THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF COLONIALISM

This volume examines human sexuality as an intrinsic element in the interpretation of complex colonial societies. Although archaeological studies of the historic past have explored the dynamics of European colonialism, such work has largely ignored broader issues of sexuality, embodiment, commemoration, reproduction, and sensuality. Recently, however, scholars have begun to recognize these issues as essential components of colonization and imperialism. This book explores a variety of case studies, revealing the multifaceted intersections of colonialism and sexuality. Incorporating work that ranges from Phoenician diasporic communities of the eighth century to Britain’s nineteenth-century Australian penal colonies to the contemporary maroon community of Brazil, this volume changes the way we understand the relationship between sexuality and colonial history.

Barbara L. Voss is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Stanford University, where she is also affiliated with the Stanford Archaeology Center, Feminist Studies, and the Center for Comparative Study on Race and Ethnicity. Dr. Voss’s field and laboratory research investigates the dynamics and outcomes of transnational cultural encounters in colonial and early industrial North America. She is the author or editor of several books, including, most recently, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race, Sexuality, and Identity in Colonial San Francisco; The Archaeology of Chinese Immigrant and Chinese American Communities* (coedited with Bryn Williams); and *Archaeologies of Sexuality* (coedited with Robert A. Schmidt).

Eleanor Conlin Casella is Senior Lecturer in Archaeology at the University of Manchester, where she is also affiliated with the Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change. She has directed archaeological projects in Australia, North America, northwest England, and the Scottish Highlands. She is the author or editor of several books, including, most recently, *The Alderley Sandhills Project: An Archaeology of Community Life in (Post-)Industrial England* (coauthored with Sarah Croucher), *The Archaeology of Institutional Confinement, The Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities* (coedited with Chris Fowler), and *Industrial Archaeology: Future Directions* (coedited with James Symonds).
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF COLONIALISM

Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects

BARBARA L. VOSS
Stanford University

ELEANOR CONLIN CASELLA
University of Manchester
To Meg Conkey, Kent Lightfoot, and Ruth Tringham
CONTENTS

List of Illustrations xi
List of Tables xiii
List of Contributors xv

1 Intimate Encounters: An Archaeology of Sexualities within Colonial Worlds
   Eleanor Conlin Casella and Barbara L. Voss 1

2 Sexual Effects: Postcolonial and Queer Perspectives on the Archaeology of Sexuality and Empire
   Barbara L. Voss 11

SECTION I: PLEASURES AND PROHIBITIONS

3 Little Bastard Felons: Childhood, Affect, and Labour in the Penal Colonies of Nineteenth-Century Australia
   Eleanor Conlin Casella 31

4 The Currency of Intimacy: Transformations of the Domestic Sphere on the Late-Nineteenth-Century Diamond Fields
   Lindsay Weiss 49

5 “A Concubine Is Still a Slave”: Sexual Relations and Omani Colonial Identities in Nineteenth-Century East Africa
   Sarah K. Croucher 67

6 The Politics of Reproduction, Rituals, and Sex in Punic Eivissa
   Mireia López-Bertran 85

SECTION II: ENGAGED BODIES

7 Fear, Desire, and Material Strategies in Colonial Louisiana
   Dianna DiPaola Loren 105
CONTENTS

8 Death and Sex: Procreation in the Wake of Fatal Epidemics within Indigenous Communities 122
Kathleen L. Hull

9 Effects of Empire: Gendered Transformations on the Orinoco Frontier 138
Kay Tarble de Scaramelli

10 In-Between People in Colonial Honduras: Reworking Sexualities at Ticamaya 156
Russell N. Sheptak, Kira Blaisdell-Sloan, and Rosemary A. Joyce

Barbara L. Voss

SECTION III: COMMEMORATIONS

12 Life and Death in Ancient Colonies: Domesticity, Material Culture, and Sexual Politics in the Western Phoenician World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries BCE 195
Ana Delgado and Meritxell Ferrer

