The Instantiated Identity:
Critical Approaches to Studying Gesture and Material Culture

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Steven G. Matthews
School of Art History and Archaeology, University of Manchester

stevematthews299@yahoo.co.uk

Abstract

Gesture and bodily comportment are fundamental to the maintenance and transmission of social identities. The degree to which they are employed and convey meaning is often culturally exclusive, rule-driven and context-specific. Gestures are also clearly power relations, structuring particular forms of social distinction, such as gender and age, and thereby replicating certain socially normative patterns of sexuality and role. A significant aspect in the study of gestures and bodily comportment that is often overlooked by other disciplines is the human utilisation of the material environment. Whilst the construction of the social being through movement is integral to both the experience of the lived body and a sense of personal identity, it is also one that is significantly negotiated through relations with things as well as other persons. Through examining ornaments and swords from the from the Northern and Central European Middle and Late Bronze Age this paper will discuss ways in which archaeology presents the opportunity to study from a material perspective the 'generative field' that would have structured the appropriate use of gestures as an embodied discourse in the maintenance and transmission of particular social identities and roles.

Introduction: Instantiation and 'techniques of the body'

In this paper I hope to demonstrate how the construction of particular aspects of identity during the Middle and Late Bronze Age in Central and Northern Europe were instantiated processes, that being the importance of the experience of practical bodily dispositions, in relation to material culture, in their temporal immediacy and spatial co-presence, or in other words – gestures.

Gestures represent an embodied intentionality: they exist only because they have an intended audience (i.e. they must be witnessed) and performed only because they are intended to communicate[1]. There are a number of different forms of gestural communication and Argyle (1988: 188) distinguishes between three particular types of bodily movement:

1. *Emblems* which are those non-verbal acts, usually hand-movements, which have a direct verbal translation, usually into between one and three words, for which this meaning is known by all or most members of a group or subculture, and which are sent deliberately.

2. *Illustrators* are those movements which are directly tied to speech, serving to illustrate what is being said verbally.

3. *Self-touching* or bodily-focussed movement

The vast majority of modernist sociological and psychological studies of bodily communication continue to be dominated by this perceived relationship between particular gestural movements and their direct or indirect correlation to verbal utterance, distinguished above as *Emblems* and *Illustrators*. The bodily movement defined by Argyle as *Self-touching* however, because it concerns aspects of emotional expression and affective states, is consigned to an entirely separate category of study (see Kenden 1983), and has received far less attention within studies of bodily communication than those apparently associated with speech use, and are often simply omitted (e.g. Kendon 1997). Freedman and Hoffman (1967; after Argyle 1988: 198) for example, who also distinguish between those gestures linked with speech and those concerned with emotion, suggest that the former orientate an individual outward toward the world and objects, whilst the latter concern only the individual with itself: the first being intended to communicate with others and the second only to release ones own emotional tension. Elsewhere, I have argued that this is in fact not the case (Matthews 2004b; see also Crossley 2001: 42-45, 84-86), and that it is this specific category of gestures - affective states of comportment, posture and other such bodily dispositions – those that are generally studied in terms of their emotional content or reflection, that should concern archaeology. Moreover, unlike those gestures considered to be closely associated with speech, the cross-cultural comparison of these affective gestures has also been of less interest to sociologists and psychologists[2], and yet I believe it this category of gestural bodily communication that might benefit archaeological perspectives on such things as past processes of embodiment, gender and identity (for example, in the relationship between gestures and ethnicity during the Bronze Age, see Matthews 2004a).

However, the question of emotion and its relationship to archaeology is a complex and problematic one (e.g. Tarlow 2000 and comments). There is insufficient room to do justice to this important topic here but suffice to say that one cannot study gestures in archaeology without concerning oneself with the question of emotion (for an extended discussion of this subject see instead Matthews 2004b, 2004c), for the body is always an affective medium: we do not need to excavate past emotional states as emotion is always and already present.

As well as being affective states, gestures are also power relations. Gestures are often culturally and socially exclusive, and as well as representing significant differences *between* societies, they also differentiate between groups *within* societies, such as across age, gender and status. For example, there is a significant degree of difference observed amongst contemporary societies in how close one stands when communicating: to generalise, Arabs, South Americans and Greeks stand closer than the British or Americans, who stand closer than most Africans or the Japanese (Argyle 1988: 67). Moreover, class differentiation demonstrates the same form of distinction, for instance, with the American lower-class standing closer than the upper-classes, as well as in more direct power relations such as in the stance adopted between authority figures and their subordinates (*Ibid*: 61). Similarly, there are significant differences in the way that gendered persons utilise gestures. Men have been shown to be more spatially expansive, using larger and more generalised gestures, whereas women tend to be more spatially restrictive, more expressive, and utilise more but finer gestures (*Ibid*: 384). Men and women have also been shown to walk differently, with women keeping their legs closer together and their arms by their sides, whereas men are again more spatially gregarious (Eakins and Eakins 1978: after Argyle 1988: 285).

