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Parallele Raumkonzepte

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„Parallele Raumkonzepte“ – Einführung in das Thema der Tagung

Das Thema ‚Raum‘ ist bekanntlich vor noch nicht allzu langer Zeit in den Olymp der kulturwissenschaftlichen Schlüsselbegriffe aufgestiegen: die Rede ist vom ‚spatial turn‘.¹ Raum wurde als eine Kategorie entdeckt, die gegenüber der Zeit angeblich lange vernachlässigt wurde. Die Vertreter des ‚spatial turn‘ verweisen darauf, Raum sei seit der Aufklärung zugunsten der Zeitperspektive verdrängt worden und habe in den Sozial- und Geisteswissenschaften keine Rolle gespielt. Skeptiker bemerken, dass der Begriff ‚Raum‘ keineswegs völlig ausgeklammert gewesen sei. Völlig neu ist das Thema Raum zweifellos nicht. Auch vor der Ausrufung der ‚geografischen Wende‘ in den Geisteswissenschaften hat man sich mit Räumen beschäftigt. In der Geschichtswissenschaft ist der Raum spätestens mit dem großen Werk von Fernand Braudel über „Das Mittelmeer und die mediterrane Welt in der Epoche Philipps II“² hinreichend berücksichtigt worden. Damit wurde vielleicht überhaupt das erste Mal die mediterrane Welt als ein zusammenhängender Kosmos ins Bewusstsein gebracht. Braudel stellte das Meer in den Mittelpunkt seines Buches und betonte die Bedeutung des Raums für die Geschichte: „In diesem Zusammenhang ist die Geographie kein Selbstzweck, sie wird zum Mittel. Sie hilft uns, auch jene strukturellen Realitäten ausfindig zu machen, die sich am langsamsten entfalten, eine Perspektive herzustellen, deren Fluchtlinien auf die beständigste Dauer (la plus longue durée) verweist.“³ Die Geographie, der wir – genau wie der Geschichte – jede Frage stellen können, begünstigt also die Entdeckung einer quasi unbewegten Geschichte“.⁴

Die gegenwärtige Beschäftigung mit dem Raum erscheint plausibel als eine Konsequenz der sog. Globalisierung und des cyber space, die zugleich als eine Form der Rückversicherung an den ‚Nahbereich‘ verstanden werden kann. In der globalisierten Moderne mit der Privilegierung des Fernbereichs steigt das Gefühl des Verlusts einer konkreten Verortung des Individuums. Immer mehr Orte ähneln Transiträumen, wie Autobahnraststätten, Flughäfen und Bahnhöfen. Sie werden als ‚uneigentliche‘ Orte empfunden.⁵ So kann man in den raumzugewandten Arbeiten beobachten, dass häufig weniger über Raum als über Ort gesprochen wird.

Für die Diskussion des Begriffs Raum ist seine nicht essentialistische Verwendung konstitutiv. Es wird nicht gefragt, „Was ist ein Raum“? sondern „Wie wird der Raum gedacht, wie wird er konzipiert“? Gefragt wird also nach der Konstruktion von Räumen, das heißt ihrer sozialen Konstituierung. Raum existiert nicht schon ‚irgendwie‘, sondern wird erst durch Menschen und soziale Gebilde hergestellt. Daraus folgt, dass der Raum wiederum auch für die Konstituierung des Sozialen, d.h. der sozialen Handlungen und Beziehungen eine wichtige Rolle spielt. Der Raumbegriff des spatial turn braucht konstitutiv Menschen. Vorstellungen von einem natürlichen, gegebenen, einfach so existierenden Raum lassen sich damit nicht vereinbaren. Raum wird als eine relationale (An)Ordnung von Lebewesen und sozialen Gütern definiert: „Auf eine Kurzformel gebracht, kann man sagen, die Konstitution von

1 Bachmann-Medick 2006, 284ff.; Schroer 2007.

2 Braudel 1992.

3 Braudel 1958.

4 Braudel 1992, 31.

5 Augé 2010.

Räumen geschieht durch (strukturierte) (An)ordnungen von sozialen Gütern und Menschen an Orten.“⁶ Kurz, Raum und soziale Praxis gehören zusammen.

In der prähistorischen Archäologie hat sich im Zuge des ‚spatial turn‘ der Blick auf die Landschaft verändert, wenngleich in diesem Zusammenhang schon frühe wegweisende Arbeiten zu nennen wären.⁷ Landschaft wird nicht mehr nur als Reservoir ökonomischer Ressourcen verstanden, sondern in ihren sozio-symbolischen Dimensionen untersucht, d.h. wie sie von Menschen wahrgenommen, erfahren und konzeptualisiert wird.

Die angelsächsische Archäologie greift auf Landschaft vor allem in sozialer und symbolischer Perspektive zu. Ashmore und Knapp unterscheiden zwischen „... landscape as memory, landscape as identity, landscape as social order und landscape as transformation“.⁸ ‚Landscape as memory‘ betrachtet Landschaft unter dem Aspekt, wie die Memorierung gesellschaftlicher und individueller Ereignisse im Raum verankert, an Orte der historischen und/oder mythischen Erinnerung gebunden wird. ‚Landscape as identity‘ versteht bestimmte heilige Plätze oder Landschaften als Quell soziokultureller Identität. ‚Landscape as social order‘ versteht Landschaft als Mittel der gedanklichen Parallelisierung von Natur mit der sozialen Ordnung etwa im australischen Totemismus. ‚Landscape as transformation‘ will in die Betrachtung der Landschaft eine Zeitperspektive legen, doch scheint dies gegenüber den drei genannten Bereichen noch am wenigsten ausgearbeitet. Dabei ist gerade die Dynamik der Umgestaltung und des Eingriffs in die Landschaft auch in der Vorgeschichte tiefgreifend gewesen.

Die programmatischen Arbeiten zu den Potentialen einer oder mehrerer Archäologien der Landschaft⁹ konnten bislang ihren Anspruch durch entsprechende Fallstudien nur bedingt einlösen und sind auch harscher Kritik unterzogen worden.¹⁰ Es liegt auf der Hand, dass z.B. die Frage nach dem Erlebnis bzw. der Wahrnehmung der Landschaft mit ihren Jahrtausende alten Monumenten (Grabhügel, Megalithgräber etc.) durch z.B. den bronzezeitlichen Menschen als Konzept große Attraktivität besitzt, zugleich aber die Gefahr besteht, im subjektiven Eindruck des modernen Betrachters befangen zu bleiben.

Über Raum findet sich reichhaltiges Material in der Ethnologie. Man kann den ‚spatial turn‘ als eine späte Konsequenz der ethnographischen Wende in den Kulturwissenschaften verstehen, der durch die Fremderfahrung an die Stelle von Anverwandlung getreten ist. Das Interesse am Raum war in der Ethnologie immer vorhanden, vermutlich weil sie eine Wissenschaft ohne Zeit (im historischen Sinne) bzw. der Gleichzeitigkeit ist. Man kann hier auf Schlüsselkonzepte der Ethnologie verweisen. A. v. Gennep erläuterte seine ‚rites de passage‘ indem räumliche Übergänge als Modell für die anderen Arten von Übergängen, wie Initiationen, Heiraten oder Begräbnisse dienen können.¹¹ Dabei erinnerte er daran, dass die Territorien früher nicht durch Grenzen, sondern Marken getrennt waren, gleichsam neutrale Zonen waren um von einem in ein anderes Territorium zu gelangen und jeder der dort ist, ‚zwischen zwei Welten schwebt‘. Diesen Zustand bezeichnete er mit einem architektonischen Begriff als ‚Schwellenphase‘. Am Übergang über eine Schwelle unterschied van Gennep bekanntlich ‚Trennungsriten‘ und entsprechend ‚Angliederungsriten‘ in dem schließlich erreichten neuen Aufenthaltsort.

In der Ethnologie spielen Beobachtungen eine wichtige Rolle, wie in traditionalistischen Gesellschaften der Raum strukturiert wird. Auch finden sich hier Systematisierungen der symbolischen Ordnung des architektonisch gestalteten Hausbereichs und des Dorfes sowie der umgebenden Natur bzw. Wildnis.

6 Löw 2001, 204.

7 Leroi-Gourhan 1965/1984, 395–428.

8 Ashmore/Knapp 2003.

9 Bes. Tilley 1994.

10 Fleming 2005.

11 van Gennep 1986.

Klaus E. Müller hat sein Buch „Das magische Universum der Identität. Elementarformen sozialen Verhaltens“ mit der Beschreibung und Diskussion des Raums eingeleitet. Architektur (Raumaufteilung und Ausstattung) sind nicht einem diffusen ‚Irgendwie‘ überlassen, sondern unterliegen einer strengen Ordnung. Die Teilelemente eines Hauses sind spezielle Bedeutungsträger von besonderem Symbolwert. Müller betont den Herd als Mittelpunkt, und die Aufteilung des Hauses nach Geschlechtern.

Das gleiche gilt dann auch für komplexere Gehöfte mit der zentralen Wohnung des Gehöftherrn und der übrigen Wohnungen um einen zentralen Platz. Analog dazu kann auch das gesamte Dorf als Ort verstanden werden, wo alle Wege zusammenlaufen. Das Dorf liegt im Herzen der Welt, das einer deutlichen Abgrenzung gegenüber der Exosphäre der Wildnis bedarf.¹² Gleichwohl bleiben die ethnographischen Schemata letztlich Idealtypen ohne Dynamik. Doch Räume werden durch soziale Beziehungen konstituiert, d.h. auch durch Machtbeziehungen definiert und verändert. Michel Foucault hat Raum und Macht zusammengedacht: „Man müsste eine ganze Geschichte der Räume schreiben – die zugleich eine Geschichte der Mächte wäre –, von den großen Strategien der Geopolitik bis zu den kleinen Taktiken des Wohnens, der institutionellen Architektur, dem Klassenzimmer oder der Krankenhausorganisation und dazwischen den ökonomisch-politischen Einpflanzungen. Es überrascht, wenn man sieht, welch lange Zeit das Problem der Räume gebraucht hat, um als historisch-politisches Problem aufzutauchen: Entweder wurde der Raum in die Natur zurückgeschickt – ins Gegebene, in die ersten Bestimmungen, in die natürliche Geographie, das heißt eine Art prähistorischer Schicht – oder er wurde als Wohn- oder Ausdehnungsraum eines Volkes, einer Kultur, einer Sprache oder eines Staates begriffen. Kurz gesagt, man analysierte ihn entweder als Boden oder als Areal; worauf es ankam waren das Substrat oder die Grenzen. Es mussten erst Marc Bloch und Fernand Braudel kommen, damit sich eine Geschichte der ländlichen Räume oder der maritimen Räume entwickeln konnte. Man muss sie weiterführen und dazu genügt es nicht, zu behaupten, der Raum bestimme vorab eine Geschichte, die ihn dann umgekehrt neu begründe und sich in ihm ablagere. Die räumliche Verankerung ist eine ökonomisch-politische Form, die man in ihren Einzelheiten untersuchen muss“.¹³ Die Geschichte der Räume, die zugleich eine Geschichte der Mächte wäre, sollte also von den großen Strategien der Geopolitik bis zu den kleinen Taktiken des Wohnens berücksichtigen, dass die soziale Strukturierung des Raums nicht homogen und starr ist sondern widersprüchlich und dynamisch – und eben auch parallel. Es sind verschiedene soziale Gruppen und Klassen, die im und um den Raum konkurrieren, Männer und Frauen, Alte und Junge, Herren und Knechte.