13 Reading Gladiators’ Epitaphs and Rethinking Violence and Masculinity in the Roman Empire 214
Renata S. Garraffoni

14 Monuments and Sexual Politics in New England Indian Country 232
Patricia E. Rubertone

15 Gender Relations in a Maroon Community, Palmares, Brazil 252
Pedro Paulo A. Funari and Aline Vieira de Carvalho

SECTION IV: SHOWING AND TELLING

16 Sexualizing Space: The Colonial Leer and the Genealogy of Storyville 271
Shannon Lee Dawdy

17 Showing, Telling, Looking: Intimate Encounters in the Making of South African Archaeology 290
Nick Shepherd

18 Obstinate Things 303
Mary Weismantel

CONCLUSION

19 Sexuality and Materiality: The Challenge of Method 323
Martin Hall

Index 341
### List of Illustrations

3.1 Map of Tasmania and locations mentioned in text  
3.2 Area E: Detail of Nursery Ward features, south facing  
3.3 Area E: Plan of excavated features, including details of building phases  
3.4 Detail of cloth bale monument  
3.5 Excavated lead bale seal  
4.1 Locality of the Diamond Fields  
4.2 Classical transfer-print pattern from early Half-Way House Hotel  
4.3 Spongeware cup from Half-Way House Hotel and gilt "clover leaf" teacups  
4.4 Photograph of De Beers Compound 1919  
5.1 Map of the islands of Zanzibar showing archaeological survey areas  
5.2 Plan of the site of Mgoli showing the stone house and trench locations  
5.3 Archaeological plan of Trench C showing house foundation  
5.4 Copper alloy earring  
6.1 Map of the Mediterranean Sea and the island of Eivissa showing sites mentioned  
6.2 Illa Plana bell-shape figurines with decoration  
6.3 Illa Plana ovoid, bird-headed figurines  
6.4 Illa Plana ovoid figurine  
7.1 Location of the Grand Village of the Natchez/Fatherland Site  
7.2 Communal dance  
7.3 Indian bride with fan and young Indian woman with a paddle  
8.1 Contact-era native communities of the Yosemite region and areas to the west  
8.2 Long-term population profile for Yosemite Valley native population  
9.1 The Middle Orinoco region of Venezuela  
9.2 Distribution of grouped vessel forms according to period  
9.3 Catholic medallion, thimble, and buckle from Republican period sites  
9.4 Motif of Christian cross, superimposed over earlier paintings at Cueva Pintada site  
9.5 Mapoyo woman baking manioc cakes (casabe)
List of Illustrations

10.1 Map showing locations of early colonial places mentioned in text
10.2 Vessel broken in place on floor inside Structure 3A
10.3 Post hole lined with plaster inside Structure 1A
10.4 One of five censers found under the floor of Structure 1B
10.5 Projectile points made from obsidian blades
11.1 Map of San Francisco Bay, showing Spanish-colonial settlements and the site of the Market Street Chinatown
11.2 Native laborers being escorted by Presidio soldiers
11.3 Market Street Chinatown, San Jose, California, in 1877
11.4 Examples of peck-marked vessels from the Market Street Chinatown
12.1 Mediterranean and Atlantic Phoenician cities, enclaves, and colonies
12.2 House from Chorreras with bread oven and cookware recovered in the region
12.3 Urn and grave goods from Laurita necropolis Tomb 19
12.4 Different kinds of cooking pots present in Motya’s necropolis
12.5 Stela from Mozia’s tophet, and Monte Polizzo’s bowl with anthropomorph handle
13.1 The most important Roman arenas
13.2 Roman Spain and Cordoba
13.3 Satur’s tombstone
13.4 Actius’ tombstone
14.1 Map of Rhode Island showing locations mentioned in text
14.2 Awashunkes Boulder in Wilbour Woods from the Little Compton scrapbook
14.3 Dedication of the Exeter Hill Monuments
14.4 The Great Swamp Monument
14.5 Women visiting the Great Swamp Monument, c. early 1900s
14.6 Narragansett and other Indians at the Great Swamp Massacre Ceremony, 1962
15.1 Map showing the location of the Palmares Maroon from 1597 to 1694
15.2 Serra da Barriga, showing the fourteen sites investigated in 1992 and 1993
15.3 Photos of Belly Hill (Serra da Barriga)
15.4 Photos of glazed potsherds from Palmares
16.1 Location of New Orleans, Louisiana
16.2 Sites and districts discussed in the text
16.3 Cover of a Storyville Blue Book
16.4 Advertisement from Storyville Blue Book
16.5 Basin Street during Storyville’s heyday
17.1 The location of the Oakhurst Cave site
18.1 Map showing location of North Coast of Peru and the Moche culture area
18.2 Drinking vessel now at the entrance to the Larco Herrera Museum
18.3 A whistling pot
List of Illustrations

18.4 Rafael Larco Herrera, Alfred Kinsey, and Paul Gebhard in Lima, 1954 311
18.5 A “rocker” pot depicting a frog and a feline in the missionary position 312
18.6 The “Mama Cocha” still wearing some of her Styrofoam armature 313
19.1 Grid One: vectors (directions of movement) in an archaeology of sexual effects 332
19.2 Grid Two: data sets plotted according to tangible–intangible and normative–transgressive vectors 333
19.3 Grid Three: intangible expressions of normative order and transgressive sexual effects 337
List of Tables