Material culture and bodily communication

Clearly the role that gestures or techniques play in social relationships and in the construction and maintenance of particular identities is significant. But lacking the moving body that so benefits the study of bodily communication amongst disciplines such as sociology and psychology, we might wonder how we as archaeologists are to

make the study of gestures a viable research question? However, archaeology already maintains an implicit and underdeveloped relationship with the study of gestures and bodily communication: through the concept of the *chaîne opératoire* (Schlanger 2005) and in the study of 'technological choices' (Lemonnier 1992, 1993), but with the focus being upon the 'technology' rather than the 'body' in both cases[3]. Both of these traditions were given significant form through the works of Marcel Mauss[4] (for English translations of many of these works see Mauss 2004), who in a seminal paper on the subject of bodily communication conceived of these gestural dispositions as 'techniques of the body', that being 'the ways in which from society to society men know how to use their bodies' (Mauss 1973: 70). Mauss outlined a number of diverse techniques and identified sources of variation within them, and demonstrated how even the most mundane and routine activity is a cultural technique, whose form varies both historically and culturally (Crossley 1995: 135): different ways of standing, sitting, swimming, marching and climbing, and different positions for sleeping and making love.

But like emotion, material culture has proved of little interest to traditional studies of bodily communication, with the importance of object manipulation as part of gestural performances either omitted (e.g. Kenden 1997: 109-10) or simply ignored entirely (e.g. Argyle 1988). The body's relationship to material culture is however, a significant one but in the study of gestures it is a relationship that is often overlooked, eclipsed as it is by the very presence of the body itself. The construction of the social person through movement is integral to both the experience of the lived body and a person's sense of identity, and it is one that is significantly negotiated through relations with things as well as other persons (cf. Fowler 2004). Lacking the moving body that so benefits other disciplines requires us to be more imaginative, particularly in the direction of material culture. By focussing upon the material remains of corporeal relationships between bodies and things I believe we might reveal something of the generative field in which gestures in the past would have operated.

An important material dimension of bodily communication therefore is obviously the accoutrements of appearance, something which has already begun to attract growing attention in archaeology in relation to the construction and maintenance of identities

and social roles (e.g. Hakenbeck 2004; Reinhold 2003; Sørensen 1991, 1997, 1999 Chapter 7), but one which has yet to see a thorough exploration of the relationship of appearance to the moving body (for a short introduction to the subject see Matthews 2004a). As well as dress and appearance relating to identity and social roles, it has also been argued to have significant economic connotations. For example, with the end of the First World War in 1918 there occurred a precise correlation between financial periods of gain and loss in relation to the length of female hemlines, with short-skirts being synonymous with periods of 'boom' and long-skirts related to periods of 'bust' (Morris 2002: 329-30). Moreover, a not dissimilar association has been noted amongst many traditional societies in relation to female ornamentation and the nature of a societies economic base, with females from pastoral societies demonstrating a considerably higher degree of ornamental consumption than agriculturally based societies (Harding 2000: 407).

Bodily communication and the communities of the European Bronze Age

To illustrate the above points I want to now turn to aspects of my own ongoing research into the development of gestures and bodily communication as part of northern and central European Bronze Age society from the Middle Bronze Age onwards.

It has been suggested, in complimentary studies by Sørensen (1997) and Treherne (1995) that a highly institutionalised commitment to a bodily aesthetic developed from the Middle European Bronze Age onwards that was particularly concerned with female and male appearance[5]. Beyond gender representation however, this aesthetic also represented a significant mode of bodily communication. Appearance is not just static portraiture or display but is rather performative, a social performance regarding bodily gestures, postures and comportment. In order to illustrate this emphasis upon specific gestures I want to focus upon two separate classes of Bronze Age material culture, both of which have been argued to have been largely exclusively gendered: ornaments, predominantly associated with females, and male associated swords.

Ornaments: Bodies as symbols

Throughout much of Northern and Central Europe during the Middle Bronze Age we see the development of a sophisticated metallurgical tradition of bodily ornamentation, including arm and leg spirals or rings, various tunics, pins, fibulae and other items such as for hair decoration, such as those from southern Germany (Figure 1). This material has been used to discuss the production of particular gendered identities through appearance within and between different regional groups (see Wels-Weyrauch 1989; Jockenhövel 1991; Sørensen 1997). The analysis of these ornament sets has suggested that certain combinations of objects may have existed in relation to particular parts of the body, for example the arms or legs. As well as functioning as composite sets, each single item of ornamentation was also governed by specific social rules, related to gender, age, and lineage or group affiliation, that mediated between certain associations of persons and things. Across these different regional groups there appears to have operated a series of strict rules concerning the combinations of these objects and where they were worn. In other words, in certain aspects of social organisation different groups can be argued to have been using the same rules, but in subtly different ways so as to maintain a distinct identity (Sørensen 1997: 99).