Die Möglichkeit der Gleichzeitigkeit mehrerer Räume an einem Ort wird so anhand der Unterschiedlichkeit der Akteure erfassbar. Zu fragen ist nach konkreten Räumen ebenso wie nach imaginären. Die Beobachtung von Überschneidungen durch die Gleichzeitigkeit ungleicher Räume sind bereits in der ‚imaginären Geographie‘ Edward Saids¹⁴ angelegt und werden beispielsweise im Konzept des Third Space¹⁵, aber auch in Einzelstudien¹⁶ fokussiert beschrieben. Marina Löw hat dies in ihrer ‚Raumsoziologie‘ auf den Punkt gebracht: „Die Konstitution verschiedener Räume an einem Ort muss denkbar werden.“¹⁷ In der Regel vollzieht sich das Arbeiten mit unterschiedlichen Räumen auf der abstrakten Ebene einer Analyse unterschiedlicher Wahrnehmungen. So untersucht beispielsweise Ulrike Jureit¹⁸ die für das Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts vorherrschenden Raumkonzepte und identifiziert

12 Vgl. Haller 2005, 125ff.

13 Foucault 2003, 253f.

14 Said 1994.

15 Vgl. Soja 1996; zusammenfassend Bachmann-Medick 2006, 297.

16 Vgl. z.B. O’Hanlon/Frankland 2003.

17 Löw 2001, 268.

18 <http://www.his-online.de/forschung/projekte-gastwissenschaftler/ordnen-von-raeumen.html> (20. 12. 2011).

drei Sichtweisen: die Entwicklung vom Ort zum Territorium als ‚nationalstaatliches Raumkonzept‘, raum-zeitliche Veränderungen im Sinne von Verdichtung und Raumschwund als ‚modernisierungstheoretisches Raumkonzept‘ und Vorstellungen vom kolonialen Raum als ‚imperialistisches Raumkonzept‘. Diese Rezeptionen von Raumstrukturen existieren nebeneinander und beziehen sich auf dieselben empirisch feststellbaren räumlichen Veränderungen; die Wahrnehmung dieser Veränderungen ist der jeweiligen Perspektive des Einzelnen überlassen: welche Sichtweise wird eingenommen, welchem Aspekt wird wieviel Bedeutung beigemessen? Wir möchten diese beiden Begriffe des ‚Empirisch Feststellbaren‘ und der ‚Wahrnehmung‘ herausgreifen, um auszuloten, inwieweit nebeneinander existierende Raumkonzepte in der archäologischen Siedlungsforschung identifiziert und analysiert werden können – gemäß unserem Tagungsthema.

Die Stärke der Archäologie liegt zweifellos in der Herausarbeitung des empirisch Feststellbaren. Empirisch feststellbar ist die Verteilung von Objekten und Objektkonzentrationen im Raum, die Identifikation von Siedlungs- und Bestattungsplätzen, von Deponierungen und von technischen und ökonomischen Einrichtungen. Gängige Praxis ist es, daraus ein einheitliches Bild zu erstellen, ein Bild, das einem traditionellen Raumkonzept entspricht und den Raum als Konstante begreift. Durch die Datierung der einzelnen Phänomene lässt sich das Bild entlang der Zeitachse differenzieren. Jetzt werden Veränderungen und siedlungsarchäologische Dynamik sichtbar, und erst jetzt, auf der Ebene der zeitlichen Entwicklung, wird in der Regel die Frage nach sich wandelnden Raumkonzepten gestellt.

Problematischer ist für die Archäologie die Rekonstruktion der Wahrnehmung. Ein Verständnis von Räumen als Produkt der Wahrnehmungen und Handlungen von Akteuren bedingt eine Rekonstruktion der Akteur-Perspektive. Welches Wissen über Raum ist vorhanden, welche Ansprüche an den Raum bestehen, welche normativen Beschränkungen der Raumwahrnehmung liegen vor? Der Bezugsrahmen bei der Rekonstruktion von Wahrnehmung ist in der Archäologie gegenüber Studien mit einem rezenten Bezugsrahmen entsprechend spezifisch und eingeschränkt. Die erste Einschränkung bezieht sich darauf, dass es in aller Regel nicht möglich ist, auf die Ebene des Individuums – also des einzelnen Akteurs – zu gelangen. Individuen sind zwar mit ihrer spezifischen Grabausstattung zu fassen, zur Rekonstruktion ihrer Raumwahrnehmung sind wir jedoch auf Spekulation und Vermutung angewiesen. Wahrnehmung, Gestaltung und Nutzung von Raum ist deshalb als Gruppenaktivität erkennbar, die für den Archäologen erkennbare Akteur-Perspektive bezieht sich also auf Entitäten als Akteure. Die zweite Einschränkung bezieht sich auf den Raum selber. In jedem Fall muss eine Wahrnehmung vorliegen, die sich auf einen konkreten und für den Archäologen fassbaren Raum bezieht – imaginäre Räume sind für die Archäologie als Forschungsgegenstand gleichermaßen imaginär. Die dritte Einschränkung bezieht sich auf die zeitliche Perspektive. Den Möglichkeiten der Archäologie entsprechend ist die zeitliche Auflösung relativ gering. Nur selten gelangt man verlässlich auf die Ebene von Generationen, häufig muss man sich mit Zeitscheiben von einem Jahrhundert oder mehr begnügen. Ereignisorientierte parallele Raumwahrnehmung kann nur in Ausnahmefällen rekonstruiert werden.

Wie und unter welchen Bedingungen können also aus den materiellen Hinterlassenschaften und ihrem Raumbezug heraus Raumkonzepte gelesen werden, wenn nur mit zeitlich nicht sehr hoch auflösenden, realen Gruppenaktivitäten gearbeitet werden kann?

In der Regel handelt es sich bei diesen Gruppen um Siedlungsgemeinschaften oder Teile davon, die einen bestimmten Raum auf der Mikro-, Meso- und Makroebene nutzt. Teile von Siedlungsgemeinschaften können übergreifende Sodalitäten, aber auch Subgruppen sein, die sich nach Kategorien wie Alter, Geschlecht, Zugehörigkeit zu kultischen Verbänden, ökonomischen Gruppen etc. definieren.

Die Suche nach parallel existierenden Raumkonzepten kann also in dem Moment beginnen, in dem unterschiedliche Gruppen identifiziert werden können, die sich im gleichen Raum bewegen, diesen wahrnehmen und nutzen. Parallele Raumkonzepte können dabei entweder in der Parallelität der Raumwahrnehmung und -nutzung durch unterschiedliche Identitätsgruppen oder im Sinne einer Parallelität von traditioneller und neu entstehender Raumnutzung einer zusammengehörenden bzw. sich aufspaltenden Entität erkannt und analysiert werden.

Unterschiedliche Identitäten innerhalb einer Gesellschaft betreffen die verschiedenen Ebenen gesellschaftlicher Organisation. Gut nachweisbar ist der spezifische religiös-rituelle Zugriff auf Räume (Beiträge Hansen; Hofmann); aus ethnologischer und historischer Sicht vergleicht Eggert die ‚afrikanische‘ und die ‚europäische‘ Sicht auf den Urwald.

Methodisch anspruchsvoll und im Hypothetischen verhaftet ist die archäologische Raumanalyse von alters- und geschlechtsspezifischen Gruppen (Beitrag Reinhold). Geht man in der Analogie zu ethnographischen Berichten davon aus, dass in der späten Eisenzeit Eisenverhüttung Männer- und Keramikproduktion Frauensache war, dann könnte man eine unterschiedliche Raumwahrnehmung im Umfeld spätlatènezeitlicher Siedlungen im Südharzvorland vermuten: Für die Frauen war der Bereich ergiebiger Tonlagerstätten ein Ort von großer Bedeutung und Gegenstand der Generierung und Tradierung von Expertinnenwissen, während die Toneisenstein-Vorkommen im nördlichen Bereich ein wichtiger Bestandteil der Raumwahrnehmung vieler Männer gewesen sein dürfte. Gleichzeitig sind mit diesem Beispiel auch Raumerfahrungen ökonomischer Spezialisierungen erfasst – die Grenzen zwischen den Identitätsebenen sind durchlässig, Verknüpfungen und Kombinationen sind zu erwarten (Beitrag Meyer).

Leichter können unterschiedliche Identitätsgruppen mit den Mitteln der Archäologie erkannt werden, wenn eine in einem Raum vorhandene Gruppe mit einer von außen kommenden Gruppe konfrontiert wird – es handelt sich also um einen exogenen Prozess. Im Gegensatz dazu ist die Aufspaltung einer zusammengehörenden Entität als endogener Prozess zu lesen.

Als exogener Prozess kann die Migration in ihren verschiedenen Spielarten gesehen werden. Die Möglichkeiten des archäologischen Nachweises von Migrationen haben sich mit den neuen archäobiologischen Methoden der Molekulargenetik und der Isotopenanalyse deutlich verbessert. Mit diesen Methoden ist der Nachweis von fremden Individuen möglich. Für die Verortung von Migration im Raum und erst recht für die Beantwortung der Frage nach dem Raumkonzept einer eingewanderten Gruppe ist man jedoch nach wie vor auf die Identifikation ihrer materiellen Kultur angewiesen.

Dazu ist es notwendig, dass sich diese materielle Kultur auf verschiedenen Ebenen deutlich von der des Zielgebietes unterscheidet. Der Nachweis von Migration ist damit zunächst eine Frage der Distanzen: Bewegungen innerhalb einer archäologischen Kultur sind so nicht zu erkennen. Häufig ist Migration kein einmaliges Ereignis, sondern ein Prozess. Auf den archäologischen Befund bezogen bedeutet dies, dass die Frage der inneren Dynamik der Migration und der zeitlichen Staffelung der Einwanderung und deren räumlichen Niederschlag gestellt werden muss.

