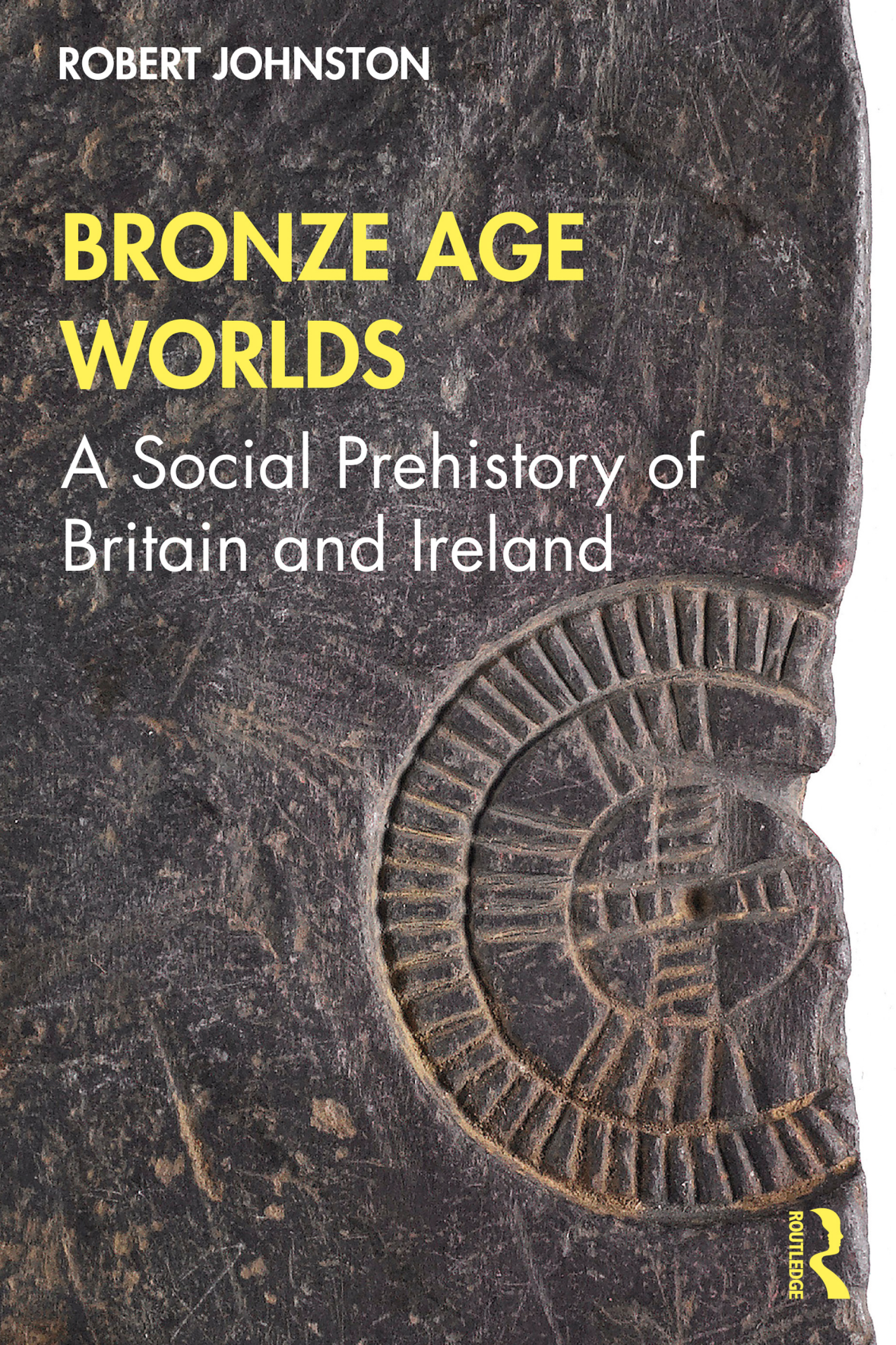
ROBERT JOHNSTON
BRONZE AGE WORLDS
A Social Prehistory of Britain and Ireland
ROUTLEDGE

BRONZE AGE WORLDS

Bronze Age Worlds brings a new way of thinking about kinship to the task of explaining the formation of social life in Bronze Age Britain and Ireland.

Britain and Ireland's diverse landscapes and societies experienced varied and profound transformations during the twenty-fifth to eighth centuries BC. People's lives were shaped by migrations, changing beliefs about death, making and thinking with metals, and living in houses and field systems. This book offers accounts of how these processes emerged from social life, from events, places and landscapes, informed by a novel theory of kinship. Kinship was a rich and inventive sphere of culture that incorporated biological relations but was not determined by them. Kinship formed personhood and collective belonging, and associated people with nonhuman beings, things and places. The differences in kinship and kinwork across Ireland and Britain brought textures to social life and the formation of Bronze Age worlds.

Bronze Age Worlds offers new perspectives to archaeologists and anthropologists interested in the place of kinship in Bronze Age societies and cultural development.

Robert Johnston is a Senior Lecturer in Landscape Archaeology at the University of Sheffield. He has published articles and edited books on aspects of landscape archaeology and the later prehistory of Britain and northwest Europe. He currently researches landscape transformations in western Britain.

BRONZE AGE WORLDS

A Social Prehistory of Britain and Ireland

Robert Johnston

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2021
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-138-03787-8 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-138-03788-5 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-17763-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
by codeMantra

For Anna and Florrie

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

Additional illustration and text credits

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I benefited from the help and forbearance of many friends and colleagues during the writing of this book. The Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield, provided me with time (two semesters of research leave), financial assistance (towards the production of illustrations) and a collegiate environment in which to work. I began writing the book in late 2016, when I had the good fortune to spend a short period as a visiting researcher at the Department of Archaeology, University College Dublin (UCD). Particular thanks to Graeme Warren for welcoming me to UCD, and for guiding me to some of the anthropological research that has influenced my thinking about kinship. It was while in Dublin that I approached Routledge with a book proposal. I am grateful to Matthew Gibbons at Routledge for the early encouragement and advice, and to Katie Wakelin for her editorial support.

Anna Badcock, Neil Carlin, Anwen Cooper, Oliver Davis, Chris Dwan, Duncan Garrow, Melanie Giles, Paul Halstead, Barry Heafield, Glynis Jones, Emily La Trobe Bateman, Ben Roberts and John Roberts were all kind enough to read and comment on drafts of chapters. Their suggestions were immensely helpful, and I hope I have reflected at least some of their wise feedback in the published text.

Rowan May (ArcHeritage) completed all the line drawings with her usual thoroughness and to a tight deadline. Bill Bevan shared a selection of his splendid photographs of monuments in Britain and Ireland (billbevanphotography.co.uk). John Wedgwood Clark and Julie Cruikshank permitted me to use quotations from their publications. Individuals, archaeological companies, archives and museums have kindly helped with images and permissions to reproduce illustrations: Adam Gwilt and Kay Kays (National Museum of Wales); Andy Jones (Cornwall Archaeological Unit); Ann Woodward; Billy O'Brien (University College Cork); Chris Chapman; Chris Evans, Andy Hall and Mark Knight

(Cambridge Archaeological Unit); Clare McNamara (National Museum of Ireland); Colchester Museums; Eva Bryant (Historic England Archive); Fraser Hunter, Matt Knight and Maggie Wilson (National Museum of Scotland); Gary Duckers (Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust); Gavin MacGregor (Northlight Heritage); Hazel Moore (EASE Archaeology); Jamie Quartermaine (Oxford Archaeology North); John Allan; Julie Curle; Kenny Brophy (University of Glasgow); Lisa Brown (Wiltshire Museum); Lyn Wilson (Historic Environment Scotland); Maria Medlycott (Essex County Council); Mark Gardiner (University of Lincoln); Martha Jasko-Lawrence (Museums Sheffield); Matt Brudenell (Oxford Archaeology East); Nigel Blackamore (y Gaer Museum, Art Gallery, Library—Brecon); Olivia Lelong; Penny Icke and Toby Driver (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales); Pippa Bradley (Wessex Archaeology); Sharon Webb and Aaron Watson (Kilmartin Museum); Stephen Carter; Stephen Weir (National Museums NI); Thomas Cadbury (Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter); Wendy Mitchell (Tourism Ireland).