3.1 Uniform issued to female factory inmates after 1845  page 44
6.1 Physical and typological description of the figurines  90
7.1 Burials excavated at Mound C, Fatherland site  116
11.1 Bowls and plates cataloged from the Market Street Chinatown collection  183
19.1 Archaeological assemblages, by chapter  330
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

**Kira Blaisdell-Sloan** received her Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of California–Berkeley in 2006; her Ph.D. thesis was based on two seasons of fieldwork she directed at the indigenous town of Ticamaya, Honduras. In addition to her work on Central American colonial sites, Blaisdell-Sloan has field experience on historic sites in the Bahamas, California, and Louisiana and on pre-Columbian sites in Honduras and Hawaii. Blaisdell-Sloan has taught at Louisiana State University and the University of California–Berkeley, where she is currently employed as the Undergraduate Academic Advisor in History.

**Aline Vieira de Carvalho** is a Research Fellow at the Public Archaeology in the Environment Research Center (Nepam), University of Campinas, Brazil. She has published articles about historical archaeology, cultural heritage, and public archaeology and a book about Palmares. Currently, she studies the gender relations in Palmares Quilombo.

**Eleanor Conlin Casella** is Senior Lecturer in Archaeology at the University of Manchester. She is Reviews Editor for *Post-Medieval Archaeology* and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Her publications include *The Alderley Sandhills Project: An Archaeology of Community Life in (Post-)Industrial England* (2010; coauthored with Sarah K. Croucher), *The Archaeology of Institutional Confinement* (2007), and the coedited volumes *Industrial Archaeology: Future Directions* (2005) and *The Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities* (2005).

**Sarah K. Croucher** is Assistant Professor of Anthropology; Archaeology; and Feminist, Gender and Sexuality Studies at Wesleyan University, Connecticut, and a Weatherhead Resident Fellow (2010–2011) at the School for Advanced Research. Her dissertation (University of Manchester) won the Society for Historical Archaeology 2008 dissertation prize and is currently being revised for publication. She is the coauthor (with Eleanor Casella) of *The Alderley Sandhills Project: An Archaeology of Community Life in (Post-)Industrial England* (2010) and coeditor (with Lindsay Weiss) of *The Archaeology of Capitalism in Colonial Contexts: Postcolonial Historical Archaeologies* (2011).
List of Contributors

**Shannon Lee Dawdy** is Associate Professor in Anthropology and the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago. She is the author of *Building the Devil’s Empire: French Colonial New Orleans* and coeditor of *Dialogues in Cuban Archaeology*. She is currently directing a multiyear archaeological research project in New Orleans’ French Quarter to investigate the economic and ecological conditions of creolization.

**Ana Delgado** is Associate Professor of Prehistory and Ancient History in the Humanities Department of Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, and member of the Institut Universitari d’Història Jaume Vicens Vives. Since 2003, Delgado has codirected the archaeological project of Cerro del Villar, a Phoenician colony in Malaga. Among her recent publications are “Cultural Contacts in Colonial Settings: The Construction of New Identities in Colonial Phoenician Areas of the Western Mediterranean” (with Meritxell Ferrer) and “Los fenicios en Iberia,” in *De Iberia a Hispania*.

**Meritxell Ferrer** is a Ph.D. candidate at the Institut Universitari d’Història Jaume Vicens Vives and Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. She holds a master’s in History from the same university and a master’s in Museology and Cultural Heritage Management from Universitat de Barcelona. She has been involved in the Cerro del Villar (Universitat Pompeu Fabra), Malaga, project since 2002 and in the Monte Polizzo Project (Stanford University) since 2004. Recent publications include “Cultural Contacts in Colonial Settings” and “Alimentos para los muertos,” both coauthored with Ana Delgado.

**Pedro Paulo A. Funari** is Professor of Historical Archaeology at the University of Campinas, Brazil; Research Associate at Illinois State University and the University of Barcelona, Spain; and former secretary of the World Archaeological Congress. He is coeditor with Martin Hall and Siân Jones of *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge* (1999) and with Andrés Zarankin and Emily Stovel of *Global Archaeological Theory* (2005).

**Renata S. Garraffoni** is a Lecturer at Paraná Federal University (Curitiba, Brazil) and a research associate at State University of Campinas. She is interested in the Roman Empire and has been studying the common people’s daily lives and gladiators’ fights for several years. She was based at University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, with a British Academy Fellowship from December 2008 to March 2009 to study Roman graffiti from Pompeii, her most recent research project.