Roland Prien unterscheidet in seiner auf die Möglichkeiten der archäologischen Anwendung bezogenen Klassifikation drei wesentliche Varianten der Migration: Spezialistenwanderung, Massenwanderung und Elitenwanderung.¹⁹ Bei einer ‚Spezialistenwanderung‘ wandert eine begrenzte Gruppe ein, um bestimmte Aufgaben wahrzunehmen, übt im Zielgebiet jedoch keine wirtschaftliche oder politische Kontrolle aus. Das Auftreten neuer Technologien in Zusammenhang mit fremder materieller Kultur

¹⁹ Prien 2005.

kann hier ein Hinweis sein. Im Zuge einer ‚Massenwanderung‘ wandert eine große, repräsentative Gruppe über einen längeren Zeitraum hinweg in ein Gebiet ein, in dem sie dann die Mehrheit stellt – das klassische Konzept einer ‚Völkerwanderung‘. Um politische und/oder wirtschaftliche Kontrolle geht es bei einer ‚Elitenwanderung‘, in der eine begrenzte, nicht repräsentative Gruppe einwandert. In extremer Form handelt es sich bei einer Elitenwanderung um eine Kolonisation. Eine Kolonisation dient der Sicherung von Macht und Wohlstand. Angestrebt wird Zugang zu Rohstoffen, Rekrutierung von Arbeitskräften, Sicherung eines neuen Absatzmarktes usw.

Auf den Raum bezogen sind es verschiedene Prozesse, die von besonderem Interesse sind. Kolonien können sehr schnell eine eigenständige, vom Mutterland abgekoppelte Entwicklung nehmen – hier ist die Frage nach Synergien zwischen einheimischem und oktroyiertem Raumkonzept zu stellen. Wie das Beispiel Nordamerikas zeigt, können Kolonien eine eigene Entwicklung durchmachen, die zu einer gezielten und auch kriegerisch erzielten Loslösung von der Zentralmacht führt – der Dekolonisation. Damit in Zusammenhang steht die Frage nach der Reaktion der einheimischen Bevölkerung. Zu überprüfen ist beispielsweise, inwieweit im Sinne eines Nativismus subkutan traditionelle Strukturen beibehalten werden, worauf besonders im Rahmen von ‚post colonial studies‘ deutlich hingewiesen wurde. Ist eine Creolization zu beobachten, eine ‚unverstandene‘ Übernahme neuer Raumelemente, die de facto das Neue karikieren? Werden bei dem Widerstand gegen eine Kolonialisierung räumlich vertorbare Identifikationskerne genutzt? (vgl. Beiträge Biermann, Fichtl, Hofmann, Meyer, Straube, Prien).

Als endogene Prozesse sind vor allem ökonomische Spezialisierungen, die einen klaren Raumbezug aufweisen, und Zentralisierungsprozesse durch soziale, ökonomische und religiöse Differenzierung zu nennen, wobei diese beiden Entwicklungen nicht unbedingt zu trennen sind.

In der Regel steht in der Erforschung solcher Prozesse das neu entstehende im Mittelpunkt. Hier liegt das dynamische Moment der strukturellen Veränderung, hier ist Entwicklung zu erkennen und in ihrer Genese und ihren Konsequenzen auszuloten. Das beharrende, traditionelle Element tritt demgegenüber zurück, seine Existenz wird entweder als selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt oder als gegeben hingenommen. Die Frage der Akzeptanz und Durchsetzung einer neuen Struktur lässt sich jedoch vor allem im Wechselverhältnis von Altem und Neuem verfolgen, und dieses Verhältnis macht sich unter anderem in der Entwicklung im Raum fest. Kommt es zu einer Parallelität von Raumkonzepten, oder wirkt der Prozess der Hierarchisierung integrierend? Sind parallele Strukturen temporär oder auf Dauer tragfähig? (vgl. Beiträge Baitinger, Collis, Dietrich, Nakoinz, Kneisel, Müller, Stäuble/Wolfram).

Die in diesem Band versammelten Beiträge wurden im Rahmen der vom 15.–17. März 2010 in Berlin durchgeführten Topoi-Tagung ‚Parallele Raumkonzepte‘ als Vorträge gehalten. In ihrer Vielschichtigkeit stehen sie für eine Annäherung an das Thema. Neben ihrem unterschiedlichen inhaltlichen Fokus zeigen sie in aller Klarheit, wie immer wieder Prämissen der Forschung, aber auch eine heterogene Quellenlage die Erkennbarkeit gleichzeitiger Strukturen beeinflussen können. So betonen Harald Stäuble und Sabine Wolfram die extrem unterschiedlichen Erhaltungsbedingungen der Hinterlassenschaften bäuerlicher und Jäger/Sammler Gesellschaften. Der Beitrag von Laura Dietrich zeigt die Probleme einer belastbaren Deutung bei lückenhaftem Forschungsstand. Roland Prien thematisiert die Probleme, die sich durch eine ‚Überlagerung‘ der Interpretation des archäologischen Befundes durch traditionelle historische Konzepte ergeben, und John Collis zeigt die Auswirkungen einer Jahrzehnte lang auf Zentralorte fixierten archäologischen Geländetätigkeit, sobald deren Verhältnis zum Umland beurteilt werden soll.

Seit Anfang der 90er Jahre der Begriff der ‚Parallelgesellschaft‘ in den gesellschaftlichen Diskurs der Bundesrepublik eingeführt wurde, haftet parallelen sozialen Erscheinungen etwas Negatives an.

Die mangelnde Integrationskraft einer Gesellschaft wird kritisiert und als Problem mit großer sozialer Sprengkraft gesehen. In der Psychologie wird mit Parallelwelten die Strategie der Realitätsflucht beschrieben, die Flucht in ‚Ersatzwirklichkeiten‘. Neutraler sieht dies die Quantenphysik, die statt Parallelwelten lieber angeregt und voll Neugier dem Phänomen von ‚Multiuniversen‘ auf der Spur ist.

Aus unserer Sicht ermöglicht die Beschäftigungen mit parallel auftretenden sozialen Erscheinungen mit ihrer räumlichen Verortung einen überraschend differenzierten Blick auf frühe Gesellschaften. Dieses Potential gilt es zu bergen. Mit dem hier vorgelegten Tagungsband wollen wir einen Beitrag dazu leisten.

“Parallel Spatial Concepts” – Introduction to the Theme of the Conference

As is well-known, the concept of ‘space’ recently reached the heights of Olympus as a key term in cultural studies, in particular concerning ‘spatial turn’.¹ ‘Space’ was discovered as a category, which, in comparison to ‘time’, had supposedly been long neglected. Proponents of the concept of ‘spatial turn’ point out that ever since the Enlightenment ‘space’ had been pushed aside in favour of the perspective of time and, consequently, no longer played a role in social sciences and the humanities. Sceptics, conversely, note that the term ‘space’ has by no means been completely excluded. The subject itself is certainly not new. Even before the proclamation of the ‘geographical turn’, the humanities had already dealt with spaces. At the latest since Fernand Braudel’s *magnum opus* “The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II”,² in which the Mediterranean world was perhaps for the first time ever raised to consciousness as a coherent cosmos, space has been sufficiently taken into account in the humanities. Braudel made the sea the central topic of his book, underlying the historical significance of space: “Geography in this context is no longer an end in itself, but a means to an end. It helps us to rediscover the slow unfolding of structural realities, to see things in the perspective of the very long term.³ Geography, like history, can answer many questions. Here it helps us to discover the almost imperceptible movement of history ...”⁴.

The present-day occupation of ‘space’ seems plausible as a consequence of so-called globalisation and cyber space, which can equally be considered as a form of reassurance with regard to local space. In the modernist globalised world with its privileging of distant space, the individual increasingly feels the loss of a concrete location. A growing number of places like motorway service areas, airports and railway stations come to resemble transitional spaces. They are perceived as ‘places’ as a figure of speech (‘non-places’).⁵ Hence, some publications dealing with space often use the term ‘space’ rather than ‘place’.

For the discussion about the concept of space, its non-essentialist use is constitutive. The question is not, ‘what is space?’, but rather, “ ... how is space perceived and imagined, how is it conceptualized?” The question, thus, addresses spaces as constructs, i.e. in their social constitution. Space does not somehow just already exist; instead it is only brought into being by people and social structures. Consequently, space plays an important role in constituting that which is social, i.e. social action and relations. For the concept of ‘spatial turn’, people are constitutive. It does not comply with the idea of a natural, pre-existing or simply existing space. Moreover, space is defined as a relational order (arrangement) of species and social goods. “Auf eine Kurzformel gebracht, kann man sagen, die Konstitution von Räumen geschieht durch (strukturierte) (An)ordnungen von sozialen Gütern und Menschen an Orten.”⁶ or, to put it briefly, space and social practice belong together.

In the wake of the concept of ‘spatial turn’, the position of prehistoric archaeology towards the landscape has changed, even though earlier pioneer work of Leroi-Gourhan could be mentioned in this

1 Bachmann-Medick 2006, 284ff.; Schroer 2007.

2 Braudel 1995.

3 Braudel 1958, 725–753.

4 Braudel 1995, 23.

5 Augé 1995.

6 Löw 2001, 204.

regard.⁷ Landscape is no longer perceived only as a reservoir of economic resources. It is in fact being investigated in its socio-symbolical dimensions, i.e. the way in which it is perceived, experienced and conceptualised by people. Anglo-Saxon archaeology approaches landscape primarily from a social and symbolical point of view. Ashmore und Knapp distinguish between “... landscape as memory, landscape as identity, landscape as social order and landscape as transformation”.⁸ ‘Landscape as memory’ considers landscape in terms of how memories of social and individual events are anchored in space, how they are bound to places of historical and/or mythological memory. ‘Landscape as identity’ understands certain sacred places and landscapes as a source of socio-cultural identity. ‘Landscape as social order’ sees landscape as a means of mentally making nature parallel with social order, like, for instance, totemism in Australia. ‘Landscape as transformation’ attempts to add a temporal perspective to the observation of the landscape, although in contrast to the other three approaches this viewpoint has been least elaborated thus far. Thereby, it is precisely the transformational dynamics and intrusions into the landscape that have been so profound in prehistory.

Programmatic studies on the potential of one or several archaeologies of landscape⁹ were only partly successful in meeting their standards by submitting corresponding case studies and were also subjected to harsh criticism.¹⁰ It is obvious that, for example, the question as to how Bronze Age people experienced and perceived the landscape with its ancient monuments (grave mounds, Megalithic tombs, etc.), was quite attractive as a concept; however, at the same time it still held the danger of remaining captured in the subjective impression of the modern observer.