This book is dedicated to Anna and Florrie, my closest kin, and the ones who have given the most so that I could complete the writing.

1

INTRODUCTION

Dowris

Two men dig—it is the 1820s, in an unremarkable potato field in the middle of Ireland, close to the meeting of four townland boundaries on Lough Coura, County Offaly (Figure 1.1). Their spades turn up some broken and greened pieces of metal amongst the peaty earth. These first pieces give unexpected motivation to the men's labours, and rapidly a few objects become 'at least a horse-load of gold-coloured bronze antiquities' (Cooke 1847–1850, 424). The Dowris hoard, as the collection is now known, is the largest assemblage of Bronze Age metalwork from Ireland. The hoard comprises over 200 objects: swords and scabbard chapes, spearheads and a spear butt or butts, socketed axes and a hammer, gouges, knives and razors, cauldrons and buckets, horns and crotals, along with pieces of bronze and metalworking rubbing stones (Eogan 1983, 117–142). It was deposited in the tenth or ninth century BC (Becker 2012).

Published accounts of the Dowris discovery appeared a few decades after the event, with consequential divergences in reported facts and over its significance. Rev. Dr Thomas Robinson, an eminent academic astronomer, presented his account based on information from the Earl of Rosse, who held portions of the collection. Robinson placed the hoard in a cut-out bog where a Phoenician 'travelling merchant' had become stuck and forced to abandon his heavy load of commodities (Robinson 1847–1850, 242). Thomas Cooke, Crown Solicitor for County Offaly, claimed a first-hand account from one of the discoverers and, locating the discovery on dry ground, reasoned that the objects were the remains of a founder's workshop:

> In fine, the great quantity of things found, their variety, their being in an unfinished as well as in a finished state, the amorphous mass of spare metal, and the rub-stones, all tend to the conclusion that Dowris was the site of a manufactory of bronze utensils.
>
> *(Cooke 1847–1850, 439)*

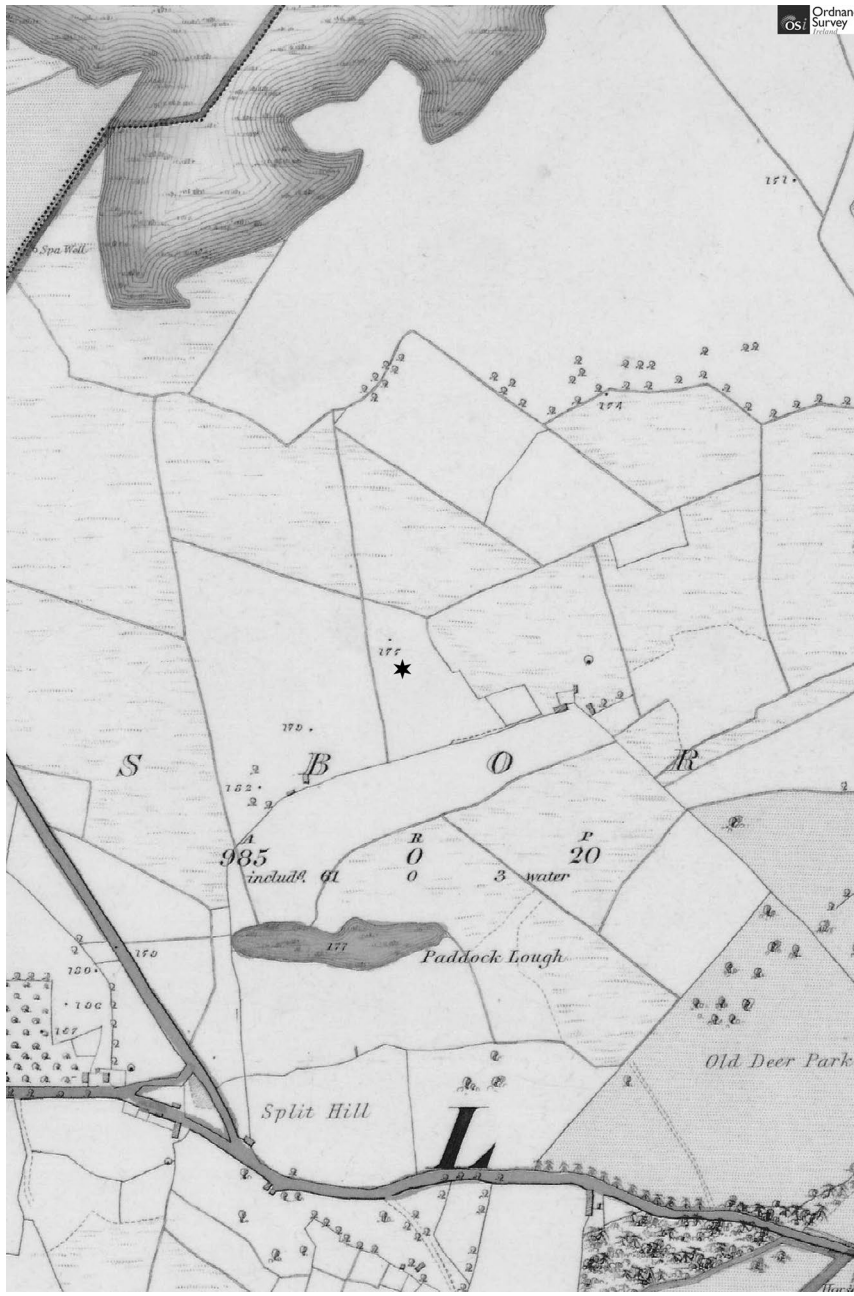

FIGURE 1.1 An extract from the 1840 First Edition Ordnance Survey 6 inch map for County Offaly. The location of the Dowris find is marked with a star (information from Coles 1971). © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland; Copyright Permit No. MP 0001620.

Robinson and Cook's respective interpretations, the merchant's misfortune and the founder's safe-keeping, made common-sense of a wonderous assemblage.

A closed assemblage

Around the same time as the Dowris discovery, the curator of the Museum of Northern Antiquities in Copenhagen, Christian Thomsen, was classifying the museum's collection of artefacts into chronologically sequential groups defined by the technologies of working stone, bronze and iron (Rowley-Conwy 2007). The three-age system that Thomsen adopted was not a new idea. Lucretius, writing in the early first century BC, used the three ages to describe the development of human culture, and the scheme was reasserted by French and Danish scholars in the eighteenth century (Trigger 1989). The difference between these and Christian Thomsen's classification lay in the methodical way in which Thomsen approached the problems he faced: stone, bronze and iron were not utilised at the exclusion of one another, and there were many other materials, such as pottery, gold and wood, that occurred either intermittently or throughout prehistory. Thomsen began teasing these tangles apart by studying groups of objects that were found together in 'closed assemblages' such as graves or hoards. By comparing closed assemblages with one another, he was able to identify patterns in the variability of particular styles of artefacts within each period, and make a strong case for the integrity of the three-age model, which until then had been largely hypothetical.

The Dowris hoard provided a valuable closed assemblage with which prehistorians could apply Thomsen's approach and construct classifications and chronologies for the Bronze Age in Ireland and beyond (Figure 1.2). The term 'closed' was a misnomer, since the analysis required scholars to draw relations between the objects within the hoard and finds from elsewhere in Europe. Building on a century of scholarship, George Eogan (1964) defined the Dowris Phase through its metalwork styles and technologies, mainland European associations and ways of life. He observed plentiful links between the bronze and gold objects found in Ireland and examples from Britain, and northern and central Europe. The Dowris bucket, on stylistic grounds, originated from southeastern Europe. While some of the gold neck ornaments and sunflower pins found in other Dowris-type assemblages, Eogan interpreted as Irish manifestations of southern Scandinavian and German types.