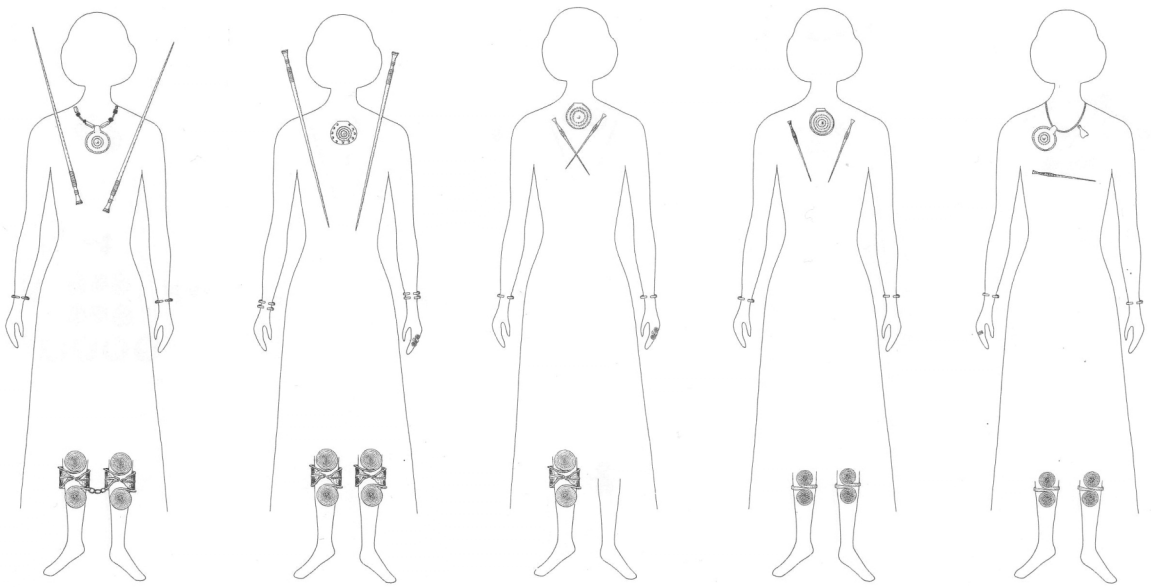

Figure 1. Examples of Middle Bronze Age female ornamentation from southern Germany: note the emphasis upon the chest amongst this particular group (after Wels-Weyrauch 1989).

Moreover, Sørensen (1991) has suggested that a process of intra-gender differentiation was at work, with respect to a difference *within* female attire, as well as a male-female gendered distinction, and can be recognised from the textile remain recovered from the well-preserved Danish oak-coffin burials. The remains represent a visual distinction between two different sets of female clothing that is significant and results from different skirts produced in different techniques and possibly different headpieces and different hairstyles. When combined with the accompanying ornaments and dress fittings, three different sets appear, with the two female sets grouping together and standing in contrast to the male costume, expressing both a difference between men and women and an emphasis on two categories of women (Figure 2). A similar division can also be recognised in the ornamentation from southern Germany, where we find compositions of objects organised around either the chest or the waist amongst females (Sørensen 2001: 139) (Figure 1). The observation of divisions such as these suggest the possibility that men and women were grouped according to entirely different types of criteria in the Bronze Age compared to modern structural gender symmetries (Sørensen 1987: 100 & 2000: 140).

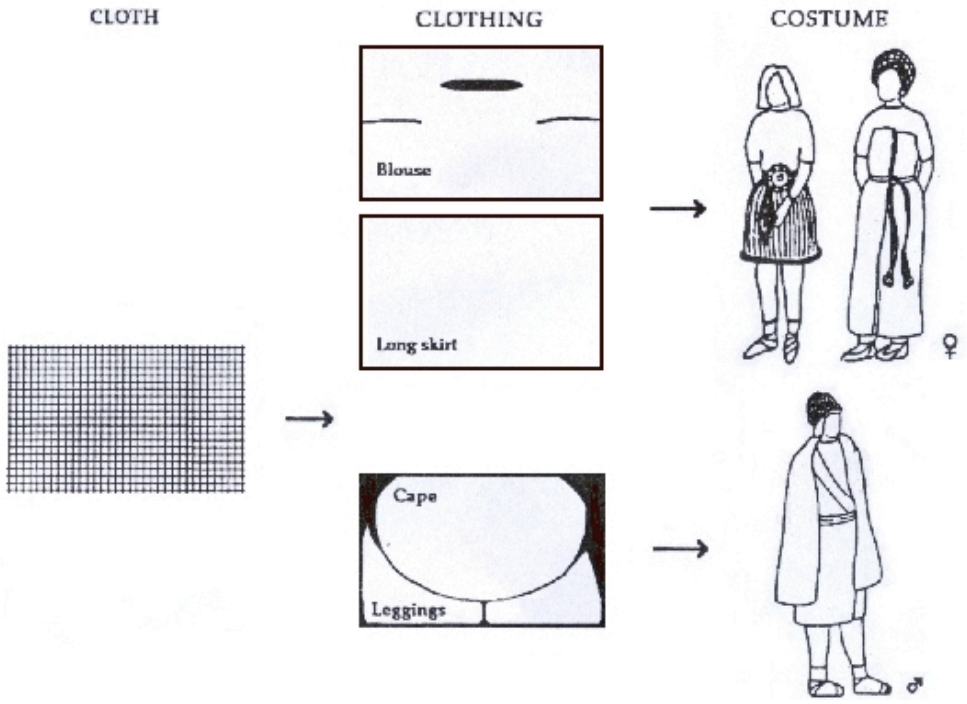

Figure 2. The three stages of complexity in Bronze Age dress - cloth, clothing and costume - illustrated by material from Denmark (after Sørensen 1991: Fig. 2).

Given that much of this costume and ornamentation would have severely affected bodily movement it is clear that a greater emphasis upon a person's corporeal experience, as a consequence of the materiality of such costume and ornamentation, is needed. Within these assemblages of female ornamentation are often found pairs of large spiral-ornamented anklets, some of which were connected in the middle by a chain (Figure 3). Shennan (2002: 204), drawing upon Neo-Darwinian perspectives, has suggested that these items relate to the position and role of females according to the economic status and role of males, and goes on to equate *physical* restriction with *social* restriction. I believe this to be an extremely problematic interpretation on the grounds that, firstly, it relies specifically upon the functional aspect of these chained anklets, and secondly, in terms of the nature of male-female relations he suggests was at work during the Bronze Age, and therefore both these assumptions need to be critically assessed.