In ethnology there is an abundance of material on space. The ‘spatial turn’ can be understood as a late consequence of the ‘ethnographic turn’ in the cultural sciences, in which adaptation has been replaced by the awareness of foreignness. In ethnology, there has always been an interest in space, presumably because it is a field of science without the component of time (in a historical sense), that is, contemporaneity. Here, reference can be made to ethnological key concepts: In his “*Les rites de passage*” A. v. Gennep discussed spatial transitions serving as an exemplary model for other forms of transition, like initiations, marriages and funerals, reminding thereby that in the past, territories were not separated by borderlines, but boundary markers, by neutral zones as it were, to get from one territory to the other, with the person transcending them: ‘floating between two worlds’.¹¹ Gennep described this state with the architectural term of ‘threshold phase’, distinguishing ‘rituals of separation’ when traversing the threshold and ‘rites of re-incorporation’ when finally arriving at the destination.

In ethnology observations of space, how space is structured in traditional societies, play an important role. Moreover, systematisations can be found in the symbolic order of the architecturally designed domestic areas and the village, as well as the surrounding nature or wilderness. Klaus E. Müller began his book, “*The Magical Universe of Identity. Elementary Forms of Social Behaviour*”, with the description and discussion of space.¹² For him, the field of architecture (spatial sectioning and design) is not subject to some diffuse ‘somehow or other’, but is subject to a strict order. The individual parts of a house have special symbolic meanings. Here Müller emphasises the hearth as the centre of the house and the division into spheres of the house itself according to gender. The same is true for more complex homesteads with the central dwelling for the lord and further dwellings arranged around a central place.

7 Leroi-Gourhan 1965/1984, 395–428.

8 Ashmore/Knapp 2003.

9 Esp. Tilley 1994.

10 Fleming 2005.

11 Gennep 1986.

12 Müller 1987.

In analogy, an entire village can be perceived as a place, where all ends meet. The village is situated at the heart of the world, which needs to be clearly differentiated from the external sphere ('exosphere'), i.e. the wilderness.¹³

Nevertheless, ultimately ethnographic patterns remain ideal types without dynamics. Yet, space is constituted by social relations, that is, it is defined and changed through power structures. For Michael Foucault space and power are interrelated: "A whole history remains to be written of spaces – which would at the same time be the history of powers (both these terms in the plural) – from the great strategies of geo-politics to the little tactics of the habitat, institutional architecture from the classroom to the design of hospitals, passing via economic and political installations. It is surprising how long the problem of space took to emerge as a historico-political problem. Space used to be either dismissed as belonging to 'nature' – that is, the given, the basic conditions, 'physical geography', in other words a sort of 'prehistoric' stratum – or else it was conceived as the residential site or field of expansion of peoples, of a culture, a language or a state. It took Marc Bloch and Fernand Braudel to develop a history of rural and maritime spaces. The development must be extended, by no longer just saying that space predetermines a history which in turn reworks and sediments itself in it. Anchorage in a space is an economic-political form which needs to be studied in detail".¹⁴

A history of space that would simultaneously be a history of powers should then take into account, beginning with major strategies of geopolitics on to small individual tactics of dwellings, that the social structuring of space is neither homogeneous nor rigid, but instead controversial and dynamic. Hence, the possibility of a parallel development is present. There are various social groups and classes competing with one another in and for space: men and women, old and young, masters and servants. Thus, the possibility of the simultaneity of several spaces at one place becomes comprehensible according to the diversity of the protagonists in these spaces. Therefore, the actual spaces as much as the imaginary ones need to be discussed. Edward Said already observed overlappings of disparate spaces through their simultaneous coexistence in his "Imaginary Geography".¹⁵ The subject is summed up, for example, in the 'third space' concept,¹⁶ and it is also the focus of individual studies.¹⁷ Marina Löw got to the very heart of the problem in her "Sociology of Space": "... the constitution of different spaces at one place must be conceivable".¹⁸

As a rule, work with different spaces takes place on the abstract level of analysing varying perceptions. Ulrike Jureit, for example, examines concepts of space that were prevalent in 19th-century Germany and identifies three basic viewpoints:¹⁹ (1) the development from place to territory as a nation-state based concept of space; (2) changes on the spatial-temporal level in the sense of compacting and shrinking space as based on *modernization theory*; and (3) notions of colonial space as an *imperialist* concept of space. These receptions of spatial structures coexist side by side and refer to the same empirically detectable spatial changes; the perception of these changes is left to the respective perspective of the individual: which perspective is chosen, how much importance is attached to which aspect?

Where we would like to single out the terms of 'empirically detectable' and 'perception', in order to explore the extent to which coexisting concepts of space can be identified and analysed in archaeological settlement research – the subject of our conference.

13 Cf. Haller 2005, 125ff.

14 Foucault 1980, 149.

15 Said 1994.

16 Cf. Soja 1996; summarized in Bachmann-Medick 2006, 297.

17 Cf. for example O'Hanlon/Frankland 2003.

18 Löw 2001.

19 <http://www.his-online.de/forschung/projekte-gastwissenschaftler/ordnen-von-raeumen.html> (20. 12. 2011).

The strength of archaeology lies beyond doubt in its elaboration of the so-called 'empirically detectable'. What can be empirically detected is the distribution and assemblage of objects in space, the identification of settlement areas and burial grounds, of depositions and of technical and economic facilities. It is common practice to create a uniform picture out of these factors, a picture that corresponds to traditional concept of space and considers space as a constant. By dating individual phenomena, an image can be differentiated along a temporal axis. Now, changes and dynamics of settlement archaeology become visible, and only now, as a rule, does the question of changing spatial concepts rise to the level of temporal development.

More problematic from the archaeological point of view, is the reconstruction of modes of perception. Understanding space as the product of perceptions and actions presupposes the reconstruction of the perspective of the protagonist(s). What knowledge is available about space? What are the demands on space, and what are the normative restrictions to the perception of space? Compared to studies with recent frames of reference, the frame of reference for the reconstruction of perception – in archaeology – is by contrast specific and limited.

The first restriction is due to the fact, that usually it is not possible to reach the level of the individual, that is, each single protagonist. Although individuals can be grasped according to their specific burial equipment, we are nonetheless dependent upon speculations and assumptions as far as the reconstruction of their perception of space is concerned. The perception, organisation and use of space can, therefore, be recognised as a group activity. The protagonist's perspective that can be recognised by the archaeologist, therefore, refers to entities as protagonists. The second restriction refers to the space itself. In every case perception must be present that relates to a definite space that is also conceivable for the archaeologist – imaginary spaces are equally imaginary as objects of archaeological research. The third restriction refers to the temporal perspective. According to the possibilities of archaeological research, the chronological resolution is relatively low. Only occasionally can the level of generations be achieved reliably; more often researchers must contend themselves with time slices of one century or even several centuries. An event-oriented parallel perception of space can only be reconstructed in exceptional cases.

How and under what conditions can concepts of space be read from the material remains and their spatial references, if only group activities with a moderately temporary resolution are at hand for study? Usually, these groups are settlement communities or parts of such, using a certain space on the micro, meso and macro levels. Parts of the community can be overarching sodalities, but also subgroups, who define themselves according to categories like age, sex, and their affiliation with cultic associations, economic groups, etc. Thus, the search for parallel spatial concepts can begin precisely at that very moment, when different groups can be identified, who move within the same space, perceiving and using it. Parallel spatial concepts can thereby be identified and analysed either in the simultaneity of the perception and use of space by different identity groups or in the sense of parallelism of traditional and newly emerged spatial use by entities that belong together or begin to fall apart. Different identities within a social framework make up the different spheres of social organisation. There is sufficient evidence for the specific religious-ritual approach to spaces.²⁰ M. K. H. Eggert compares the 'African' and 'European' view on the jungle from the ethnological and historical perspective.

Methodologically demanding and highly hypothetical is the archaeological age- and gender-specific spatial analysis by Sabine Reinhold. If, in accordance with ethnographic reports, one assumes that

20 See contributions by Svend Hansen; Kerstin Hofmann.

in the Late Iron Age iron smelting was men's work and pottery production women's work, it could be concluded that there was a different [gender specific] perception of space in the surroundings of late LaTène settlements in the southern Harz Mountains: for the women the area of rich clay deposits was a place of great significance and the subject of generating and handing down of expert knowledge, while for many of the men the ironstone deposits in the north must have been an important component of spatial perception. With this example we have spatial experiences together with economic specialisation – the boundaries between identity levels are permeable, interrelations and combinations can be expected.²¹

Different identity groups are more easily identified using archaeological means, if one group existing in a certain place is confronted by another group coming from outside – that is to say, an exogenous process. By contrast, the segregation of a related entity, in contrast, must be regarded as an endogenous process. Similarly, migration in its great variety of forms can be considered as an exogenous process. The possibilities of archaeological evidence for migration have been significantly improved with new archaeological methods of molecular genetics and isotope analyses; with the aid of these methods, evidence of foreign individuals can be gained. Conversely, for locating of migration in space, and particularly for answering the question concerning the spatial concept of an immigrant group, we are still dependent upon identifying material culture.

It is, therefore, necessary that this material culture be clearly distinguishable at various levels from the material in the area of destination. First of all, evidence of migration is a question of distance: Movements within an archaeological culture are, thus, not detectable this way. Migration is often not a one-time event, but a process. This means with regard to archaeological features that the inner dynamics of migration and the temporal graduation of immigration and its spatial expression must be investigated.

In his classification based on archaeological applicability, Roland Prien distinguishes three major types of migration: migration of specialists, mass migration and migration of elites.²² 'Migration of specialists' designates a limited group of persons who immigrate in order to carry out certain tasks, but without exercising any kind of economic or political control in the place of destination. The appearance of new technologies in association with foreign material culture can be an indication of this kind of migration. In the wake of 'mass migration' a large, representative group immigrates over a longer period of time into a region, in which it constitutes the majority of the population – the Migration Period would be a classical example of this concept. The 'migration of elites', with a limited, non-representative group immigrating, is oriented towards political and/or economic control. In its extreme form the migration of elites is, in fact, nothing else than colonization, which is meant to secure power and wealth and strives for access to natural resources, recruiting workers and securing new sales markets, etc.