However neatly woven Eogan's account of the Irish later Bronze Age, he had to accept that some threads lay looser around the edges of the pattern. Why was the metal placed in the ground? Eogan could not easily distinguish between utilitarian and spiritual purposes for hoarding, although he recognised the potential overlap between 'crisis and cults' (Eogan 1964, 311).

When Robinson and Cooke wrote their conflicting accounts of the Dowris discovery they appeared to at least agree on the utilitarian character of the hoard.

FIGURE 1.2 A small selection of the over 200 objects assembled at Dowris: including crotals, horns, swords, spearheads, axes and razors.

It was either a travelling merchant or the remains of a metalworking workshop. Vere Gordon Childe restated these same attributions a century later when he distinguished between hoards hidden during times of unrest by bands of 'travelling tinkers' or the remains of the 'village smithy' (Childe 1930, 45). George Eogan was less confident that hoards could be entirely explained as collections of objects hidden during periods of crisis, noting instead the ritual or cult functions that might be responsible. Nevertheless, he remained supportive of Dowris as a workshop (Eogan 1964, 311). The interpretative tide was turning, and a few years later John Coles presented the variety and unusual character of the objects found at Dowris as an accumulation of votive offerings in a sacred bog: 'the most convenient explanation of the objects from Dowris is that they represent a central offering place' (Coles 1971, 164). This idea was repeated and amplified in subsequent writing (Becker 2013, 238; Cooney and Grogan 1994, 166; Gerloff 2010, 69), and Dowris has settled as one of the 'unmarked natural locations in the landscape … returned to for the enactment of ritual depositions over generations' (Leonard 2014, 69).

Dowris as kinwork

There are a variety of reasons to question the interpretation of Dowris as a gradual accumulation of offerings to a supernatural being. The designation of the findspot as a bog is problematic, since it is largely dependent on whose account

you choose to believe. Thomas Cooke was especially clear on the matter, having been led to the location by a witness to the original discovery:

> the fact must be recorded that the Dowris relics were not found in what can be properly denominated bog, but in the centre of a potato garden extending down the slope of a rising ground between the paddock and the moorland. A cock of hay has been left during the last winter between the place of the finding and the bog, so little of wet or quagmire exists there even now.
>
> *(Cooke 1847–1850, 435)*

Unlike a river, a pool or a wetland, the bog-edge location would have made an unlikely spot for repeated offerings. Tellingly the objects were evidently recovered in a relatively tight group, given the short timeframe for their uncovering and removal from the field. While this does not preclude their deposition in a bog, it is less likely they were offerings made across years, decades or longer. By comparison, the finds from the Bog of Cullen, County Tipperary, which are also interpreted as an accumulative offering, were discovered during two centuries of turf cutting throughout the bog (Eogan 1983, 154).

I am also struck by curious symmetries in the Dowris assemblage that are difficult to interpret if the items accumulated over a long time period. There are 36 axes and 36 spearheads extant in museum collections, and the original estimate is that there were 44 spearheads and 43 axes. Of the 48 crotals (pendants), there are 20 with 12 neck ribs and 20 with 14 neck ribs. The fragments from five swords could be allied with the four large spearheads. Of the sheet-bronze vessels, there is one complete bucket and one complete cauldron. The horns are of two distinct types. The types have separate geographical distributions, divided between northeast and southwest Ireland. The single exception to this distribution is Dowris, where both types of horn were found together (Coles 1963).

These symmetries in the composition of the assemblage and the clustering of the objects in one location mean that Dowris was, at a time and place, a gathering of things and a gathering of persons. The spearheads and axes were the most numerous items in the hoard, and they were likely to have been everyday personal items—objects that people kept on their person. In support of this, the axes and spearheads have quite similar proportions of complete and slightly damaged examples. There is a logic to interpreting the 40 or so personal objects as the contributions from an equivalent number of persons with the hoard. It is a moot point whether or not the persons contributing axes and spearheads were individually present at the depositional event or if the hoard represented a process of collecting or gathering exchanges over time prior to deposition (e.g. Joy 2016). In a gift economy, things are parts of the persons that exchanged them ('things and people assume the social form of persons' (Strathern 1988, 145)), so the axes and spearheads at Dowris were co-present with the human persons with whom they were associated.

Animals were also amongst the relations gathered by the hoard, and they were present through some unusual objects: bronze horns and crotals. The graceful, curving horns, of which over 90 survive from Ireland, mimicked instruments made with cattle horns, which have not survived. John Coles (1963) classified the horns based on the slenderness of their form, the presence and style of decoration, and the ways in which they were played. The horns were used sufficiently frequently to become damaged, with two-thirds showing evidence for repairs. They were deposited in groups, up to 26 horns in the case of the Dowris hoard, and always in bogs. (Dowris may be the exception, if it was a bog-edge setting.) Coles (1965) suggested the horns formed an element in a wider 'bull cult' shared between communities as widespread as southern Scandinavia and Iberia. His key to linking this cult to Ireland was the 48 bronze crotals or pendants recovered from the Dowris hoard (Figure 1.3). The crotals are spherical or pear-shaped, hollow, and containing a small piece of bronze or stone, which rattles inside—or a 'feeble tinkling' according to Thomas Cooke (1847–1850, 431). They have a ring to enable them to be suspended, but few other clues to their function. To fit with the idea of a bull cult, John Coles argued the crotal might symbolise a bull's scrotum and so represent the animal's virility. John Waddell, while sceptical of the evidence for a 'bull cult', suggests the crotals might have been worn around the neck of a prize bull (Waddell 2010, 246), although the staples holding the suspension rings are not especially strong (Werner and Maryon in Eogan 1983, 136).

FIGURE 1.3 Three crotals from Dowris. The larger examples are c. 120 mm in length.

A reading of the early medieval Irish epic Táin Bó Cuailnge may influence these suggestions for the importance of the bull (Kinsella 1970). The stories centre on a raid by the armies of Connacht to steal the brown bull of Cuailnge. It is a misconception to imagine the animal as though it was the winner at a modern agricultural show. The bulls at the centre of the tales are begotten from two pig-herders who served their respective kings of Connact and Munster. The herders cast malign spells on each other's pigs in a quarrel that leads them to take the forms of first birds, then undersea creatures, stags, warriors, phantoms, dragons, maggots and, finally, the white and brown bulls. The principal human hero of the tales, Cúchulainn, is both human and otherworldly, and takes on multiple animal forms in his war-fuelled furies. In an analysis of the stories, Erik Larsen (2003, 182) suggests of one section that the 'ease by which the writers oscillate from man to cattle … indicates an identity ambivalent in its essence'. I am not using Táin Bó Cuailnge as an analogy for the tenth to ninth centuries BC, nor would I claim the stories have origins in the Bronze Age. The tales illustrate how the boundaries between humanity and animality may be porous: animals may act as humans, humans may act as animals. Animals may have characteristics of intentionality and personhood comparable with humans. Animals may be kin with humans. This brings a further category of actor, and kinfolk, to the assembly of the Dowris hoard: animals, possibly cattle, made present through the horns and crotals.

Assembling a world

If Dowris was partly a gathering of human and animal persons, it was also a gathering of the things and places that themselves made assemblies. The intact bucket and cauldron, both crafted from sheet bronze, were by virtue of their size best suited to preparing and sharing drink and food amongst a large gathering or long feasting event. Sabine Gerloff (2010, 64) estimates the capacity of Bronze Age cauldrons at 30–40 litres. The form and decorative elements on the base of the bucket are similar to examples from southeast Europe, and in hoards and burials elsewhere the buckets are associated with cups used in serving liquid from the vessels (Figure 1.4). The cauldron, on the other hand, is of an Irish type, round-based and with handles. The cauldrons are believed to have been suspended over a fire and used for cooking meat, with the contemporary flesh-hooks providing the means of serving food from the vessels (Needham and Bowman 2005). Both the Dowris vessels were well-used before deposition, with evidence of repairs to the bucket (Eogan 1983, 129–130) and the replacement of the cauldron's base (Gerloff 2010, 69). Their long lives may also be indicated by the period between their making and their deposition. Gerloff (1986) proposes that the bucket was made towards the end of the second millennium BC, and that the Tulnacross-type cauldrons (of which Dowris is an example) began being deposited early in the first millennium BC. This makes the bronze vessels around a century older than the other objects in the assemblage (Becker 2012), which is conceivable given their wear and repair.

