Creek, Calif: Left Coast Press.

Sharma, Ram Sharan
1985 How Feudal Was Indian Feudalism? The Journal of Peasant Studies 12(2–3): 19–43.

Shott, Michael J
1996 Mortal Pots: On Use Life and Vessel Size in the Formation of Ceramic Assemblages. American Antiquity 61(3): 463–482.

Simonetti, Cristián
2018 Sentient Conceptualisations: Feeling and Thinking in the Scientific Understanding of Time. Abingdon, Oxon./New York, NY: Routledge.

Sinopoli, Carla M.
1986 Material Patterning and Social Organization: A Study of Ceramics from Vijayanagara, South India. PhD Dissertation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

1993 Pots and Palaces: The Earthenware Ceramics of the Noblemen's Quarter of Vijayanagara. New Delhi: Manohar.
2003 The Political Economy of Craft Production: Crafting Empire in South India, c. 1350-1650. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2012 Exploring Ceramic Variability in Iron Age South India: Social and Political Implications. *In* South Asian Archaeology 2007: Proceedings of the 19th International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeology, Dennys Frenez and Maurizio Tosi, eds. Pp. 233–241. Oxford: BAR.

Sinopoli, Carla M. and Kathleen D Morrison
2007 The Vijayanagara Metropolitan Survey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum.

Spaulding, Albert C.
1953 Statistical Techniques for the Discovery of Artifact Types. American Antiquity 18(4): 305–13.

Stein, Burton
1985 Politics, Peasants and the Deconstruction of Feudalism in Medieval India. The Journal of Peasant Studies 12(2–3): 54–86.

Steward, Julian H.
1942 The Direct Historical Approach to Archaeology. American Antiquity 7(4): 337–43.

Talbot, Cynthia
2001 Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Region, and Identity in Medieval Andhra. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Thapar, B.K.
1957 Maski 1954: A Chalcolithic Site of the Southern Deccan. Ancient India 13: 4–142.

Trautmann, Thomas R.
2012 Does India Have History? Does History Have India? NMML Occasional Paper. New Delhi: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

Tringham, Ruth
2000 The Continuous House: A View from the Deep Past. *In* Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies. Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, eds. Pp. 115–134. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph
1995 Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History. Boston, Mass: Beacon Press.

Van der Leeuw, Sander
1993 Giving the potter a choice: Conceptual aspects of pottery techniques. *In* Technological Choices: Transformation in Material Cultures since the Neolithic. Pierre Lemonnier ed. Pp. 238-88. New York: Routledge.

Van Dyke, Ruth M.
2019 Archaeology and Social Memory. Annual Review of Anthropology 48(1): 207–225.

Van Dyke, Ruth M., and Susan E. Alcock, eds.
2003 Archaeologies of Memory. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Varien, Mark D, and James M Potter
1997 Unpacking the Discard Equation: Simulating the Accumulation of Artifacts in the Archaeological Record. American Antiquity 62(2): 194–213.

Wagoner, Philip
1993 Tidings of the King: A Translation and Ethnohistorical Analysis of the Rāyavācakamu. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
1999 Fortuitous Convergences and Essential Ambiguities: Transcultural Political Elites in the Medieval Deccan. International Journal of Hindu Studies 3(3): 241–264.
2004 The Place of Warangal's Kirti-Toranas in the History of Indian Islamic Architecture. Religion and the Arts 8(1): 6–36.
2007 Reviving the Chalukya Past in the 16th Century Deccan: Archaeological and Literary Perspectives. South Asian Studies 23: 1–29.

Wiessner, Polly
1983 Style and Social Information in Kalahari San Projectile Points. American Antiquity 48(2): 253–76.
Wobst, H. Martin
1977 Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange. *In* Papers for the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin. Charles E. Cleland ed. Pp. 317–42. Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

Wylie, Alison
2002 Thinking from Things. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim
2011 Zakhor. Seattle: University of Washington Press.