With regard to space there are various processes that are of interest. Colonies can quickly start to develop independently, disconnected from the motherland; and here the issue of synergies between the indigenous concept of space and the one imposed from outside arises. The example of North America illustrates that colonies can manage to make their own development, leading to a purposeful and partially achieved separation from the central authority: decolonization. Associated with this is the reaction of the local, indigenous population. An aspect that should be examined here is the extent to which tradi-

21 See contribution by Meyer.

22 Prien 2005.

tional structures in the sense of nativism have survived subcutaneously, an aspect especially emphasised in post-colonial studies. Is there any observable Creolisation, a non-reflected adoption of spatial elements, which *de facto* is a caricature of the newness? Are there, in the process of resisting colonization, centres of identity related to certain locations?²³

Here to name as endogenous processes are, first of all, economic specialisations that show a clear spatial relation, and centralization processes based on social, economic and religious differentiation, whereas these two types of developments are not necessarily to be separated. Usually, while studying such processes the focus is on that which has newly developed. That is where the dynamic impetus of structural change, where development can be traced, and its genesis and consequences can be explored. In comparison, the persistent, traditional element is secondary. Its existence is either taken for granted or accepted as given. But the question of acceptance and implementation of a new structure can be best pursued by studying the interrelation between old and new, which manifests itself, *inter alia*, in the development of space. Is there a parallelism of spatial concepts or does the process of hierarchisation have an integrating effect? Are parallel structures sustainable, temporarily or in the long run?²⁴

The contributions assembled in this volume were given as papers presented at the TOPOI conference “Parallel Spatial Concepts” from March 15–17, 2010, in Berlin. In their multiplicity they are representative of an initial approach to the subject. Apart from their different points of focus as regards content, they show quite clearly how scientific premises but also heterogeneous source material can, again and again, influence the perceptibility of coexisting structures. Thus, Harald Stäuble and Sabine Wolfram emphasise the extremely heterogeneous conditions for conservation, while analysing remains of agricultural and hunter-gatherer societies, while Laura Dietrich points to problems of a resilient interpretation when the state of research is fragmentary. Roland Prien thematises problems resulting from superposing of the interpretation of archaeological findings with traditional historical concepts; and John Collis shows the impact and the limitations of decades-long archaeological activity concentrated on one central place, as soon as its relations to the surrounding areas are to be estimated.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, when the term of ‘parallel societies’ was introduced into the social discourse in the Federal Republic of Germany, a negative connotation has become attached to parallel social phenomena. The lack of social integrative strength is being criticised and regarded as a problem with high social explosive power. In psychology the strategy of escapism terms living in parallel existences as ‘the flight into surrogate realities’. Quantum physics maintain a more neutral position, rather, instead of parallel worlds, tracking the phenomenon of ‘multi universes’.

In our opinion, dealing with the simultaneous appearance of social phenomena in their spatial location facilitates a surprisingly differentiated view on early societies. This potential is to be retained – and we would like to make a contribution with the conference papers submitted to this volume.

23 Cf. contributions by F. Biermann, St. Fichtl, K. Hofmann, M. Meyer, B. Straube, R. Prien.

24 Cf. contributions by H. Baitinger, J. Collis, L. Dietrich, O. Nakoinz, J. Kneisel, J. Müller, H. Stäuble/S. Wolfram.

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An English Settlement in Tsenacomoco

Introduction

In 1994, Preservation Virginia¹ initiated an archaeological research project named Jamestown Rediscovery to search for the site of James Fort established by the English in 1607. Located on the banks of the James River in the current state of Virginia, James Fort grew into Jamestown, which served as the capital for England's colony until 1699. Jamestown was England's first successful transatlantic colony and thereby the foundation of what grew to become the British Empire. Today it is acknowledged as the birthplace of the modern American nation.

The search for the fort site took place on the twenty-two acres of Jamestown Island owned by Preservation Virginia (Fig. 1). The island's remaining 1500 acres are in the possession of the U.S. Department of the Interior's National Park Service (NPS) and encompass the New Town area of Jamestown that developed beginning ca. 1620.

Archaeological excavations were conducted on the NPS part of the island in the 1930s and 1950s, and NPS archaeologists briefly investigated Preservation Virginia's acreage in 1954; but the final assessment deemed there was no evidence for James Fort on dry land.² Substantial erosion was evident along the banks of the James River, and the common perception was that James Fort had succumbed to the same watery fate and was forever lost.

In 1994, with the 400th anniversary of Jamestown's founding on the horizon, Preservation Virginia agreed to support a ten-year archaeological project to search for any traces of the early colony that may have been missed by the earlier excavations. While finding the fort was a distant dream, it was hoped that the excavations may at least uncover something of interest from the early settlement that could be interpreted for the public during the quadricentennial events.

Almost from the first shovel in the ground, Jamestown Rediscovery archaeologists began finding evidence of the timber three-sided fort and its related structures, wells, and trash deposits. By 2003 it was evident that almost the entire fort had survived with only the western bulwark giving way to erosion (Fig. 2). Today, excavations are continuing to define the fort and uncover sealed early contexts containing hundreds of thousands of artifacts.³ This material, when studied in association with the written documents, is presenting an enriched picture of life in early 17th-century Virginia. It is a picture that includes the Native people and suggests even greater cultural entanglements between the two groups in the early years of the colony than may be understood from the historical record. Up to the present, we have only known about the indigenous people of Virginia's coastal plain from what the English wrote about them, and from the scant and temporally loose evidence emanating from a few excavated

1 Until recently, Preservation Virginia was known as the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA). Established in 1889, the APVA is the first state-wide historic preservation organization in the United States.

2 Cotter 1958.

3 For a discussion of the findings of the Jamestown Rediscovery Project as of 2006, see Kelso 2006. For more recent updates see the Historic Jamestowne website http://historicjamestowne.org/the_dig/ (accessed 18 Oct 2010).

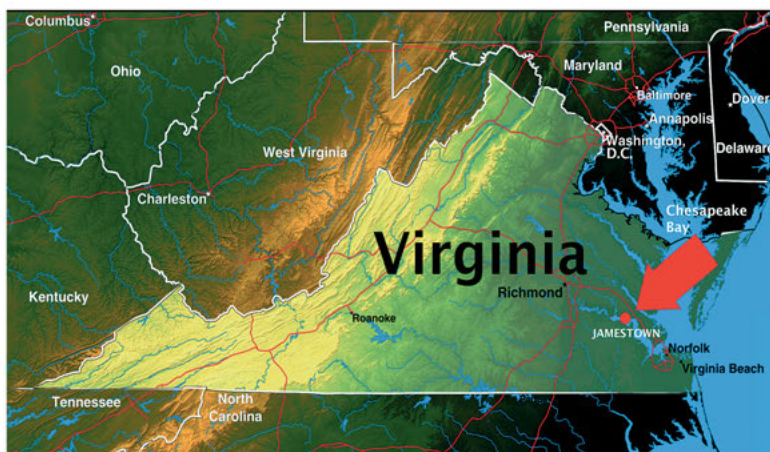


Fig. 1 | Map showing location of James Fort in Virginia.



Fig. 2 | View of James Fort site with graphic representation of findings as of 2005.

Contact Period sites.⁴ Now we have a wealth of Native material from the closely dateable contexts of James Fort to flesh out the story of English America's beginnings in relation to the Indian nation in which it took root.

Historical Background

Just before Christmas in 1606, one hundred and three English men and boys and one German scientist⁵ left London aboard three ships bound for Virginia. After languishing in foul weather off the coast of England for six weeks, they were able to sail into the Atlantic and catch the trade winds to the West Indies. There, the men replenished themselves and re-ballasted their ships before sailing up the east coast of North America to the Chesapeake Bay, arriving at the mouth of the James River by the end of April (Fig. 3).

The Chesapeake Bay was known by the English from an exploration in 1585, but the rivers that flowed into it were largely unexplored.⁶ Over four miles wide where it meets the bay, the James River must have appeared to the colonists as a likely candidate to fulfill one of their goals – finding an inland route to the Pacific Ocean and the riches of the Far East. The London-area merchants, nobles, and government officials who comprised the sponsoring Virginia Company of London had further instructed the colonists to hide their settlement at least 100 miles up a navigable river. There was concern that

4 Gallivan 2003; Rountree/Turner 2002; Potter 1993, 19–223.

5 Johannes Fleischer, a recent graduate of the University of Basel and a student of the renowned botanist Caspar

Bauhin, enlisted in the voyage to survey Virginia's flora (Straube in prep.).

6 Quinn 1985, 106–108.

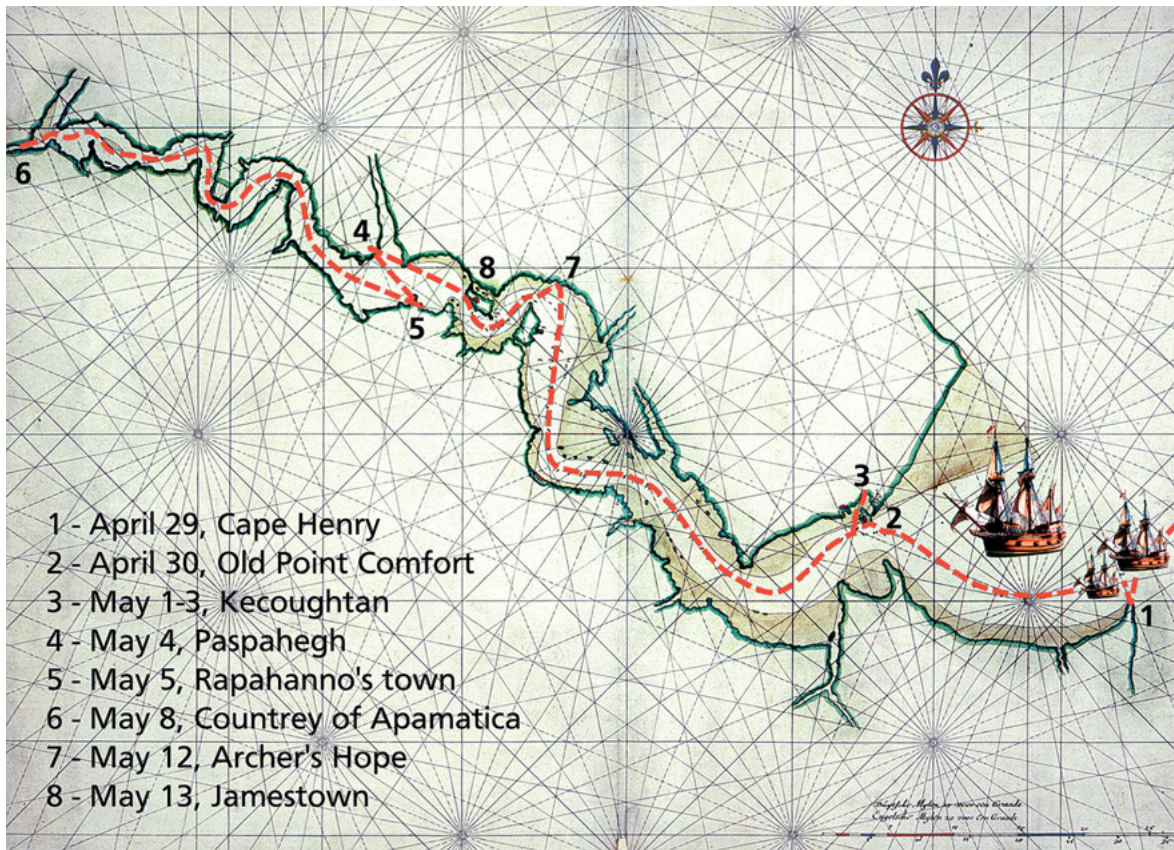


Fig. 3 | Route followed by the English colonists in their search for a place of settlement after arriving at the mouth of the James River in the Chesapeake Bay on April 29, 1607. (Caert Van de Riuer POWHATAN Geleg in Nieuw Nederlandt, Atlas of the Dutch West India Company, Johannes Vingboons. Adapted, courtesy of the National Archives, The Hague, Netherlands.)