FIGURE 1.4 The bronze-handled vessel found in boggy ground at Corrymuckloch, Perthshire. The vessel is 153 mm in diameter. Image © National Museums Scotland.

The consensus amongst scholars is the cauldrons, flesh-hooks, buckets and cups were the accoutrements for prestigious feasting customs that operated throughout Atlantic Europe (Coombs 1975; Needham and Bowman 2005), and which may have derived inspiration if not identical meanings from practices in central Europe and the eastern Mediterranean (Gerloff 1986, 107). These feasts are imagined as exclusive affairs, either where a select and high status few practised elite dining rituals or a chief (usually figured as male—Brück 2019) distributed largesse upon his kinsfolk. These interpretations take account of the distant associations of the feasting practices and the styles of the feasting equipment. Distance equated with high social status, which was individualised in a chief.

Inspired by Mary Helms's writing (Helms 1988), Kristian Kristiansen and Thomas Larsson explain how chiefs acquired their elevated status within Bronze Age society:

> Magical powers and heroic fame were gained through participating in distant travels and expeditions, where chiefs could meet and compete about their skills, mythical stories and heroic deeds, and return with new knowledge, skills and fame, and with esoteric goods to symbolise their social and ritual standing.
>
> *(Kristiansen and Larsson 2005, 39)*

A vertical scale plays a pivotal role in these accounts. The chiefly class, or 'elites', at the top of the social hierarchy operated on a different spatial level to those at the bottom of the hierarchy. Elites travelled long distances and, sometimes through proxies, acquired objects and materials from outside their regions. People of lower status were defined through their labours, and the animals, grain and local resources they contributed to the wealth of chiefdoms. Within this framework, there were dependencies between high social status, inter-regional travel and exchange, and rare materials or objects. Earle and Kristiansen (2010) present a vivid contrast between the closed nature of the local and the open nature of the distant. The local is conceived as something static and inward looking: 'archaeologists should leave the safe harbours and homesteads of local processual and contextual studies and enter the roads and seaways that were travelled numerous times during the Bronze Age and beyond' (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005, 369).

The cauldrons and buckets from Dowris are large vessels that could provide for tens of participants in a feast. They also had long lives, outlasting any single individual within a community. That does not preclude them being prestigious and distantly connected objects. It does mean that in their lives they enabled the formation of a great many relations as the sources of the drink and food that bonded persons together at gatherings. These gatherings offered a variety of means for making and sustaining relations. Rather than placing the agency for these occasions with 'chiefs', I would suggest we interpret the vessels as the creators of the relations that were made during collective feasting events. As participants in these events, the vessels were in kinship with the human participants. Like the human participants, the vessels' relations stretched out geographically and through time by virtue of their long biographies.

The Dowris hoard was created through exchanges between kin and with a place. Persons were present in the hoard through their weapons, tools, and perhaps also in the contributions of their craft. Animal kin participated through the horns and crotals, which were more than representations of animals—they brought essences of the cattle to the assemblage. The collective practices of kinship were present in the feasting equipment, which included a complete bucket and a complete cauldron, alongside further fragments of vessels. The assembly was also defined by the place itself. Dowris is less than 10 kilometres east from

the River Shannon, Ireland's longest river, and the location that would later take on political significance as the confluence of three of Ireland's four provinces. Yet the hoard was not placed in or by the river. The participants gathered at a bog-edge location, topographically indistinct, in a landscape otherwise empty of late Bronze Age activity. This marginality played an important role in facilitating kinwork—the practices that made and sustained kinship. All the participants may have recognised shared kinship before the assembly of the hoard. My preferred interpretation is that the hoard was an assembling of existing and new kin relations. The hoard made kin with a place: an assembly of relations that was made by and made a place in the Irish landscape.

This is not a critique of the idea of distance or an attempt to localise and close-down the Bronze Age. The point I am making is that the local was shaped by the distant, and the distant was constituted from the local. This seems to favour a flatter and relational conception of scale. It is one in which the local and the distant mutually constitute one another, rather than representing separate, hierarchically organised and perhaps contrary realities. Doreen Massey (1993) argued against the conceptualisation of places as easily determinable, bounded and spatial. She conceived of places as intersections in the networks of relations between people and things in space that transform and 'flow' with time.

Sallie Marston and colleagues (2005) draw inspiration from Doreen Massey in their theoretical critique of scale. They argue that their academic field, human geography, should dispense with scale altogether and adopt a 'flat ontology'. Attempts to conceive of scales relationally in horizontal terms, or as hybrids of horizontal and vertical, cannot escape from the fundamental hierarchies and intrinsic inequalities of concepts such as global and local, macro and micro:

> social practices are cordoned off in their respective localities (or even homes), thereby eviscerating agency at one end of the hierarchy in favour of such terms as 'global capitalism', 'international political economy', 'larger scale forces' and 'national social formations', while reserving for the lower rungs examples meant to illustrate the 'unique manifestations' of these processes in terms of local outcomes and actions, such as 'the daily sphere of the local', 'the urban as the scale of experience' and 'the smaller scale of the local'.
>
> *(Marston et al. 2005, 421)*

Discarding a scale requires less rather than more vocabulary. Terms like place and landscape, body and home, region and world can all apply in the same domains of social life. Human experiences may be said to be 'scale-insensitive', what Marilyn Strathern (2000, 53) refers to as the 'extensibility of the environment': 'values retain their relationships…and thus their significance, across different domains of life regardless of the dimensions of an event'. Throughout this book I will work from the position that places like Dowris are of a particular time and place, and simultaneously of accumulated times and places. We can address social orders in

all forms through the study of places and localities. Worlds were the accumulated webs of practices and orders that humans made and inhabited through social life—'a knot in motion' (Haraway 2003, 6). Worlding, as Marisol de la Cadena (2015, 291 n4) explains it: 'is the practice of creating relations of life in a place and the place itself'.

A social prehistory

My interpretation of the Dowris metalwork emphasises the relations that brought the assemblage into being. I use the terms 'kinship' and 'kinwork' to describe the relations and the activities that made them. I did not place hard boundaries between the humans, animals and things that composed the Dowris assemblage. With the remainder of this chapter I will present an argument for the approach to kinship that guides the book's narrative. I begin with my use of the adjective 'social' in the book's title. Why not simply 'prehistory' (cf. Webmoor and Witmore 2008)? *Social* directs attention to the associations that emerge as humans inhabit their worlds. These associations make persons, create collectives, and bring lives and meanings to things, places and events. My approach is influenced by Bruno Latour's (2005) 'sociology of associations'. Latour argues that research should begin with the proposition we do not know what the social is made from. Researching social life involves a slow process of identifying the participants and following the associations. This approach differs from methods that claim to know from the beginning 'roughly what the social world is made of' (Latour 2005, 160). If the social is too closely constrained within models and categories, then we (researchers, prehistorians) in turn constrain our capacities to recognise diversity and difference. We struggle with recognising our mistranslations, gaps in knowledge and the incompatibilities of our theories. The categories used to describe social life occupy and determine the beginning, the middle and the end of the inquiries.

In accounts of Bronze Age societies, social life is often composed with theories about group and individual identities that exist independently of the material evidence from the past. Prehistories begin with households, families, lineages, clans, chiefdoms and polities already in mind. Individuals become present through their roles as warriors and wives, farmers, miners, shamans, smiths, chiefs and adventurers. Prehistorians use these identities, and the concepts they represent, for different reasons. The personal and collective identities populate a coherent framework for writing about society. They bring explanatory power to material that is difficult to comprehend because of its immense distance from our present-day experiences and worldviews. They connect our present with a Bronze Age past using familiar language. Often enough we shortcut the task of describing social life by using terms that are ready to hand: 'elite', both as noun and adjective, is one such shortcut. The language and the concepts carry many assumptions that constrain our narratives.