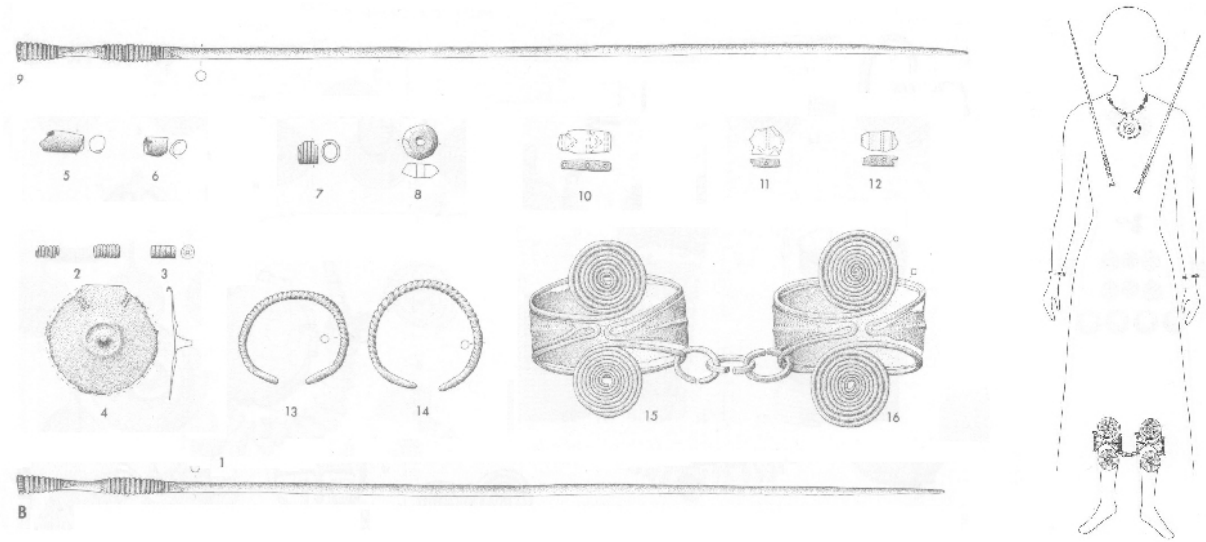

Figure 3. Ornament set from southern Germany showing spiralled leg-rings with chain (after Wels-Weyrauch 1989).

Typological analysis has demonstrated that these anklets developed significantly over time in terms of their design and their stylistic elaboration and decoration (Briard 1979: 106). I would suggest therefore that it is inappropriate to suggest a single function, such as their being an item of physical chastisement, based upon the perceived functional capacity of a single, relatively late, artefactual type or simply upon the presence of the chain itself. Many similar bronze spiralled-anklets are found singularly and in pairs but without an adjoining chain.

Whilst these particular objects have yet to explored in the same depth as other items of ornamentation, such as pins, it has been noted by several authors that these items would have drastically impaired movement when worn and would likely have created a very distinct rhythm of walking (Schutz 1983: 142; Sørensen 1997: 108). Elsewhere I have suggested that this distinctive mode of walking may have been linked to a repertoire of supra-regional bodily techniques utilised by elite groups throughout European Bronze Age society (Matthews 2004a). These techniques, I have argued, would have enabled them to transcend individual cultural differences, helping to establish supra-regional commonalities, most likely linked to the 'warrior' ideology, as well as establishing gender and class differentiation within their own individual societies.

Mauss (1973: 82) also identified 'walking' as a culturally specific 'technique of the body', being both socially and culturally variable and expressive of different types of social status, wherein different social groups may assume different postures or gait. We can throw some light on the importance and specificity of walking during the Bronze Age by reflecting briefly upon Homer' epic poem *The Illiad* (Bremmer 1991). Here it has been suggested that a clear gendered distinction existed between the way that males and females walked. Homer was clearly concerned with illustrating such techniques and makes numerous references to the stride and gait of the male warriors, such as Paris and Ajax. For example, when the Trojan Prince, Paris, has to face Menelaus he approaches 'with long strides' (*Illiad* 3.22), hoping to impress the Greek enemy with his powerful bodily movements. During the ensuing battle between the Trojans and the Greeks (Figure 4), when the warrior Ajax advanced, 'he went with long strides… And the Greeks rejoiced when they saw him' (*Illiad* 7.211-4). The warrior ideology that is argued to have proliferated during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, with its various manifestations of burial rite, weapon types and status symbols, has been suggested to derive from these Mycenaean traditions evident throughout Homer's poem[6]. As is so often the case with the portrayal of men and women in ancient Greece, the way that females walked is portrayed very differently by Homer from that of the 'striding hero', walking instead with very small steps (Bremmer 1991: 20). For example, with their appearance before the city of Troy to help the Greeks against the Trojans, the Goddesses Hera and Athena 'resembled in

their steps the timorous doves' (*Illiad* 5.778). It is clear from these examples that the body served as an important locale for both self-identification and the demonstration of authority in ancient Greek society. By its overt 'masculine' gait, the male Greek upper classes were able not only to distinguish themselves from what were regarded as other more 'effeminate' peoples, such as the *Persians* and *Lydians*, but were also able to express its domination over other sections of their own society (Bremmer 1991: 27).