the Spanish would challenge the settlement for, even though the two countries were officially at peace, Spain did not accept English rights to the land in North America it called La Florida. The English only had to observe the fate of the 1565 French settlement of Fort Caroline in present day South Carolina to see the resolve of the Spanish against intruders to their perceived claim.⁷ Although they never mounted an attack against Jamestown, the Spanish were keeping a close eye on the efforts of the Virginia Company amid suspicions that the English were setting up a center of piracy. A safe haven in the Chesapeake Bay would enable the English to both provision privateers working in the West Indies and to prey on ships returning to Spain from Central America. This, after all, was an implied objective of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1585 when he endeavored to set up a colony on Roanoke Island in present day North Carolina.⁸

While Raleigh's colonizing efforts were unsuccessful, finally ending with the last attempt in 1587 that became known as the 'Lost Colony', his men at Roanoke acquired information that likely influenced the Virginia Company's decision to base its colony in the area of the Chesapeake Bay. During talks with an aged Chowanoc Indian chief named Menatonon, commander Ralph Lane learned of a powerful Indian leader located seven days away to the north whose territory was rich with pearls. Lane reported to

7 Barbour 1969, vol. 1, 50.

8 Horn 2010, 35; Kupperman 1984, 13-14.

Raleigh that “... the sayde king had traffike with white men that had clothes as we have, for these white Pearle”.⁹ This news intrigued the English who were disappointed by the lack of valuable merchandisable commodities in the North Carolina region. Promise of riches seems to have overshadowed Menatonon’s warning that the Indian king was “... loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey,” and that he was capable of mounting a sizeable and effective fighting force against any threat.¹⁰ The English perhaps considered that it would be easier to negotiate with a large politically-organized indigenous population, potentially capable of providing more economic opportunities, than with the small disparate Indian groups around Roanoke.¹¹

The territory Menatonon described to the Roanoke colonists was known by its residents as Tsenacomoco, or ‘densely inhabited land’, and the future 1607 English colony on Jamestown Island would be located right in the midst of it.¹² Encompassing 6500 miles (16800 square kilometers) of the Virginia Coastal Plain, Tsenacomoco was a highly stratified Algonquin-speaking chiefdom consisting of three hierarchical tiers – the commoners, the werowances (or commanders) who ruled over each political unit, and the paramount chief who had authority over all.¹³ The people, who were known as the Powhatan, numbered about 15000 and were grouped into 32 political districts of more than 150 villages.¹⁴ The powerful king that Menatonon had described was the paramount chief Wahunsonacock, who was commonly known to the English by the name of his people, Powhatan.¹⁵ Colonist John Smith records that Powhatan’s seat was at Werowocomoco, located on the York River 12 miles from James Fort¹⁶ (Fig. 4). Discovered through archaeological investigations in 2003, the site of Werowocomoco was found to contain a core residential area and a ceremonial section separated by two parallel ditch features. Unlike James Fort, it was not environed by a protective palisade and, as a chief’s residence, it was unremarkable to the English who did not recognize the ritual significance of place in the seemingly undeveloped landscape.¹⁷ Colonist William Strachey observed that every house in the village was alike, even ‘the Chief kings house’, and that they resembled English ‘gardein arbours’ or ‘sheppardes Cottages’ in their simplicity and use of plant material.¹⁸ Perhaps Powhatan sensed this lack of awe from the Englishmen visiting his village, for in 1608 he requested that the colonists build him an English-style house.

The type of structures Powhatan would have heard about from the Natives visiting James Fort were the mud-and-stud dwellings built by the English using rows of forked posts to support the wall plate timber and light roofing framework (Fig. 5). Clad with a thick layer of mud, the exteriors were then waterproofed with a lime whitewash. This type of architecture negated the need for paired posts and was vernacular to the English midlands county of Lincolnshire, home to some of the first Jamestown colonists such as Captain John Smith.¹⁹

Archaeological excavations have revealed that mud-and-stud buildings comprised the first type of architecture in the fort, but by 1610 the English preferred dwellings in the ‘fashion of the Indians’ with bark-covered exteriors and grass-matted interiors.²⁰ According to Strachey, this construction was satis-

9 Lane 1991, 260–261. – In 1561, the Spanish are known to have ventured into the Chesapeake Bay and in 1570 a Spanish Jesuit mission that lasted two years was established not far from Jamestown Island (Horn 2005, 1–10).
10 Lane 1991, 261.
11 Hatfield 2004, 231.
12 Strachey 1953, 37; Gallivan 2003, III.
13 The Algonquin language group extended from Canada south to North Carolina and westward into the Great Plains area.

14 Rountree/Turner 2002. – Powhatan demographics are based on the number of warriors recorded by colonists John Smith and William Strachey and calculating their ratio to the total population (Potter 1993, 20–24).
15 Smith 1986d, 369.
16 Smith 1986a, 61.
17 Gallivan 2007.
18 Strachey 1953, 78.
19 Deetz 2001, 15–22
20 Council of Virginia 1844, 20.



Fig. 4 | Locations of Jamestown and Werowocomoco shown on a detail of John Smith's map of Virginia, 1612.

factory against 'storms and winter weather' as well as the 'piercing sunbeams of summer'. The wood-clad buildings kept the interiors much cooler than the mudded structures " ... which before in sultry weather would be like stoves, whilst they were, as at first, pargeted and plastered with bitumen or tough clay".²¹ So, while Powhatan was striving to gain respect and acceptance from the English by building a residence that emulated their structures, the colonists were adapting Native-style dwellings as they found their own to be unsatisfactory in the new environment.

John Smith was first taken to Werowocomoco as a prisoner in December 1607 and documented 40 'able males', which has been estimated to represent a total population of between 100 and 200 indi-

²¹ Strachey 1973, 81–82.

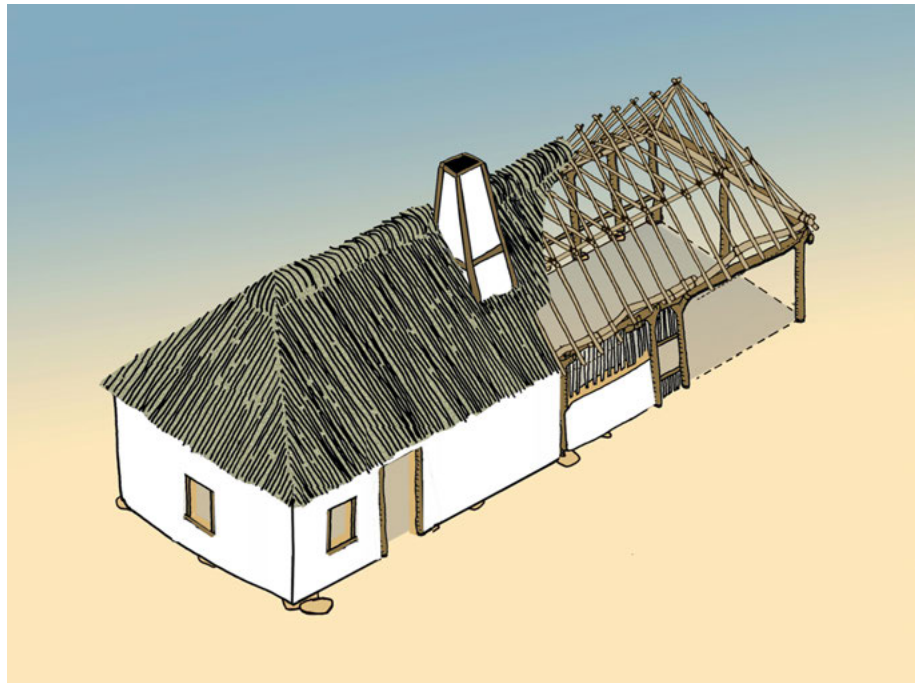


Fig. 5 | Conjectural reconstruction of one of James Fort's mud-and-stud buildings, showing construction details (drawing by J. E. Deetz with J. May).

viduals.²² The English visited Werowocomoco six times between 1607 and 1609, but Powhatan never once returned the favor, instead preferring to conduct business with the English by way of emissaries.

During Anglo-Powhatan diplomatic relations, some sort of visual assurance was necessary from both sides that envoys were truly representing the leadership and not just speaking on their own behalves. The Jamestown leaders faced the problem of rogue colonists who had their own ideas about the way things should be run, and not all Indian groups in coastal Virginia were part of Powhatan's chiefdom or adhered to his policies. Powhatan openly admitted that he had some 'unruly people' in his region who did not obey him.²³

In 1614 the symbol of an official English messenger was a pearl necklace that Powhatan had given the colony's leader, Sir Thomas Dale, three years earlier. According to their diplomatic arrangement, if any Englishman appeared before Powhatan not wearing the necklace the chief was " ... to binde him and send him home againe"²⁴ (Fig. 6). Although the English equivalent of the pearl necklace is not mentioned in the records, it is considered that the copper pendant cut and engraved with the head of an Indian male and found in a fort cellar may have fulfilled this function²⁵ (Fig. 7). There are other documented instances of the English providing friendly Indians with copper medallions that could be worn as markers of their alliance. For instance, after the English established an accord with the Virginia Chickahominy tribe in 1614, they presented those Indians with copper identity badges engraved with the image of King James.²⁶ The Natives easily accepted this initiative using copper pendants because

22 Smith 1986b, 147; Gallivan 2007, 88.

23 Strachey 1953, 58.

24 Hamor 1615, 39.

25 Straube 2010.

26 Hamor 1615, 14.



Fig. 6 | Detail of 1619 engraving by Theodore de Bry depicting Chief Powhatan searching the neck of Englishman Ralph Hamor for the pearl necklace that was to signify that Hamor was an emissary from the English governor.



Fig. 7 | Copper pendant depicting an Indian, found in an early James Fort context (L 37.5 mm).

the English wisely selected markers that were like the copper gorgets of status traditionally worn in the Indian society.²⁷

The Powhatan societal structure was defined by inequitable status, authority, and wealth with the paramount chief receiving tribute goods from his lesser chiefs or werowances who ruled the villages.²⁸ These goods included commodities such as corn, game, shell beads, deerskins, pearls, and especially copper.²⁹ Copper was highly valued as it was primarily obtained by the Powhatan from sources in the Great Lakes area, and to a lesser extent from North Carolina, through an established Indian trading network. Its scarcity in Virginia was of great benefit to the English who brought with them pounds of what they considered trash – small copper alloy objects and cuttings from coppersmiths’ workshops – to trade for much needed provisions (Fig. 8). Part of the Virginia Company’s plan for their colony incorporated the indigenous people as suppliers of enough “... foule, fish, flesh, and their Country Corne” to sustain the English settlement.³⁰ Agricultural pursuits were considered extraneous endeavors for the Company’s men who were in Virginia primarily to make money for the investors through the marketable resources they could extract. The colonists stated that they “were not permitted to manure or till any ground”, which would divert them from their work when, for a few cheap trinkets, sustenance could be obtained from the Indians.³¹ As a result, land use in the English and Indian settlements was very different.