A model of society and pre-defined identifiers are not necessary for researching past social life. Some archaeologists have worked steadily and effectively to

introduce new ways of thinking that undermine the assumptions we bring as modern humans encountering ancient material culture (as with Brück 2019; Conneller 2012; Lucas 2012). These empirical and theoretical investigations question the separations of rituals from everyday practices, people from environments and things, experience from meaning. They share a critique of the binary categorisations of the world that seem intrinsic to modern worldviews. Amongst the catalysts are relational ways of thinking that describe worlds as assemblages (DeLanda 2006), actor-networks (Latour 2005), meshworks (Ingold 2011), entanglements (Hodder 2012) and ontologies (Holbraad and Pedersen 2017). These ideas appear in different guises, whether non-representational theory, assemblage theory, new materialism or the 'ontological turn'. Their influence on archaeology is well documented (Hamilakis and Jones 2017; Harris and Cipolla 2017; Jervis 2019). Whatever the metaphors, styles and distinctions, the common framework can be defined broadly as *relational*.

Thinking through relations (or associations) allows social life to remain complicated, ephemeral and messy (Law 2004), while offering a means of tracing the formation and significances of persons, ideas and institutions. It acknowledges flow, and offers means (the connector, association or line) that temporarily holds participants (whether human or not) in place and for their relative locations to be mapped. It decentres humans, so that they remain part of although never entirely in control of, or makers of, the worlds they inhabit. In Theodore Schatzki's (2002, 123) words:

> Social life transpires through human activity and is caught up in orders of people, artefacts, organisms, and things. As such, it is not just immersed in a mesh of practices and orders, but also exists only as so entangled. The mesh of practices and orders is the site where social life takes place.

A relational approach accounts for the infinite ways in which things, places and persons may be constituted, while offering a method for describing and comparing. It brings multiple ways of configuring how humanity and nature are constituted (Strathern 1988; Viveiros de Castro 2015).

Relational approaches have met with plentiful criticism. They do not offer a theory of the world, rather they provide methods for building theories about worlds. They appear better at describing than explaining. Their specificities can lead to close engagements with practices and things, while wider observations about regularities in how social life is organised are absent. But the descriptions, however geographically or historically defined, can appear similar to one another. An example is the 'dividual' person, conceived in Hindu Indian and Melanesian ethnographies (Marriott 1976; Strathern 1988), deftly and imaginatively applied to the interpretation of early Bronze Age burials (Brück 2006) and subsequently becoming the consensus about the formation of personhood in the British Bronze Age. An approach (a relational study of personhood) evolves into a theory (persons are divisible) and then an instance (Bronze Age persons were

dividual), without sufficient disruption and qualification from the observations prehistorians make about material culture (Sørensen 2010).

Decentring humans within social life returns symmetry in the relations between people and things (Henare et al. 2005) recognises the influences and vibrancies of materials (Bennett 2010), and disperses agency (the capacity to act intentionally) across collectives. This exercise plays to archaeology's strengths in attending to and understanding things and substances. Unlike anthropology, where humans are subjects of enquiry and co-participants in research, people's voices and much of their presence are absent from prehistoric research. It might well be asked whether a 'return to things' means much in an academic field that cannot move for things. Prehistorians were criticised for giving things undue priority in social processes long before object biographies and vibrant matter were in vogue. John Barrett (2016) identifies what he terms 'a new antiquarianism' in archaeology's ontological turn or its 'return to things'. He challenges the claim that description is sufficient. By emphasising the descriptions of assemblages, relational approaches have exorcised depth and humanness from narratives of prehistory. There is similarity here with Paolo Heywood's entreaty for relational approaches to be purposeful. To mean anything distinctive, relational studies have to be clear about what they wish to achieve (Heywood 2018, 233).

In this book I follow a relational approach to composing the synthesis. Relations connected people with one another, with objects, and with substances, places, animals and beings from other worlds. I describe things, architectures and places emerging and acting in relation with humans. While seeking to retain a relational approach within the synthesis, I am mindful of the criticisms I outlined earlier. How do I retain an attention on humanity in a prehistory of associations? Are there ways to give priority to certain kinds of associations, and therefore bring a theoretical discrimination to the process of synthesis? How do I identify and represent the depth and persistence of certain relations through time?

Kinship and the genealogical method

My response to the questions I pose above is to situate kinship at the core of this book's narratives. I regard kinship as a distinct form of relation, and kinwork as a distinct practice of relating. The distinctions that elevate kinship from other forms of relatedness are in degrees of intensity and mutuality. Following Marshall Sahlins (2013), I define kinship as a 'mutuality of being', or what Stasch (2009, 129) calls an 'intersubjective belonging'. Kinship describes the close relations and practices of relating that constitute humans as persons and groups. These relations include those generated through procreation and established through the many varied acts of naming, co-presence, gift exchange and sharing substances that have been documented amongst societies worldwide.

This definition moves away from the genealogical method that dominated kinship studies for much of the twentieth century. A biological theory of kinship,

or the genealogical method, gave primacy to the relations of birth (nature) onto which categories and systems (culture) were then applied: 'the elements of the physical pattern are essentially simple and universal, whilst the social patterns imposed on it are highly diversified and complex' (Gellner 1960, 193). For societies without state-structures, kinship provided the basis for the political economy and the genealogical method mapped kinship and the organisation of authority. This enabled societal organisation to be comprehended in its entirety through levels and degrees of connection and separation, which in diagrammatic form had 'the sterile austerity of an electrical circuit board' (Ingold 2007, 111) or 'a totality present in simultaneity' (Bourdieu 1977, 38). Prehistorians benefited from the societal models that emerged from anthropology's obsession with kinship. It may not have been possible to 'dig up a kinship system' as Gosden (1999, 4) characterised Lewis Binford's (1962, 218) position on the matter. However, it was possible to apply principles derived from anthropology to the interpretation of archaeological material (Ellison 1981; Rowlands 1980).

The biological theory of kinship was transformed through accumulated ethnographic studies and anthropological critiques during the later decades of the twentieth century. A key shift came in new conceptualisations of nature and culture, which challenged the binary relationship that underpinned the genealogical method. In her ethnography written while researching the Hagen in Papua New Guinea, Marilyn Strathern (1980) argues that the strict dualistic pattern of male:wild female:tamed is not a universal structural principle to which all humans adhered. The concepts of nature and culture, so fundamental to modern European thought, are contingent on who as well as where they are applied. David Schneider (1984) directed a similar critique at the idea of kinship and anthropology's reliance on kinship. Schneider argued that the priority given to biological relations represented a Western assumption about the primacy of sexual reproduction. He observed that the genealogical method will always find kinship structures at the core of small-scale political economies because it starts with the categories of relation already pre-formed: 'The genealogical method cannot but confirm that genealogical relations constitute the basis of the notions of relatedness in all societies' (Holy 1996, 146).

The anthropology of kinship gradually emerged from this critique in different forms and with a more diverse theoretical literature. A form of the traditional, genealogical method persisted or 'metamorphized' (Godelier 2011). Domains that had earlier taken prominence in kinship studies found new expressions in studies of personhood and domestic life (Busby 1997; Joyce and Gillespie 2000). The impacts of new reproductive technologies on sexual relationships, families and communities formed a further focus for attention (Bamford 2007). Archaeologists have contributed to the reconceptualising of kinship through their contributions on personhood and houses (Casella and Fowler 2006; González-Ruibal and Ruiz-Gálvez 2016), and in shaping discussions around the deep history of kinship structures (Ensor 2011; Trautmann et al. 2011).