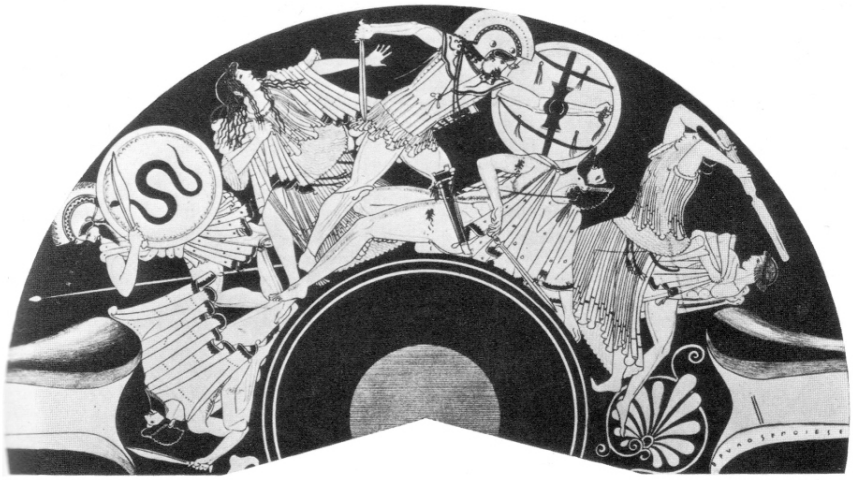

Figure 4. A vase, dated to about 500-490 BC, depicting the destruction of Troy by the Greeks: note the wide gait of the central male figure (after Rieu 1980).

Whilst the specificity of ancient Greek social organisation may be somewhat different from that of Bronze Age northern and central Europe (Harding 1984), it does demonstrate the importance of such 'techniques of the body' and how they might relate to the sort of material culture we find in northern and central Europe where, compared to female burials and ornamentation, the legs of men were largely unencumbered by such elaborate ornamentation.

Swords: Techniques as bodies

This is not to suggest however, that men were unencumbered with 'ways of doing things'. On the contrary, the sword, for example, is an artefact that relates in quite specific ways to 'techniques of the body'. The sword is argued to represent a significant development during the Bronze Age, and was the first bronze artefact specifically designed for institutionalised combat and warfare (Harding 2000: 277). It

was also a powerful gendered symbol throughout much of Bronze Age Europe (Sørensen 2000: 91), representing as it does 'the symbol of its age' (Harding 2000: 281), 'A beautiful object, an efficient killing tool, a symbol of power and wealth, an implied or actual threat, a sacrifice, a gift, a reward, a pledge of loyalty and... an embodiment of the idea of conflict' (Bridgford 1997: 95)

The design of Middle and Late Bronze Age swords has been shown to be specifically related to their technical use and therefore would have required a very specific set of bodily techniques in order to render the sword as effective. To illustrate this, my discussion of these techniques will draw upon the observations of central European swords made by Kristiansen (2002), who has noted how several technical aspects of the design of these swords relate specifically to the way that they were to be used. For example, he has noted a recurring bending of the blade (*Ibid*: 320). He has argued that the sword should be held with the curved blade bending inwards (i.e. if held in the right hand the bending should be toward the left), and if the sword is held so as to bend to the right 'it changes the balance and feels wrong' (*Ibid*), suggesting a 'normal' or correct way that the sword should be held in order to be effective. This is apparently confirmed by the occurrence of a few swords apparently intended for left-handed swordfighters, again allowing the bend of the blade to face inwards. Modern examples of this feature suggest that the reason for this bending inwards of the blade is that when confronting an enemy in an attack position, holding the sword in ones hand, the user wants the blade to point towards their opponent's heart (*Ibid*: 320).

Moreover, the *balance* of the sword defines its function as either a thrusting or slashing sword (*Ibid*: 320). We see a stylistic development in the Middle to the Late Bronze Age from long and narrow rapier-like blades, suggesting its function as a thrusting sword, to a much wider and heavy blade, suggesting it functioned as a slashing sword. The difference is in the location of the point of equal balance between the weight of the hilt and the weight of the blade: on rapiers and thrusting swords the point of balance is located close to the hilt, on slashing swords it is located further down the blade. Given these traits, Kristiansen suggests that the movement of a thrusting sword should be fast, for defence and rapid thrusting, while a slashing sword

would be too heavy for such fast movements, and would instead favour long slashing movement with a lot of weight and force behind the action.

This functionality is confirmed by the recurring traces of use from combat found upon the blade (*Ibid*: 323; see also Bridgford 1997). Kristiansen suggests that such blade represents a recurring pattern throughout the Bronze Age: that the blade area below the hilt was used to defend blows, an area that consistently demonstrates signs of severe damage and extensive resharpening to the point where the blade was in fact no longer symmetrical. This damage appears heaviest on the underside of the blade as the swordfighter would be recurrently holding their sword in the same way, resulting in the resharpened blade often being incurved and narrower below the hilt. The middle part of the blade was where damage from attack was sustained, such as when a slashing movement by another sword was stopped. On hoarded swords such scares appear very clearly, and on resharpened swords there occurred incurved parties along the edge. Finally, the point or tip of the sword could often be bent or break off when a thrusting movement was stopped, such as by a shield, and also need to be resharpened.