While James Fort was a military settlement with little effort devoted to agricultural pursuits, the Indians inhabited horticultural villages with fields of corn, beans, squash, and tobacco. As they explored the James, the colonists discovered that most of the Powhatan settlements were along the river in the area above Jamestown. This locale provided the Natives with access to a major food source that has been dubbed the ‘breadbaskets’, comprising freshwater swamps “... of at least ten acres (4 hectares) in which the plants consist of at least 30 percent wild rice and/or 50 percent Tuckahoe (arrow arum) and/or 50 percent cow lily”.³² These plants supplemented the Indian diet, especially during poor crop years, providing edible seeds and tubers that the Indians roasted, ground into flour for bread or added to their stews.³³

Dense upriver Indian population ultimately influenced the decision of where the English colony would be sited on the James. The Virginia Company had advised the colonists prior to their departure that when choosing the colony’s seat they should “... have great care not to offend the naturals” as the settlement’s sustenance depended on trading with the Indians for food.³⁴ For this reason, the colonists were not to displace any Indian habitation. The instructions also warned that for strategic purposes the colonists should not select an area where there were Indian settlements between them and their escape route downriver to the Chesapeake Bay.³⁵ As the colonists tried to follow the first directions about settling a substantial distance from the bay, they found they could not easily satisfy the second requirement. They eventually chose an island about 40 miles from the river’s mouth that colonist William Strachey proclaimed “a country least inhabited by the Indian”.³⁶

While Jamestown Island was unoccupied in May 1607, it was part of the hunting, fishing, and foraging territory of the Pasbeheghs, a Powhatan group encompassing seven towns and one hundred and

27 Kupperman 2000, 72.

28 Gallivan 2007, 87.

29 Smith 1986b, 173–174.

30 Smith 1986d, 121.

31 Ancient Planters 1998, 894.

32 Rountree et al. 2007, 51; 346.

33 Smith 1986b, 153–154.

34 Brown 1890, vol. 1, 83.

35 Brown 1890, vol. 1, 82.

36 Strachey 1973, 78.

twenty people, forty of whom were warriors.³⁷ Soon after the colonists' arrival, the Pasbehegh werowance appeared and, according to colonist George Percy, " ... made signs that he would give us as much land as we would desire to take." The land that the English had chosen to settle was dismissed by the Natives as but little waste ground".³⁸ The island's location in the brackish oligohaline zone³⁹ of the James River may have been one reason why the colonists found no Indian habitation there. In the spring when the English first arrived the river was flush with freshwater from the winter melt upstream and the colonists would have found the water drinkable. But as the summer progressed, the river water would become noticeably saltier with little exchange between fresh and salt water, perhaps even creating a zone of turbid stagnant water that entrapped pathogens from wastes introduced by the colonists and by the Pasbehegh village six miles upstream.⁴⁰ Recent scientific tests on ancient stands of bald cypress trees in the region have further indicated that between 1606 and 1612 there was a severe regional drought, creating even greater salinity than normal in the water around Jamestown.⁴¹ Besides affecting the quality of the drinking water, the environmental stresses brought by the drought resulted in lower crop yield and unusual migratory patterns of wildlife, compounding the tense relations between the Indians and the English who depended upon them for food. One desperate werowance, afraid that " ... his corne should perish," asked colonist John Smith if he would intercede on his behalf and pray to the English God for rain because " ... his Gods were angry".⁴² In James Fort after the Starving Time winter,⁴³ the famished English anxiously awaited the springtime arrival of the anadromous Atlantic sturgeon that had previously sustained them. When they had first arrived, the colonists "had more Sturgeon then could be devoured by Dog and Men, " ... and they were accustomed to seeing the fish in the James between May and September. But in the summer of 1610 it was reported that there was "not one eye of sturgeon yet come into the river." Colonist William Strachey related that " ... the river (which were wont before this time of the year to be plentiful of sturgeon) had not now a fish to be seen in it".⁴⁴ Increased salinity levels in the James River from lack of rainfall had possibly affected the olfactory signatures by which the fish found their way to the traditional spawning grounds upriver from Jamestown.⁴⁵

Hostilities escalated over the trade for dwindling foodstuffs, with the English taking by force what they could not acquire through negotiation and with the Indians being less willing to trade for just copper and beads in lieu of metal tools and weapons. In the summer of 1609, the First Anglo-Powhatan War commenced and the English relate that they were engaged in " ... five yeeres intestine warre with the revengefull implacable Indians".⁴⁶ The conflict largely came to an end in 1614 with the marriage of Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas, to colonist John Rolfe; peace between the two groups endured until the onset of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War in 1622.

37 Rountree et al. 2007, 146. – One of these towns, located 6 miles upriver from Jamestown, was archaeologically investigated in the early 1990s. The excavations documented 48 house patterns and 25 burials, some of which contained European copper trade goods that probably came from Jamestown. Growing hostilities with the English forced the Pasbeheghs to abandon their traditional territory by 1611 (Lucchetti et al. 1994).

38 Percy 1967, 17; 20–21.

39 The oligohaline zone comprises water with a salt content of 0.5–5.0 parts per thousand.

40 Earle 1979; Rountree et al. 2007, 138.

41 Stahle et al. 1998.

42 Smith 1986d, 215.

43 The "Starving Time" refers to the winter and spring of 1609–10 when 3 out of 4 colonists died of starvation and disease.

44 Smith 1986d, 213; 103; Strachey 1973, 64; 74.

45 Hagar 2005.

46 Fausz 1990; Hamor 1615, 2.

Archaeological Evidence from James Fort

As previously mentioned, excavations of the fort's features have uncovered a significant amount of Indian material culture. In fact, large numbers of sizeable shell-tempered Indian clay pot sherds, many of them mending into complete form, are signal artifacts of the fort's earliest contexts. This pattern is no longer seen in the archeological features dating post-1610, when the settlement is involved in the First Anglo-Powhatan War.

While many of the Indian artifacts in the English contexts may be the result of intercultural exchange as the colonists struggled to obtain adequate food supplies, the material also suggests that there was a good deal more interaction and familiarity between the two groups than has been reflected in the historical records. This is especially true in regards to Indian women who, aside from Pocahontas, are scarcely mentioned in association with the English settlement; their presence is only detectable through the archaeological record.

Indian men, on the other hand, are documented as frequent visitors to the fort and some are known to have resided amongst the colonists with chief Powhatan's blessing. The Indian Machumps, for instance, is recorded by colonist William Strachey as coming " ... to and fro amongst us ... as Powhatan gives him leave." Machumps not only spent " ... sometyne in England" learning English and observing the culture, but when in the fort he dined at the governor's table where he is recorded as saying grace before the meal.⁴⁷ Another Indian, whom the colonists called Kemps, lived at Jamestown for almost a year before he was said to have died in 1610 of the dietary disease scurvy.⁴⁸ Many ailments at the time were blamed upon scurvy so it cannot be assumed that Kemps's demise was brought about because he eschewed his traditional diet while living in the fort. However he appears to have been somewhat acculturated by the English for he not only learned to " ... speake a pretty deale of English" but he faithfully attended daily church services with the rest of the colony.⁴⁹ Even his name was probably bestowed upon him by his new English 'family', for the word *kemp* is an old English word meaning 'brave strong warrior'.⁵⁰

Powhatan saw advantage in bringing the English into his fold as allies against his enemies and as suppliers of exotic trade goods. His strategies to incorporate the English through 'social and political dependencies' meant that he had little patience for Natives who considered dealing independently with the Tassantasses, or strangers.⁵¹ This is exemplified by a Powhatan warrior named Amarice who " ... had his braynes knock't out for selling but a baskett of Corne and lying in the English fort 2. or 3. daies without Powhatan's leave".⁵²

With promises of protection and food, Powhatan even tried to relocate the English colony closer to Werowocomoco so that he could have more control over the settlement and the 'Hatchets and Copper' the English would produce for him.⁵³ One of the paramount chief's first attempts at incorporating the English is best known today through the writings of Captain John Smith who misinterpreted the Pow-

47 Strachey, 1953, 61–62; 98. – Machumps and fellow Powhatan Namontack, whom Powhatan called "my owne man," travelled to England with Captain Christopher Newport, arriving in January 1609. In July, during their return to Jamestown on the Sea Venture, they were shipwrecked on Bermuda where, according to colonist John Smith, Namontack was murdered by Machumps (Smith 1986d, 248; 350).

48 Smith 1986c, 261; 263; Strachey 1953, 61.

49 Strachey 1953, 61.

50 OED Online. The Oxford English Dictionary (21989) <http://dictionary.oed.com.exproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/cgi/entry/50125913> (accessed 18 Oct 2010) s. v. *kemp*, n.

51 Gallivan 2007, 89.

52 Strachey 1953, 62.

53 Smith 1986a, 57.

hatan adoption ceremony that made him a werowance as an execution that was bravely forestalled by the intervention of Pocahontas.⁵⁴

Along with the historical record, the presence of Indian men in the English settlement is also reflected in some of the material culture found in the fort's early contexts. Labor in the Powhatan society was engendered, with the males hunting, fishing, and engaging in warfare and the females foraging, farming, and producing the pottery, baskets, mats, and trade goods as well as cooking the meals and tending to the children. While the women produced most of the material culture, the men were the artificers of the stone, bone, and wooden weapons and tools required for hunting and warfare. Arrows in particular were held in high regard in the Native society and were often given as tokens of friendship. Reflecting this practice, many arrow points and evidence of their production have been found within the confines of James Fort.

Indian arrows of the Contact period were most commonly tipped with small triangular 'sharpe stones' but the colonists also observe the use of turkey spurs, bird bills, and 'the ends of Deeres hornes' or antler tines.⁵⁵ A few antler tine projectile points as well as deer antlers with cut marks where the tines were removed have been found in the fort suggesting an Indian production site for these points (Fig. 9). As evidenced by the archaeology, the English brought with them many iron-tipped bows and crossbows, but these would need replacing as they were used and lost, or as they rusted from being exposed to the elements. With ships from England few and far between, the English turned to aboriginal technologies to fulfill their immediate needs.