Biomolecular and genetic analyses can now define the biological relatedness of ancient human remains with remarkable precision. The power of these methods and richness of the data offers potential for reconstructing biological relatedness across populations and between individuals. Palaeogenetics borrows its terms for relatedness from anthropology: patrilineal, matrilineal, lineage, clan and so on (Sánchez-Quinto et al. 2019; Zeng et al. 2018). Its network diagrams representing genetic diversity and connectedness parallel those produced from ethnographic studies. Palaeogenetic research is 'big science': in the amount of funding, in the size of datasets and in the ambition and appeal of the explanations it presents about the past. The disciplinary conventions, ambition and status of science require publication of short-form papers in a handful of prestigious journals. These formats leave no space for longer, contextual expositions on either the archaeological evidence or theories of relatedness, mobility and culture (Booth 2019, 593). The risk is that reductive historical narratives are heard most clearly within academic and public contexts. And that kinship returns to being a synonym for biological relatedness, and all the theoretical 'heavy-lifting' of recent decades is over-shadowed by a more widely heard genealogical method.

Kinship in five premises

Several reasons emerge for foregrounding kinship in my synthesis of Bronze Age Ireland and Britain. Kinship prioritises certain kinds of associations, and brings a theoretical discrimination and explanatory power to a relational synthesis. Kinship places the emphasis on humanity and humanness in a prehistory of associations. The transformation, or reinvention, of kinship theory during the last two decades has broadened the realms and practices of kinship. It now informs and is informed by broadly relational approaches that share considerable ground with archaeological theorising. This forms part of a wider rebalancing in what might be called an asymmetry in the relations between archaeological and anthropological theory (Yarrow 2010).

A different asymmetry is emerging in kinship research, this time between the life and social sciences. Biomolecular and genetic analyses now define the biological relatedness of ancient human remains with extraordinary precision. Bioarchaeology and palaeogenetics are applying methods that 'excavate' kinship. The risk is that we take this literally, and the biological relations identified through palaeogenetic analysis become kinship facts, around which we then fashion an interpretative culture. The response must be to keep the dialogue open between the fields within the natural and social sciences, and focus on the means, theoretical and empirical, for integrating accounts of social life (Johnson 2019; Johnson and Paul 2016; Nash 2018). Explanations will be reductive where this integration fails to account for advancements of social theory and biological science.

I embed kinship and kinwork throughout this book's narratives. Kinship is the lens through which I view the task of writing a social prehistory of Bronze

Age Britain and Ireland. Kinship describes the close relations and practices of relating that constitute humans as persons and groups. The distinctions that define kinship from other forms of relating are in degrees of intensity, mutuality and belonging. I will close this theoretical discussion by describing the scope of my relational theory of kinship in five premises.

Kinship creates personhood and collective belonging. Kinship is both a constituent of persons and networks of persons. Kinsfolk are 'persons who belong to one another, who are parts of one another, who are co-present in each other, whose lives are joined and interdependent' (Sahlins 2013, 21). In this respect, kinship is much the same as a partible theory of personhood: persons are the 'plural and composite site of the relationships that produced them' (Strathern 1988, 13). Persons embody their kin relations, and those relations comprise the myriad ways in which persons participate in others' lives. Kinship is a transpersonal way of belonging. Kinship is 'intrinsic to the person, but also capable of overcoming the boundedness of particular bodies and persons' (Carsten 2004, 107). In Alan Rumsey's (2000) study of the pronoun 'I' in Polynesia and Melanesia, he observed that a speaker can use 'I' in reference to a variety of social configurations, including themselves, their kin group or an ancestor. Kinship provides a means of going beyond the constitution of persons, and considers the formulation of groups, places, ancestries and so forth. It represents the different ways that people belong: to one another, to places and to histories.

Kinship associates people with nonhuman beings, things and landscapes. Kin may be animals; supernatural entities; and persons, things and places. Peoples may describe their descent from gods and seek kinship with ancestral beings. In Maori sagas, humans share descent with a variety of other beings: from flies and whales to trees and canoes (Johansen 1954). Kinship is created through gift exchange, with gifts taking on the roles of persons or parts of persons existing within gifts (Gregory 2015). Exchange extends the distances across which kinship may be maintained, with things participating in the formation and maintenance of kinship alongside and as parts of persons.

> Perhaps the most serious of the many weaknesses of [kinship] diagrams … is that they only include people: occasionally a god or an ancestor-turned-animal may be admitted as a quasi-human circle or triangle, but only on the condition that we recognise them as quasi-kin. There is no symbol for a spring, river, mountain, mist or whale. In divorcing the humanity from the materiality of kinship, these charts reinforce an understanding of kinship as ultimately transcendent when what we should be seeking is a deeper understanding of the ways in which the humanity and materiality of kinship are implicated in each other's emergence.
>
> *(Sissons 2013, 373)*

The multiple ways in which animals were incorporated alongside humans in Bronze Age funerary assemblages illustrate how these relations could be assembled

(Brück 2019). Land and places played their parts: 'the land is very much alive and enters directly into the constitution (generation) of persons' (Leach 2003, 30). During the Bronze Age, kinmaking with living places can be recognised by the deposition of metalwork as votive offerings and the persistence of landmarking with monuments and boundaries.

Kinship is historically constituted, territorialised and codified. Kinship has structural attributes by virtue of its persistence through time, culture, materiality and beings: whether in language, habits, rituals, houses, things and bodies. DeLanda (2006) uses the terms territorialisation and codification to describe the ways that assemblages stabilise, consolidate and constrain social life. These processes are properties of the assemblages and not external structures that impose an order from without. Territorialisation and codification offer expressions of the 'depth' or historical conditions that Barrett (2016) argues are lacking from relational approaches in archaeology. 'Descent' has been used to describe the way that some forms of kinship can accumulate through time, endure across generations and stretch into mythic time. Descent may distinguish kinship that is reproduced in political and public practices, rather than in the co-presences of daily life. The linear arrangements of barrows built during the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries BC provide an example of how the material conditions for lines of descent were created and mobilised in the legitimation of authority.

Kinship is made through the sharing of substances and presences. A biological theory of kinship essentialises sexual reproduction and the affinal relations (through institutions like marriage) that enable reproduction. Other relations are recognised within a biological theory as either fictive or lying outside the proper domain of kinship. A relational theory of kinship accommodates kinmaking through the sharing of substances, including though not exclusively through procreation: human blood, milk, bone, food and soil can all contribute. Kin may share the same bones (Bloch 1992, 75), consume one another's flesh (Fausto 2007) or be made in the meals cooked from a shared hearth (Carsten 1997). Francesca Merlan and Alan Rumsey (1991, 43) describe how the Ku Waru (New Guinea) derive their kinship from the soil, which contains *kopong*, the matter that gives life to all beings: 'a kind of *nutritive* substance, whether extracted directly from the gardens, channelled through man's reproductive organs, woman's breast, or stored and consumed in the flesh of a pig'. A sharing of substances may be equated with co-presences of bodies and in spaces. Kinship emerges from a mutuality of existence and the affectivity that emanates from proximities—'to live with kin is life itself' (Gow 1991, 119). Janet Carsten (2004, 35) writes that the 'qualitative density of experiences' is what makes houses important for kinmaking. The times spent in one another's presence, sharing knowledge, labour, food and nurture, contribute to the affective qualities of kinship.

Kinship is creative, performative and political. Kinship can be unstable and need work to sustain it. Mark Nuttall (2000) describes how Greenlanders choose many of their kin according to circumstance. Naming plays a key part in this process, with a shift from using personal to kin names providing the means of framing

particular associations as kin-based. Obligations and rights constrain the fluidity of these relations; they are flexible, not formless. Stefano Boni (2010) drew similar conclusions from his study of funeral ledgers in the Akan area of West Africa. Funeral offerings are a means of making and severing kinship, although it is not a process of unconstrained invention. Norms and sanctions control creativity. Kinship may be core to destructive and contestable relations (Sahlins 2013, 53–57). Marriage exchanges within exogamous societies create inequalities between the affinal groups, for which bride-wealth and dowry may operate as recompense. Descent and inheritance create opportunities for theft as well as gift (Lambek 2011). The arenas for creating powerful kin during the Bronze Age varied through time, and from the personal to the collective: in lavish funerary offerings, intimate and rare gifts to gods, the labours gathered at monuments and hilltop enclosures and the violence of raids and inter-personal conflict.