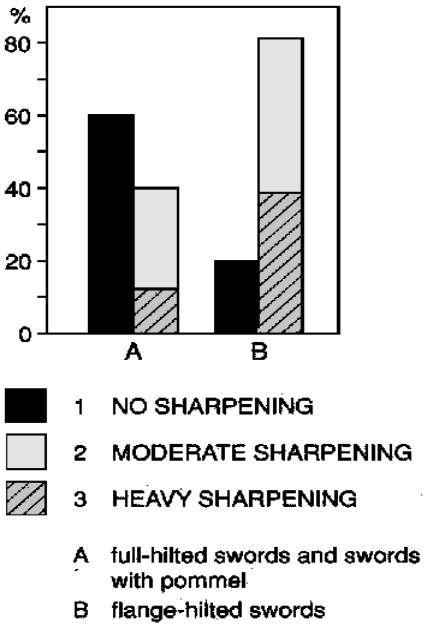

Figure 5. Quantitative analysis of degrees of sharpening of Period 2 sword blades according to type. A: Full-hilted swords associated with 'ritual chiefs. B: Flange-hilted swords associated with 'warrior chiefs' (after Kristiansen 1984b).

These elements of design, when compared with the extensive evidence for use-wear, suggest that sword fighting, in whatever context, was a highly skilled and technical practice during the Middle and Late Bronze Age.

But like the bronze ornaments I have already discussed, the swords functionality in design need not directly correlate to its use, and indeed we find a significant discrepancy between the extensive evidence for use-wear on flange-hilted swords and the minimal evidence for use-wear in comparison on that of full-hilted

swords (Figure 5). Kristiansen (1998: 252) has suggested that the difference lies in the swords being associated with different classes, identities or roles of males, with the flange-hilted sword belonging to a 'warrior chief' and the full-hilted sword belonging to what he has termed the 'priestly chief'. As well as paired male individuals being of common occurrence amongst rock art and other material mediums throughout Bronze Age northern Europe (see Kristiansen 2004: 270-271, Fig. 2), this dualism is exemplified in a double male burial from southern Jutland, Denmark, which Kristiansen (2001: 92-93) argues confirms the pairing of warrior and priestly chiefs (Figure 6). Here we find side by side the priestly chief with a Nordic full-hilted sword buried alongside his 'twin' ruler, the warrior chief with his 'foreign' flange-hilted sword, representing the dual political and ritual institution of leadership, whereby the priestly chief would 'stay at home' whilst the warrior chief was less restricted and was free to make regular forays into other parts of Europe (see Kristiansen and Larsson forthcoming: Chapter 6). This dual role for males represents an interesting relationship of social identity between the foreign and the familiar in terms of both material culture and knowledge acquired through journeys into these foreign and unfamiliar lands (e.g. Helms 1988).

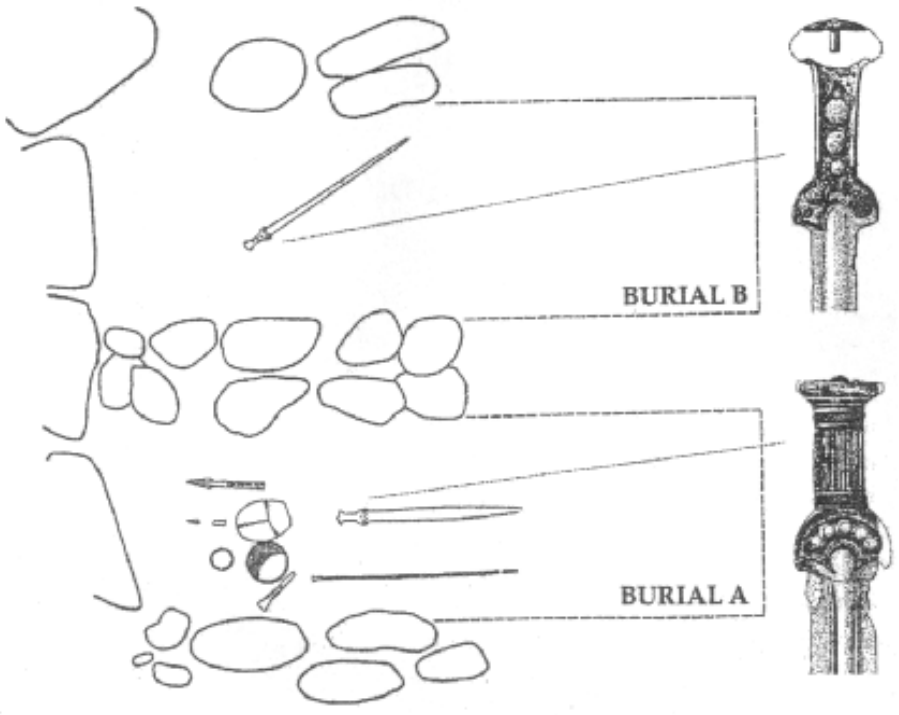

Figure 6. Middle Bronze Age twin male burial from southern Jutland, Denmark, representing: A. the 'ritual chief' with Nordic full-hilted sword and equipment. B. the 'warrior chief' with a foreign flange-hilted sword (after Kristiansen 2001: Fig. 5.5).

This male dualism between the roles and identities of the warrior and priestly chiefs, and their associated material culture, mirrors the intra-gender distinction I have already discussed in female appearance and ornaments. Whereas most contemporary studies of gestures have focussed upon the significant gender differences in their use and context, it seems that during the Middle and Late Bronze Age intra-gender differentiation was as equally important, if not more so, than simply between that of male-female gender categories.