**Martin Hall** is Vice Chancellor of the University of Salford. His career has spanned both political change and transformation in South Africa and new directions in archaeology over the past four decades. He has written extensively on South African history, culture, and higher education policy and has served terms as President of the World Archaeological Congress and General Secretary of the South African Archaeological Society.

**Kathleen L. Hull** is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and a Faculty Affiliate of the Sierra Nevada Research Institute at the University of California, Merced. Her research interests include archaeological study of the interaction of demography
List of Contributors

and culture within small-scale societies. Hull’s work on this subject includes *Pestilence and Persistence: Yosemite Indian Demography and Culture in Colonial California* (2009), which takes a broad, comparative approach to the issue of indigenous responses to colonial-era population decline in North America.

**Rosemary A. Joyce** is the Richard and Rhoda Goldman Distinguished Professor of the Social Sciences at the University of California, Berkeley, where she has been a Professor of Anthropology since 1994. She has directed archaeological fieldwork in Honduras since 1979, in the lower Ulúa Valley, in the Department of Yoro, at Los Naranjos, and, most recently, at the Spanish colonial fort of San Fernando de Omoa. Joyce is the author of four books and coauthor of three others, including the path-breaking work on Honduran archaeology *Cerro Palenque: Power and Identity on the Maya Periphery*.

**Mireia López-Bertran** holds a Ph.D. in History from at Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona; 2007); her thesis concerned Phoenician and Punic rituals in the western Mediterranean. She is currently a postdoctoral researcher for the Spanish Ministry of Education and Culture (FECYT) and she carries out her work at the University of Glasgow, where she is Honorary Research Fellow. Her research interests cover rituals, gender, and embodiment in the ancient western Mediterranean. Recent publications include “Practical Movements: Kinetic Rituals in the Ancient Western Mediterranean,” in the *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* (2011).

**Diana DiPaolo Loren** has been an Associate Curator at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, since 1999. Her research interests include materiality, identity, embodiment, and dress in colonial North America. She is the author of *The Archaeology of Clothing and Bodily Adornment in Colonial America* (2010) and *In Contact: Bodies and Spaces in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Eastern Woodlands* (2007).

**Patricia E. Rubertone** is Professor of Anthropology at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Her research combines archaeology, history, and anthropology to study questions of colonialism, landscape and memory, and representation in the context of European and Native American experiences in southern New England. She is the author of *Grave Undertakings: An Archaeology of Roger Williams and the Narragansett Indians* (2001) and the editor of *Archaeologies of Placemaking: Monuments, Memories, and Engagement in Native North America* (2008).

**Kay Tarble de Scaramelli** is Professor in the Departamento de Arqueología, Etnohistoria y Ecología Cultural, Escuela de Antropología, Universidad Central de Venezuela, where she has taught since 1985. A specialist in the archaeology of the Middle Orinoco, she has contributed to the development of the ceramic sequence for the region for both the precontact and postcontact periods. An interest in the impact of colonialism on the indigenous population has led to several publications with her husband, Franz Scaramelli. Other interests include the study of rock art and its role in the construction of the Orinoco landscape.
xviii

List of Contributors

NICK SHEPHERD is Associate Professor of African Studies and Archaeology at the University of Cape Town. He is joint Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*. He has published widely on questions of archaeology and society in Africa and on questions of public history and heritage. His books include *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Postapartheid City* (2007, with Martin Hall and Noeleen Murray) and *New South African Keywords* (2008, with Steven Robins).

RUSSELL N. SHEPTAK is a Visiting Scholar at the Archaeological Research Facility, University of California, Berkeley. A historical anthropologist, Sheptak conducts research at the Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain) and Archivo General de Centroamerica (Guatemala City), from microfilmed collections from the Archivo Eclesiastico de Comayagua, and at archaeological sites throughout Honduras. He currently directs a project to create a finding aid for the microfilmed Archivo General de Centroamerica. He has authored numerous journal articles, the majority in Spanish, about the Honduran past.

BARBARA L. VOS is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Stanford University. Author of *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (2008) and coeditor (with Robert Schmidt) of *Archaeologies of Sexuality* (2000), she is a two-time recipient of the Ruth Benedict Prize and winner of the 2008 Gordon R. Willey Prize, both awarded by the American Anthropological Association.


LINDSAY WEISS is a Postdoctoral Scholar in the Archaeology Center and Department of Anthropology at Stanford University. Her research focuses on the relationship between colonialism and materiality, the heritage industry, and the history of the South African diamond fields. She has published articles in *American Anthropology* and the *Journal of Social Archaeology* and is the coeditor (with Sarah Croucher) of *The Archaeology of Capitalism in Colonial Contexts: Postcolonial Historical Archaeologies* (2011).