The five premises map a relational approach to kinship: collective belonging, plurality of relations, historical, commensal and creative. They constitute kinship but they do not determine how it is manifest in particular settings. If kin relations connect different domains of life and life's many participants, human and otherwise, then, Marshall Sahlins (2013) contends, kinship is cultural not biological relatedness. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro phrases this same idea in a different way when describing the formation of kinship in Amazonia: 'kinship is what you have when you "do without" a biological theory of relationality' (Viveiros de Castro 2009, 241). This broader conceptualisation of kinship is worth defending as new methods sharpen the potential of biological relations. If we break from a genealogical model, then different dimensions become possible within kinship. Kinwork maps out some of the variations in how persons, groups, things and places are constituted.

Gifts, Dwellings, Landmarks

This book brings kinship to the task of explaining the formation of social life in Bronze Age Britain and Ireland. The book divides into three parts, each comprised of two chapters: Gifts, Dwellings and Landmarks. These are convenient compartments within which to organise the narrative. Gifts, Dwellings and Landmarks are distinguishable and closely connected aspects of past social life. The parts are ordered chronologically so that they present independent historical narratives. I have not used established schemes for organising the Bronze Age, whether the quadripartite system (Chalcolithic, Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age) or periodisations based on artefacts. In their place, I have followed centennial, and occasionally decadal where available, timescales, which are more sensitive to the different resolutions of archaeological chronologies and historical processes. A calendrical framework can better accommodate the different rhythms, resolutions and asynchronies of change. As a consequence of these asynchronies and the different precisions within archaeological timescales, the paired chapters within each part are divided at different times during the Bronze Age and with differing degrees of overlap.

Part I, *Gifts*, examines human mortuary rites and the deposition of metalwork and other valued objects in the landscape. These were the practices through which persons and things were exchanged within and between worlds. Prehistorians have recognised similarities and differences in the ways things and people were treated at the ends of their lives. The differences depended on the exclusion of certain types of objects from one domain (axes were absent from human burials) compared with another (axes were frequently left in unmarked places throughout the landscape). Similarities are recognisable in the ways that things were treated as persons (carefully arranged for burial within a barrow or cairn) and humans were transformed and used like other materials (when cremated bone was used as votive offerings within settlements). Gifts, with the dead and in the landscape, were important and creative kinwork. They were exchanges amongst persons and with supernatural beings, and they offer glimpses of how kinship was constituted through time. The chapters' chronological sequence is divided at around the time that cremation returned as a widespread practice throughout Britain and Ireland, which occurred during the twentieth to eighteenth centuries BC.

In Part II, *Dwellings*, I consider the archaeological remains of domestic life. I discuss the changing architecture of house and of settlements, the ways that daily life left traces in places even when people did not live in durable buildings and the rituals that took place within domestic settings. Settlements were the places where people shared meals and shared their lives. The accumulations of food waste, pottery and burnt stone within settlements are evidence for the intensities, durations and richness of inhabitation. Settlements were places where some of the deepest bonds of kinship were formed. They hosted large gatherings and selective feasts, and provided the stages for performing life-cycle rites. The distinctions were blurred between these practices and the depositional events I discuss in Part I. The chapters in Dwellings overlap by two centuries and are divided at around the time that settlements took on more powerful and intense roles in social life, during the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC. The overlap between the chapters is around two centuries, and it could have been more. Settlements were long-lived, and it is difficult to establish archaeological chronologies from the accumulated residues of everyday life.

The chapters in Part III, *Landmarks*, are concerned with the different ways that people's relations with land and sky shaped the places of Bronze Age Britain and Ireland. Landmarking includes a breadth of building and ritual practices, encompassing barrows, cairns and circles, rock art, cairnfields and field systems. These were places where people's labours and performances made kin between themselves and other selves who inhabited a living land and vibrant sky. Changes in landmarking mattered because they were part of how persons and kindred were constituted. The practices defined in Gifts and in Dwellings are blended throughout Landmarks: in the mortuary deposits within monuments, and in the shared labours involved in creating hilltop enclosures. The chapters in Landmarks overlap across seven centuries during 2200–1500 BC. The narrative

dismantles the categorical barriers that prehistorians have placed between monumental and agricultural landscapes. The animate land remained an important aspect of kinship throughout the Bronze Age, even if the associations and the practices of kinmaking changed.

I conclude the book by reviewing the long-term processes that transformed social life during the twenty-fifth to eighth centuries BC. Kinship was not a stable category within social life. Kin were made from blends of processes that we define as biological and cultural. The early centuries of the Bronze Age were characterised by a fluidity of kin relations that absorbed unfamiliar populations and cultures into social life. Localisation describes the process through which people increasingly belonged to landscapes and places. This occurred alongside and shaped the growing distinctions between regions in Ireland and Britain. A gradual empowerment of domestic life occurred as houses replaced monuments as landmarks. The performative and public aspects of kinmaking were founded on relations with the supernatural, in personal and communal rituals, and in acts of raiding, collective labour and feasting. The differences in kinwork across Ireland and Britain brought textures to social life and the formation of Bronze Age worlds.

References

Bamford, Sandra C. 2007. *Biology unmoored: Melanesian reflections on life and biotechnology*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Barrett, John C. 2016. The new antiquarianism? *Antiquity* 90(354):1681–1686.

Becker, Katharina. 2012. The dating of Irish Late Bronze Age Dowris phase metalwork—a pilot study. *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 21:7–15.

Becker, Katharina. 2013. Transforming identities – new approaches to Bronze Age deposition in Ireland. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 79:225–263.

Bennett, Jane. 2010. *Vibrant matter: a political ecology of things*. Duke University Press, London.

Binford, Lewis R. 1962. Archaeology as anthropology. *American Antiquity* 28(2):217–225.

Bloch, Maurice. 1992. *Prey into hunter: the politics of religous experience*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Boni, Stefano. 2010. Brothers 30,000, sisters 20,000; nephews 15,000, nieces 10,000: Akan funeral ledgers' kinship and value negotiations, and their limits. *Ethnography* 11(3):381–408.

Booth, Thomas. 2019. A stranger in a strange land: a perspective on archaeological responses to the palaeogenetic revolution from an archaeologist working amongst palaeogeneticists. *World Archaeology* 51(4):586–601.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*, translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Brück, Joanna. 2006. Homing instincts: grounded identities and dividual selves in the British Bronze Age. In *The archaeology of plural and changing identities*, edited by Eleanor Conlin Casella and Chris Fowler, pp. 135–160. Springer, Boston, MA.

Brück, Joanna. 2019. *Personifying prehistory: relational ontologies in Bronze Age Britain and Ireland*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Busby, Cecilia. 1997. Permeable and partible persons: a comparative analysis of gender and body in South India and Melanesia. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 3(2):261–278.

Carsten, Janet. 1997. *The heat of the hearth: the process of kinship in a Malay fishing community*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Carsten, Janet. 2004. *After kinship*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Casella, Eleanor Conlin and Chris Fowler (editors). 2006. *The archaeology of plural and changing identities*. Springer, Boston, MA.

Childe, V G. 1930. *The Bronze Age*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Coles, John. 1963. Irish Bronze Age horns and their relations with northern Europe. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 29:326–356.

Coles, John. 1965. The archaeological evidence for a 'bull cult' in Late Bronze Age Europe. *Antiquity* 39(155):217–219.

Coles, John. 1971. Dowris and the Late Bronze Age of Ireland: a footnote. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 101(2):164–165.

Conneller, Chantal. 2012. *An archaeology of materials: substantial transformations in early prehistoric Europe*. Routledge, London.

Cooke, Thomas L. 1847–1850. On bronze antiquities found at Dowris, in the King's County. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 4:423–440.

Coombs, David G. 1975. Bronze Age weapon hoards in Britain. *Archaeologia Atlantica* 1:49–81.

Cooney, Gabriel and Eoin Grogan. 1994. *Irish prehistory: a social perspective*. Wordwell, Dublin.

de la Cadena, Marisol. 2015. *Earth beings: ecologies of practice across Andean worlds*. Duke University Press, London.

DeLanda, Manuel. 2006. *A new philosophy of society: assemblage theory and social complexity*. Bloomsbury, London.