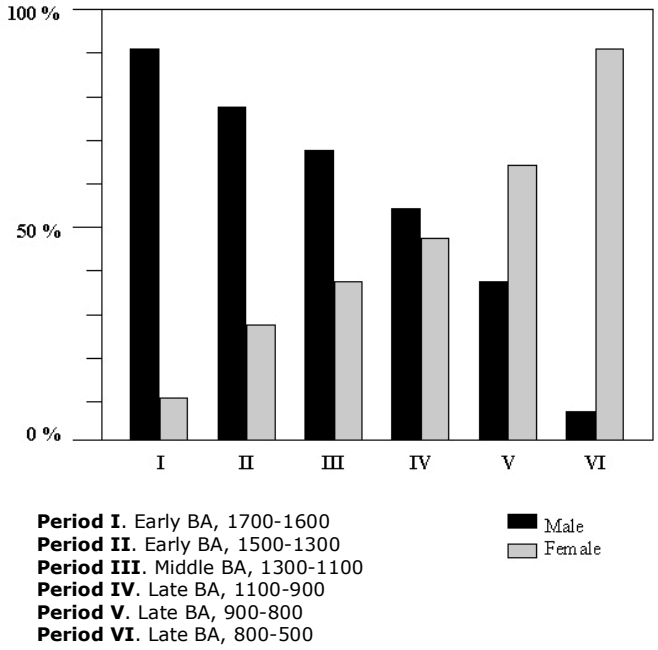

Figure 7. Shows the relationship between male (swords) and female (ornaments) prestige goods deposited in graves and hoards from Bronze Age Denmark (Kristiansen 1984a: Fig. 12).

However, the female-associated ornaments and the male-associated swords do not represent parallel phenomenon during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Instead, they appear to be asymmetrically related. Figure 7 shows the relationship between prestige male and female associated artefacts deposited in graves and hoards in Denmark (Kristiansen 1984a: Fig. 12). The trend is clearly one from male to female dominance in the number of artefacts deposited. In Period I female ornaments were few, but this changes dramatically in Period II, whilst the relative number of swords decreases. Moreover, the overall diversity in male associated artefacts deposited also declines from the end of Period II, which is in sharp contradistinction to female ornamentation which not only continues to increase from Period II to Period V, but also maintain their artistic quality and continue to see greater stylistic and decorative elaboration. This decrease in the diversity of male associated artefacts is also accompanied, perhaps most significantly, by a blending of the formerly distinct types of swords for the warrior and priestly chiefs, before disappearing altogether in the Late Bronze Age, along with other features of these dual rulers.

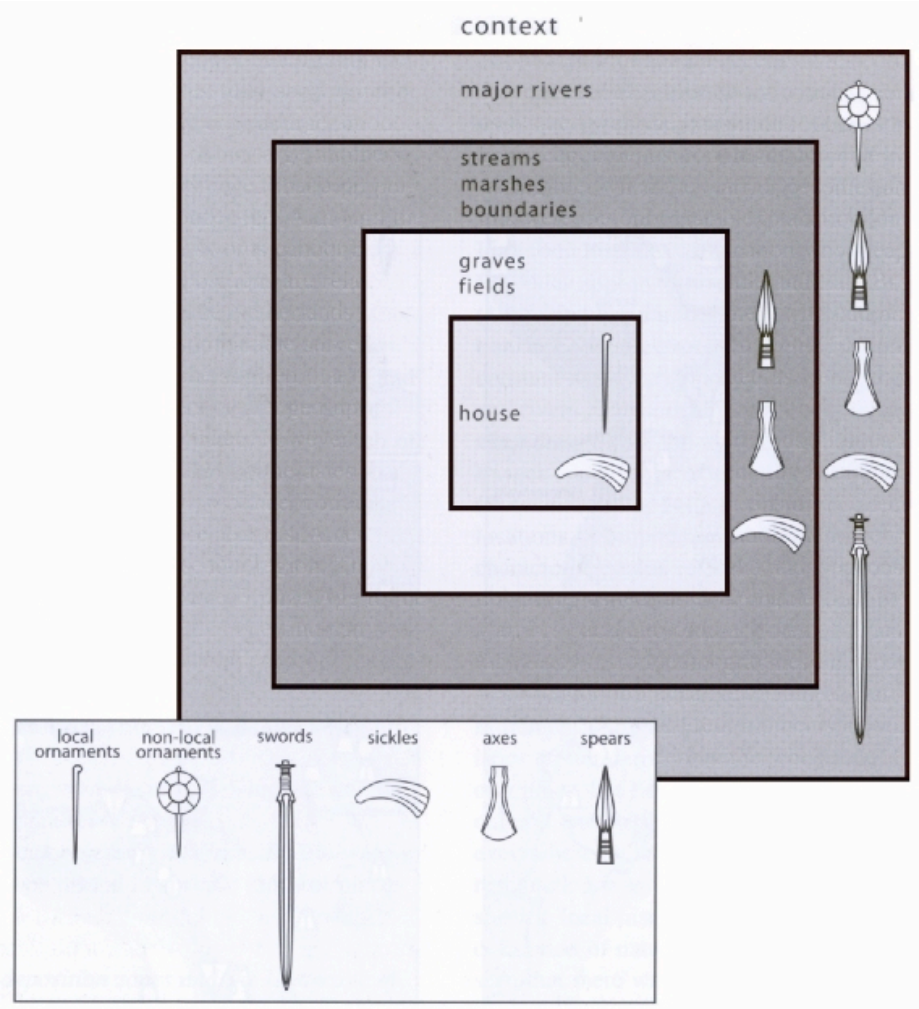

Figure 8: Model showing the depositional relationship of local and foreign between place and artefact in the Middle and Late Bronze Age of the southern Netherlands (after Fontijn 2002: Fig. 14.2).