Many lithic projectile points have also been found within the colonial contexts of James Fort, including some knapped from English flint, again suggesting English acceptance of a Native presence and traditional skills. While it is expected that the archaeologists would find evidence of arrows fired into the fort during times of Anglo-Indian unrest, research suggests that many of the points are the remnants of intercultural exchange.⁵⁶ This is based on the observation that most of the points made of the non-local stones are intact even though their materials are more brittle than the local quartz and quartzite (Fig. 10). It appears that the dark chert, orthoquartzite, and jasper points that the Powhatan acquired through trade with distant Indian groups were considered special by the Natives and were in the fort as a part of gift arrows.⁵⁷

Although the English colonists mention that the Virginia Indians already possessed a few iron tools and weapons at the time of their arrival, the indigenous people were not manufacturing iron objects. Before 1607, metal items were most likely acquired through exchanges with Indian groups to the north who had traded with the French and other Europeans. Some may have been obtained from the Carolina Indians to the south who had had contact with the English Roanoke colony two decades earlier.⁵⁸

It is generally assumed that a "Stone-Age people" found metal tools to be superior and would quickly abandon their Native-made equivalents as the new material became available. Historical accounts and archaeological evidence from Contact period sites, in the way of European iron tools recycled into aboriginal forms and the persistence of traditional methods and materials long after the introduction of European trade goods, suggest that incorporation of foreign goods was selective.⁵⁹ While the Jamestown colonists record that the Powhatan were eager to acquire – either through trade or theft –

54 Barbour 1970, 23–26.

55 Smith 1986b, 163; Barbour 1969, 140.

56 Blanton et al. 1998.

57 The cherts and jaspers are from the Appalachian Mountains and the orthoquartzite is from northeastern North

Carolina; both areas are outside of the Powhatan chiefdom (Blanton et al. 1998, 1).

58 Rountree 1989, 55.

59 Bradley 2007, 48–49; Kent 2001, 233–40.



Fig. 8 | English copper scrap found in James Fort contexts.



Fig. 9 | Worked deer antler with projectile points produced from the tines.



Fig. 10 | Non-local lithic projectile points from James Fort.



Fig. 11 | Two greenstone celts found in James Fort contexts.

iron hatchets, spades, knives, and “Howes to pare their Corne grownd,” it does not appear that these European objects totally supplanted traditional Native tools.⁶⁰ This is illustrated by Native-made lithic artifacts, like the greenstone celts found in James Fort’s early colonial contexts, suggesting both the presence of Indians and the continuance of their ancestral methodologies (Fig. 11).

Colonist William Strachey describes the celt as a “... long stone tool sharpened at both ends, thrust through a handell of wood” that the Indians used “... to fell a tree or cut any massy thing in sunder”.⁶¹ While a chopping tool of iron with a steeled edge would be much more efficient in felling a tree than a stone axe, there may be reasons why the triangular-shaped celt was not totally abandoned by the Natives. One explanation is suggested by the quality of the English trade items. Strachey observed that through bartering the Indians had acquired “... thousands of our hatchets,” which he describes as being “... poor ones of Iron”.⁶² These were tools made for trade, cheaply constructed and, as evidenced by the archaeological examples, prone to split at the neck where the one-piece wrought iron had been hammer-welded (Fig. 12). The built-in obsolescence of these inferior iron tools contributed to the Native practice of mod-

60 Smith 1986a, 81; 83; 240; Strachey 1953, 75.

61 Strachey 1953, 109.

62 Strachey 1953, 75.

ifying them into traditional tools that the Indians were accustomed to using such as celts, scrapers, and knives.⁶³ There is another compelling reason for continued use of the celt. Unlike the clean cut derived from chopping a tree with a metal axe or hatchet, the stone celt pulps the wood as it chops and produces the fibers the Indian women used to create the cordage for their mats and baskets. In other words, it is an efficient process that fulfills a dual purpose not met by the metal tool.

Other Native lithic tools found during the fort excavations are related to the female-centered activity of food preparation and suggest that either Native techniques are being adopted by the English to process and prepare their meals or, more likely, that there are Indian women present fulfilling these tasks. These tools include cylindrical pestles and rounded hammer stones for grinding and mashing and special stones for beating nuts “... into Powder with stones”.⁶⁴ Fort excavations have uncovered a couple of these nutting stones consisting of quartzite cobbles with small indentations for seating the nut (Fig. 13). One was found in association with the rounded quartzite pebble that served as the hammer.

When these tools are considered in light of the great quantity of Native pottery in the colonial contexts, it appears that these objects are not random occurrences but most likely indicate the presence of Indian women in the fort preparing meals for the English. This practice would be condoned by Powhatan for, perceiving the gender imbalance in the fledgling colony, he often offered tribal women to the colonists. Eighteenth-century historian Robert Beverley wrote that “intermarriage had been indeed the Method proposed very often by the Indians in the Beginning, urging it frequently as a certain Rule, that the English were not their Friends, if they refused it”.⁶⁵ In the Powhatan paramountcy women were customarily exchanged to create bonds of friendship and to gain allies. Powhatan built his chiefdom by using marriage to create alliances among the many small tribal groups in this territory. Colonist Henry Spelman noted that Powhatan selected the “... fairest and comeliest maids” from “... all parts of the country” as his wives. If a wife has a child, she is returned to her people with the status of the paramount chief’s wife and “... with sufficient copper and beads to maintain her and the child while it is young”.⁶⁶ Native pottery types, distinguished by tempering material and exterior treatments, are “typically associated with geographically bounded social networks,” so it is not surprising that the most common Native pottery found in the fort is Roanoke simple-stamped ware, the type made by the Powhatans living around Jamestown.⁶⁷ The round-bottomed Roanoke pots are shell-tempered and stamped on the exterior with a leather-wrapped paddle to create a crisp cross-hatched pattern (Fig. 14). In much fewer numbers, non-local Indian pottery is also present in the fort contexts suggesting trade with these more distant groups. One of the non-local wares is Potomac Creek ware made by the Patowomeke Indians, an autonomous group outside of the Powhatan chiefdom living along the Potomac River about 80 miles as the crow flies from Jamestown. Unlike the Roanoke ware, Potomac Creek is tempered with crushed quartz and sand, and the surface treatment is either plain or cord-marked with some of the rims impressed with a cord-wrapped dowel (Fig. 15).

Potomac Creek ware is not common on tidewater Virginia sites, but considering the important role the Patowomeke played in the Native trading network, as well as in supplying the colonists, it is not surprising to find it at Jamestown. Patowomeke, or ‘trading center’, was located on “... the great natural trade route of the Potomac River, connecting Chesapeake Bay and the Appalachian Mountains”.⁶⁸ It was on his explorations of the Chesapeake Bay in the summer of 1608 that John Smith first bartered with these Indians for foodstuffs. Friendly relations were maintained with the Patowomekes through the

63 Bradley 2007, 49.

64 Strachey 1953, 129.

65 Beverley 1947, 38.

66 Spelman 1988, 488–489.

67 Gallivan 2007, 92.

68 Potter 1994, 160.



Fig. 12 | Iron hatchet from James Fort with split at neck (L 17 cm).



Fig. 13 | Two quartzite nutting stones and one hammerstone found in James Fort contexts.



Fig. 14 | One of the many Roanoke simple-stamped pots found in James Fort (H 18 cm).



Fig. 15 | Potomac Creek pot rim from James Fort, made by the Patowomeke Indians.

years and the colonists depended frequently on these Indians for supplies of corn (*Zea mays*). In fact, some cobs of the Northern Flint corn variety grown by the Patowomekes have been uncovered in the James Fort excavations along with the Southern Dent variety that was cultivated by the Powhatans around Jamestown (Fig. 16).⁶⁹

Rather than representing singular trade items to fulfill the colonists' need for vessels as their own became broken, some of the Indian pots found in the fort may have been sold along with the foodstuffs they contained. This practice was documented in the late 17th century among the Chickahominy Indians living close to Jamestown where the price of the corn they sold to "the Christians" was determined by the capacity of their earthen containers.⁷⁰ Future analysis of the shapes, capacities, and signs of cooking on the Indian pottery from the fort contexts may help explicate whether they were used to fulfill a cooking, serving, or storage function. While the colonists often document the Virginia Indians as storing their

69 For a discussion of the Southern Dent and Northern Flint corn varieties see Brown/Anderson 1947 and Brown/Anderson 1948.

70 Stern 1952, 179.



Fig. 16 | Sample of charred corn cobs from James Fort.

corn and other goods in baskets, clay pots may have been used to transmit commodities to the English because these containers took less time to produce and therefore were of less value to the Natives. The Indian baskets, on the other hand, were made through a laborious process using “... hemp which naturally growth there,” cornhusks – “... the straw whereon ye wheat growth” – and “... the barks of trees” that the women spin “... betwixt their hands and thighe”.⁷¹ Although no baskets have been identified in the archaeological assemblage, a pit-fired clay pot that had been produced by pressing clay into the interior of a basket was found in a pre-1610 pit house structure in the fort (Fig. 17). It was produced to function as a clay container, as evidenced by the addition of clay pads on the base to enable the vessel to sit upright. Based upon the matrix of the clay, the basket-impressed pot is attributed to Robert Cotton, the fort’s tobacco pipe maker who arrived in 1608, and whose Virginia clay pipes are numerous in the fort’s earliest contexts.⁷² Cotton’s basket pot could represent a quick and easy solution for producing a needed clay pot, but it could also reflect an Englishman’s appreciation for Powhatan basketry. The documentary record hints at the interest in England for acquiring exotica such as aboriginal material culture from the New World colonies. In 1608, Jamestown colonist Francis Perkins sent two Indian-made pots, “pots of our ordinary earth” to friends in England.⁷³ Moreover, Sir Walter Cope’s cabinet of curiosities in London is documented in 1599 as containing an Indian canoe and “flies that glow at night in Virginia,” presumably acquired from Raleigh’s late 16th-century colonizing attempts mentioned earlier.⁷⁴ Interestingly, recent excavations of James Fort’s ca. 1608–1610 well have uncovered a Virginia-made Robert Cotton tobacco pipe personalized for Cope⁷⁵ (Fig. 18).

Also captured in fired clay is the impression of a reed mat of the type produced by the Powhatan women to cover their houses, bury their dead, and to sit upon during meals and social occasions (Fig. 19). Again, this object appears to be made of Cotton clay but it is too fragmentary to determine its

71 Spelman 1998, 492; Smith 1986d, 117.

72 Kelso/Straube 2004, 163–166.

73 Barbour 1969, 158.

74 Platter, 1937, 172–173.

75 Sir Walter Cope was a highly placed English government official who was appointed by James I to the King’s Council for Virginia in 1606. He never travelled to Jamestown.



Fig. 17 | Clay basket pot attributed to English colonist Robert Cotton with inset showing positive impression of a rim section of the basketry (H 25.4 cm).



Fig. 18 | Stem fragment from a clay tobacco pipe found in James Fort, produced by colonist Robert Cotton for Sir Walter Cope.