Earle, Timothy and Kristian Kristiansen. 2010. Introduction. In *Organizing Bronze Age societies: the Mediterranean, central Europe and Scandinavia compared*, edited by Timothy Earle and Kristian Kristiansen, pp. 1–33. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ellison, Ann. 1981. Towards a socio-economic model for the Middle Bronze Age in southern England. In *Patterns of the past: studies in honour of David Clarke*, edited by Ian Hodder, Glynn Isaac and Norman Hammond, pp. 413–438. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ensor, Bradley E. 2011. Kinship theory in archaeology: from critiques to the study of transformations. *American Antiquity* 76(2):203–227.

Eogan, George. 1964. The later Bronze Age in Ireland in the light of recent research. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 30:268–351.

Eogan, George. 1983. *The hoards of the Irish Later Bronze Age*. University College Dublin, Dublin.

Fausto, Carlos. 2007. Feasting on people: eating animals and humans in Amazonia. *Current Anthropology* 48(4):497–530.

Gellner, Ernest. 1960. The concept of kinship: with special reference to Mr. Needham's "Descent systems and ideal language". *Philosophy of Science* 27:187–204.

Gerloff, Sabine. 1986. Bronze Age class A cauldrons: typology, origins and chronology. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 116:84–115.

Gerloff, Sabine. 2010. *Atlantic cauldrons and buckets of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in western Europe*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde II/18, Stuttgart.

Godelier, Maurice. 2011. *The metaphorses of kinship*. Verso, London.

González-Ruibal, Alfredo and Marisa Ruiz-Gálvez. 2016. House societies in the ancient Mediterranean (2000–500 BC). *Journal of World Prehistory* 29:383–437.

Gosden, Chris. 1999. *Anthropology and archaeology: a changing relationship*. Routledge, London.

Gow, Peter. 1991. *Of mixed blood: kinship and history in Peruvian Amazonia*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Gregory, Christopher A. 2015. *Gifts and commodities (second edition)*. Hau, Chicago, IL.

Hamilakis, Yannis and Andrew Meirion Jones. 2017. Archaeology and assemblage. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 27(1):77–84.

Haraway, Donna. 2003. *The companion species manifesto: dogs, people and significant otherness*. Prickly Paradigm Press, Chicago, IL.

Harris, Oliver J T and Craig N Cipolla. 2017. *Archaeological theory in the new millennium: introducing current perspectives*. Routledge, London.

Helms, Mary. 1988. *Ulysses' sail: an ethnographic odyssey of power, knowledge, and geographical distance*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Henare, Amiria, Martin Holbraad and Sari Wastell (editors). 2005. *Thinking through things: theorising artefacts ethnographically*. Routledge, London.

Heywood, Paolo. 2018. The ontological turn: school or style. In *Schools and styles of anthropological theory*, edited by Matei Candea, pp. 224–235. Routledge, London.

Hodder, Ian. 2012. *Entangled: an archaeology of the relationships between humans and things*. John Wiley, Chichester.

Holbraad, Martin and Morten Axel Pedersen. 2017. *The ontological turn: an anthropological exposition*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Holy, Ladislav. 1996. *Anthropological perspectives on kinship*. Pluto, London.

Ingold, Tim. 2007. *Lines: a brief history*. Routledge, London.

Ingold, Tim. 2011. *Being alive: essays on movement, knowledge and description*. Routledge, London.

Jervis, Ben. 2019. *Assemblage thought and archaeology*. Routledge, London.

Johansen, Jørgen Prytz. 1954. *The Maori and his religion*. Munksgaard, Copenhagen.

Johnson, Kent M. 2019. Opening up the family tree: promoting more diverse and inclusive studies of family, kinship, and relatedness in bioarchaeology. In *Bioarchaeologists speak out: deep time perspectives on contemporary issues*, edited by Jane Buikstra, pp. 201–230. Springer, Cham.

Johnson, Kent M and Kathleen S Paul. 2016. Bioarchaeology and kinship: integrating theory, social relatedness, and biology in ancient family research. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 24:75–123.

Joy, Jody. 2016. Hoards as collections: re-examining the Snettisham Iron Age hoards from the perspective of collecting practice. *World Archaeology* 48(2):239–253.

Joyce, Rosemary A and Susan D Gillespie (editors). 2000. *Beyond kinship: social and material reproduction in house societies*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Kinsella, Thomas. 1970. *The Tain: translated from the Irish epic Táin Bó Cuailnge*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Kristiansen, Kristian and Thomas Larsson. 2005. *The rise of Bronze Age society: travels, transmissions and transformations*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Lambek, Michael. 2011. Kinship as gift and theft: acts of succession in Mayotte and Ancient Israel. *American Ethnologist* 38(1):2–16.

Larsen, Erik. 2003. Cú Chulainn: god, man, or animal? *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 23:172–183.

Latour, Bruno. 2005. *Reassembling the social: an introduction to actor-network theory*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Law, John. 2004. *After method: mess in social science research*. Routledge, London.

Leach, James. 2003. *Creative land: place and procreation on the Rai Coast of Papua New Guinea*. Berghahn Books, Oxford.

Leonard, Katherine. 2014. *Ritual in Late Bronze Age Ireland: material culture, practices, landscape setting and social context*. PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway.

Lucas, Gavin. 2012. *Understanding the archaeological record*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Marriott, McKim. 1976. Hindu transactions: diversity without dualism. In *Transaction and meaning: directions in the anthropology of exchange and symbolic behavior*, edited by Bruce Kapferer, pp. 109–142. Institute for the study of human issues, Philadelphia, PA.

Marston, Sallie A, John Paul Jones and Keith Woodward. 2005. Human geography without scale. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30(4):416–432.

Massey, Doreen. 1993. Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place. In *Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change*, edited by John Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam and Lisa Tickner, pp. 59–69. Routledge, London.

Merlan, Francesca and Alan Rumsey. 1991. *Ku Waru: language and segmentary politics in the Western Nebilyer Valley*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Nash, Catherine. 2018. Making kinship with human remains: repatriation, biomedicine and the many relations of Charles Byrne. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 36(5):867–884.

Needham, Stuart and Sheridan Bowman. 2005. Flesh-hooks, technological complexity and the Atlantic Bronze Age feasting complex. *European Journal of Archaeology* 8(2):93–136.

Nuttall, Mark. 2000. Choosing kin: sharing and subsistence in a Greenlandic hunting community. In *Dividends of kinship: meanings and uses of social relatedness*, edited by Peter P Schweitzer, pp. 33–60. Routledge, London.

Robinson, Thomas R. 1847–1850. On the contents of an ancient bronze vessel found in the King's county. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 4:237–246.

Rowlands, Michael. 1980. Kinship, alliance and exchange in the European Bronze Age. In *Settlement and society in the British later Bronze Age*, edited by John C Barrett and Richard Bradley, pp. 59–72. BAR British Series, 83. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.

Rowley-Conwy, Peter. 2007. *From Genesis to prehistory: the archaeological three age system and its contested reception in Denmark, Britain, and Ireland*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Rumsey, Alan. 2000. Agency, personhood and the 'I' of discourse in the Pacific and beyond. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 6(1):101–115.

Sahlins, Marshall. 2013. *What kinship is—and is not*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.

Sánchez-Quinto, Federico, Helena Malmström, Magdalena Fraser, Linus Girdland-Flink, Emma M Svensson, Luciana G. Simões, Robert George, Nina Hollfelder, Göran Burenhult, Gordon Noble, Kate Britton, Sahra Talamo, Neil Curtis, Hana Brzobohata, Radka Sumberova, Anders Götherström, Jan Storåf and Mattias Jakobsson. 2019. Megalithic tombs in western and northern Neolithic Europe were linked to a kindred society. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116(19):9469–9474.

Schatzki, Theodore R. 2002. *The site of the social: a philosophical account of the constitution of social life and change*. Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA.

Schneider, David M. 1984. *A critique of the study of kinship*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Sissons, Jeffrey. 2013. Reterritorialising kinship: the Māori "*hapū*". *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 122(4):373–391.