Gesture, gender, identity: Ideology and the European Bronze Age

Ornaments and swords were specialised items, belonging only to a minority of Bronze Age society in northern and central Europe. They represent significant 'symbols in action' when associated with the various techniques of bodily gestures, comportment and postures. As I have already discussed, I believe that this instantiation of identity through corporeal symbolism was related to the maintenance of an elite identity that facilitated certain groups to transcend their direct affiliation with particular societies, and associate themselves instead with a supra-regional group related most likely in some fashion to the 'warrior' ideology that took root in various forms throughout Europe at this time. The articulation of these supra-regional identities is well

illustrated by the depositional circumstances of bronzes in the southern Netherlands (Fontijn 2002). Here we find a significant difference between locally associated or produced artefacts and foreign artefacts, notably ornaments and swords. Assuming that the home is the centre of one's personal world, Figure 8 shows that we find only certain classes of material were deposited here, primarily those that were locally produced, and as one moves further out into the world, particularly into wet locations[7], we find the deposition of artefacts with foreign associations, items that are traditionally related to this pan-European phenomenon of the 'warrior' (*Ibid*: 264).

Clearly then, the social status and identities of these male and female elites, and their associated material culture, was a problematic one. Too often the 'warrior' is portrayed as the social ideal of this period by archaeologists, but clearly it was not. For both men and women it appears as a role that was difficult to take up, an identity that was complicated to maintain, and as likely, a status that was complicated to remove or leave.

Conclusion

In conclusion then, identity and the construction of ones social and cultural sense of being does not occur only once at any particular stage of a person's lifecycle. Rather, it has to be reiterated through corporeal performance over-and-over again, created, maintained and as equally transformed, in temporal immediacy, instantiated from one moment to the next (cf. Butler 1993: 187-188). Gestures represent a stabilising phenomenon in this process, a reduction of complexity and choice (Mizoguchi 2004) within such performances, representing institutionalised techniques that are learned and transmitted through tradition and constructed through habitual routines – they are an embodied discourse in identity formation and maintenance, a discourse that is intimately tied up with the use of material culture. This discourse was also an affective one, that is emotionally embodied, or in other words, it mattered.

Mauss's observations on the exclusivity of techniques based upon class and gender similarities is as equally important as his observations on the differences between them. As well as bodily techniques forming an exclusive symbolic code of

differentiation and dominance during the Bronze Age, the similarities of certain practices and themes of elite males and females, related to the 'warrior' identity, across Europe during the Bronze Age and the existence of similarly distributed exchange, marriage, and alliance networks suggest that such codes also acted to bridge regional identities by acknowledging and identifying the shared values and interests of certain select groups. Sherratt and Sherratt (1995: 481) have identified the necessity for a shared language across Bronze Age Europe that facilitated artefact exchange and the movement of such groups. Similarly, there may have been a shared idea of the body, but not just the way it was dressed or presented, but a shared idea of how the body moved – its gestures, posture and comportment – that institutionalised the social context within which the notion of the warrior may have existed – systems of gender, age and class (Matthews 2004a).

Notes

1. For a discussion of unintentional 'Incidental gestures' see Morris 2002: 22-23.
2. Morris (2002), however, offers a far more subtle and nuanced contextual approach to the categorisation of bodily communication.
3. A further perspective that informs the study of bodily movement is that of phenomenology (for discussions of its relationship to archaeology see Thomas 1996; Tilley 1994, 2004, 2005). For a discussion of the relationship between the study of gestures and the phenomenological perspective of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962) see Matthews 2004b, 2004c.
4. Though little known amongst Anglo-American scholars, the work of Andre Leroi-Gourhan contributed equally as significantly to these two traditions as did Marcel Mauss (see Schlanger 1990 for a discussion of the relationship between the works of Mauss and Leroi-Gourhan, as well as Leroi-Gourhan 1993).
5. These aesthetics take the form of very different social institutions and characteristics however, that relate to both the internal and external workings of societies, such as amongst the Tumulus tradition of the Middle Bronze Age in Central Europe (see Kristiansen 2004: 262-263, Fig. 1).
6. The relationship of Homer to the Mycenaeans (e.g. Finley 1956), and of the Mycenaeans to the European Bronze Age (e.g. Harding 1984; Kristiansen 1998) has been much debated. For the practical purposes of this discussion, it is accepted that Homer, whilst writing sometime around c.800 BC was referring back to c.1400 BC, the period of Mycenaean Greece (cf. Iakovidis 1999). The distribution of material culture of Mycenaean origin across Europe during the Bronze Age is extensive, as was their replication, and similarly many European materials found their way to the Aegean. Given such materials, and the numerous instances of shared motifs, institutions and roles, such as the 'warrior', this relationship between the Mycenaeans and the Tumulus tradition is in the instance of this short discussion taken at face value.
7. See Bradley (1998) for a discussion of the significance of the deposition of materials in wet location throughout European prehistory.

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